Only since 1930 have some automobile hi[illegible]ways been built, and the Communist reg[illegible] in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system. Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

*175 Central People's Government, the province of Ninghsia was merged
631 into Kansu, (in June, 1956, the territory of the Alashan and Edsin-
*668 gol Mongols in Ninghsia was incorporated into the Inner Mongolia
177 Autonomous Region), the municipality of Sian was transferred from
the direct control of Peking to the Shensi Provincial People's Government, and the Northwest Administrative Council was dissolved.

However, by other more subtle means, the control of Peking over the Northwest provinces and the ascendancy of the Chinese over the national minority peoples in the border regions were bolstered, not reduced. The election of 1953-54 signalised the kick-off of the much heralded transition of China to socialism. This was the General Line of the State during the period of transition which was adopted by the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on September 24, 1953. In its economic aspects, it called for industrialization and collectivization, and in its political aspects, it stressed the consolidation of the unity of the peoples of China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and Mao Tse-tung. (JMJP March 28, 1954).

These two aspects were interrelated, industrialization and collectivization aimed at bringing further the people in line with the policies of the Communist party and government and consolidation was to be accomplished by the employment of cadres and the party members to arouse and organize the masses (cf. decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in NCNA, January 8, 1954).

A. Collectivization

*175 Under a deliberate policy of the state, intensified by the Korean
*668 War, augmented by equipment and personnel transferred from the
178 coastal cities and facilitated by improvement in transportation, industrialization had made tremendous headway in the Northwest. And with industrialization, the control of the workers by the state also increased. By the end of 1955, 540 kilometers of the 2,800
[496] kilometer Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway had been completed, further extending Communist control over the Northwest.

*175 However, the population of the Northwest is still predominantly
*668 agricultural, and it was in the organization of the residents of the
474 rural areas into mutual aid teams and cooperatives that the extent
476 of Communist control over the masses is best revealed. The situation in the four Northwest provinces is as follows:

178 Shensi: During the year 1954, the program of organizing the farmers into mutual aid teams and agricultural producers cooperatives suffered a setback due to incompetent leadership. (Report of Chao Shou-shan, NCNA August 14, 1954). As a report of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party revealed (JMJP August 19, 1954): "After the summer harvest, due to slack

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

S 159 668 [631]

Wang, En-mao: Communist Party official

First secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP and after September 1955, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP. In 1950-52, member of the Northwest MAC.

Wang is the top party boss in Sinkiang and thus the actual ruler of that province. Unlike his colleagues, he holds no concurrent positions in the administration except for a couple of years as a member of the NW MAC. A man of mystery, little is known about him except that he is a native of Kiangsi and does not speak any of the native languages of Sinkiang, and that in 1933 he served in the CCP committee in the Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region under Jen Pi-shih.

N 159 *668 [631]

Wang Feng: Communist Party official

Native of Shensi Province and presently director of the Department of United Front Work in the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, of which he was a member, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission, the Land Reform Commission, and chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He is also president of the Lanchou College of Nationalities.

Wang's main job was what the Communists called united fron work, that is, the alignment of non-Communists to work with Communist cadres in the Northwest and to encourage non-Chinese to work with the Chinese. As director of the Department of United Front Work in the Party, he incorporated thousands of former Nationalist officials as well as students into the ranks of the cadres, to govern the vast territory of the Northwest that the Communists acquired in 1949. Later, he was responsible for the ideological reform and the purges of the cadres in 1952. As a Chinese heading the Commission of Nationality Affairs in the NW MAC, his job was to rationalize the long-standing differences between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples in the Northwest. Much of the progress of socialist transformation in the Northwest depends upon the degrees to which Wang Feng at the regional level and Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee, on the national have succeeded in smoothing relations between Communist and non-Communist officials, and between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples.

N 159 *668 *563

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Wang, Shih-t'ai: Military and administrative official

Background unknown. 1934, member of the Central Executive Committee in the Chinese Soviet Government in Kiangsi and delegate to the Second All-China Representative Conference of

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Chinese Soviets, 19[illegible]0, political commissar in the People's Liberation Army, member of the NW MAC, and a member of its Financial and Economic Commission, vice-chairman of Kansu People's Government and director of its Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs, director of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line Engineering Bureau, and deputy head of the political committee of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line. 1952, vice-minister of Railways; 1955, vice-chairman of the National Construction Commission in the State Council of the Central People's Government; member of the CCP. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

[466] Wang's major responsibility has been the extension of the railway from Lanchou into Sinkiang, and he commanded the troops which supervised the workers building the railway, many of them slave laborers.

159 *668 631

Wang, Tzu-i: Government and Party official

Former director of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, 1950, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, member of its Land Reform Commission, vice-chairman of its Political and Legal Commission, head of the Department of Personnel, and head of the Department of Civil Affairs. 1953, vice-minister of Interior in the Central People's Government.

Wu Hung-pin (1902-): Moslem leader, government official

Born in Kansu Province in 1902, reared in a Moslem family. In 1930, graduated from the National Peking University; 1932, took part in Anti-Japan activities in Shanghai during the Shanghai incident; 1936, organized Moslem People's League in the Anti-Japan and National Salvation Association; 1945, organized and headed the Lanchou branch of the Democratic League; 1949, represented the league in the First Chinese People's Political Consultative Council in Peking and was a member of its standing committee; in the same year, appointed mayor of Lanchou; vice-chairman of the Military Control Commission in Lanchou and member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and served concurrently as mayor of Lanchou.

Concurrently, in Peking, he was a member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, a member of the central committee of the Democratic League, member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and a member of the executive council of the China Peace Committee, an outfit organized in 1950 to rally the people to support the campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

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Wu was noted as an able organizer. He organized the students

TRADE

I. The Pre-Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest before the Communist conquest may be discussed by provinces.

A. Shensi

Trade between Shensi and the rest of the country was carried out mainly through the historical Great Northwest Highway, which links this province with Hankow and Tientsin on the one hand, and Kansu and Sinkiang on the other. Since 1937, the National government has undertaken to extend the Lunghai Railway to the Northwest, and before the Communists took over it had reached T'ien-shui, Kansu. In addition, the northern part of this province was closely connected with Shansi through three regional highways, and the southern part was linked with Hankow through the Han River, and with Szechwan through the Szechwan-Shensi bridle pass.

The commercial centers of this province are as follows: (1) Sian, the provincial capital, which not only commands the trade of the whole province, but also carries considerable transit trade; (2) T'ung-kuan, which is a transportation center between the three provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Honan; (3) Ank'ang, also known as Hsin-an, a commercial center of the Han River drainage area; (4) San-yuan, the commercial center of the so-called North Shensi Plain; and (5) Han-chung, also known as Nan-cheng, a trade center between Shensi and Szechwan.

According to statistics of 1934, a normal year in pre-war times, the total value of imports and exports of this province, including foreign trade, amounted to 57,168,455 yüan, most of which were carried out through Tientsin and Hankow. The details are shown in the following table:

Table I: The Exports and Imports of Shensi, 1934

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		19,087,221
raw cotton	16,250,000	
hemp	200,000	
raw silk	300,000	
wool	160,000	
fur and hide	757,221	
tung oil	900,000	
raw paints and paint oil	250,000	
fungs-in-trees	270,000	

The trade between Sinkiang and Afghanistan of the same year amounted to 1,378,040 gold rupees. The details are as follows:

Table IX: The Trade Between Sinkiang and Afghanistan, 1927

Description	Value (rupee)	
A. Imports:		830,500
opium	675,000	
horses	10,000	
furs and hides	52,350	
Russian metal goods	8,550	
almonds	3,600	
B. Exports:		547,540
cotton cloth	176,500	
cankas	94,500	
woolen carpet	80,000	
horses	57,000	
chinaware	21,200	
felt carpet	16,800	
donkeys and mules	13,000	
Khoten silk	12,500	
Grand Total		1,378,040

Source: Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien, 1935 ed., Vol. 3, p. T.95.

II. The Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime may be described in two parts: (1) changes in volume and kind, and (2) government control.

A. Changes in Volume and Kind

As far as the physical characteristics are concerned, trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime seems to have remained more or less the same as it was before, because economic reconstruction in this region is still in its initial stage. The following changes, however, may deserve special attention: First, the Communists have taken great pains to improve transportation in the Northwest. The most ambitious project, of course, is the Lanchou-Alma Ata Railway, which they plan to complete by 1957. Other improvements include: (1) the Lanchou—Pao-t'ou Railway, which is still under construction: (2) the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, which was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954: and (3) the Tunhuang-Chinghai Highway, which links Kansu and west Chinghai, and was opened to traffic in December 1954. Besides, it is also reported that the original Lanchou-Chengtu and Lanchou-Urumchi highways have been improved upon, and the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route between

It was the Mongol Empire under Chingis Khan (1162-1227) which extended her power from the Yellow River through the Northern Road across Asia into Poland and Hungary to the Danube. Marco Polo went to China from Italy in 1275 by way of the Southern Road. Through the centuries, however, the life of the trade routes was subject to frequent fluctuations. There have been interruptions to commerce during the periods of warfare when the Huns came south of the mountains, and the roads were overrun. But as soon as hostilities ceased, the merchants would resume their accustomed task of rebuilding their caravans and carrying loads of goods eastward and westward.

These trade routes remained significant through the years until modern transportation was introduced to China. Later on, motor highways were built, based on the old trade routes in this area. The Lanchow-Urumchi-Alam Ata Railway is presently being constructed along the old Northern Road. Even so, caravans still travel throughout the northwest.

II. Communications Development before and under the Nationalist Government

A. Railways

In the vast area of Northwest China, there was only one railway line which was an extension of the Lunghai Railway running to Shensi province. This railway is an east-west trunk line, starting from a seaport in Kiangsu, running through Honan and Shensi, and now into Kansu. Construction was started on different sections as early as 1903, but owing to civil strife only the 810 kilometer section from Taipu Harbor near Haichou in Kiangsu in the east, westward to Ling-pao in Honan, was completed prior to 1930. Construction on the section from Ling-pao to Tung-kuan, a distance of about seventy kilometers, was initiated in 1930 and completed in August, 1932. It was extended another 130 kilometers to Sian in December, 1934. Service was inaugurated before 1937 on the last section in Shensi from Sian to Paoki, a distance of 170 kilometers.

Because of obstructions in Taipu Harbor, a new port at Lienyün was built in 1935 to serve this railroad. In the same year, a thirty-seven kilometer extension to join the new port with the trunk line at Hsin-pu was completed.

During the war, railway construction in the Northwest was emphasized. To solve the serious shortage of coal on the Lunghai Railway, a branch line of about 138 kilometers was created in December, 1940, from Hsien-yang northward through San-yüan and Yao-hsien to Tung-ch'uan in Tung-kuan county. Despite the extreme shortage of rail-building materials and manpower, work on the extension of the Paoki-T'ien-shui section began in 1939 and

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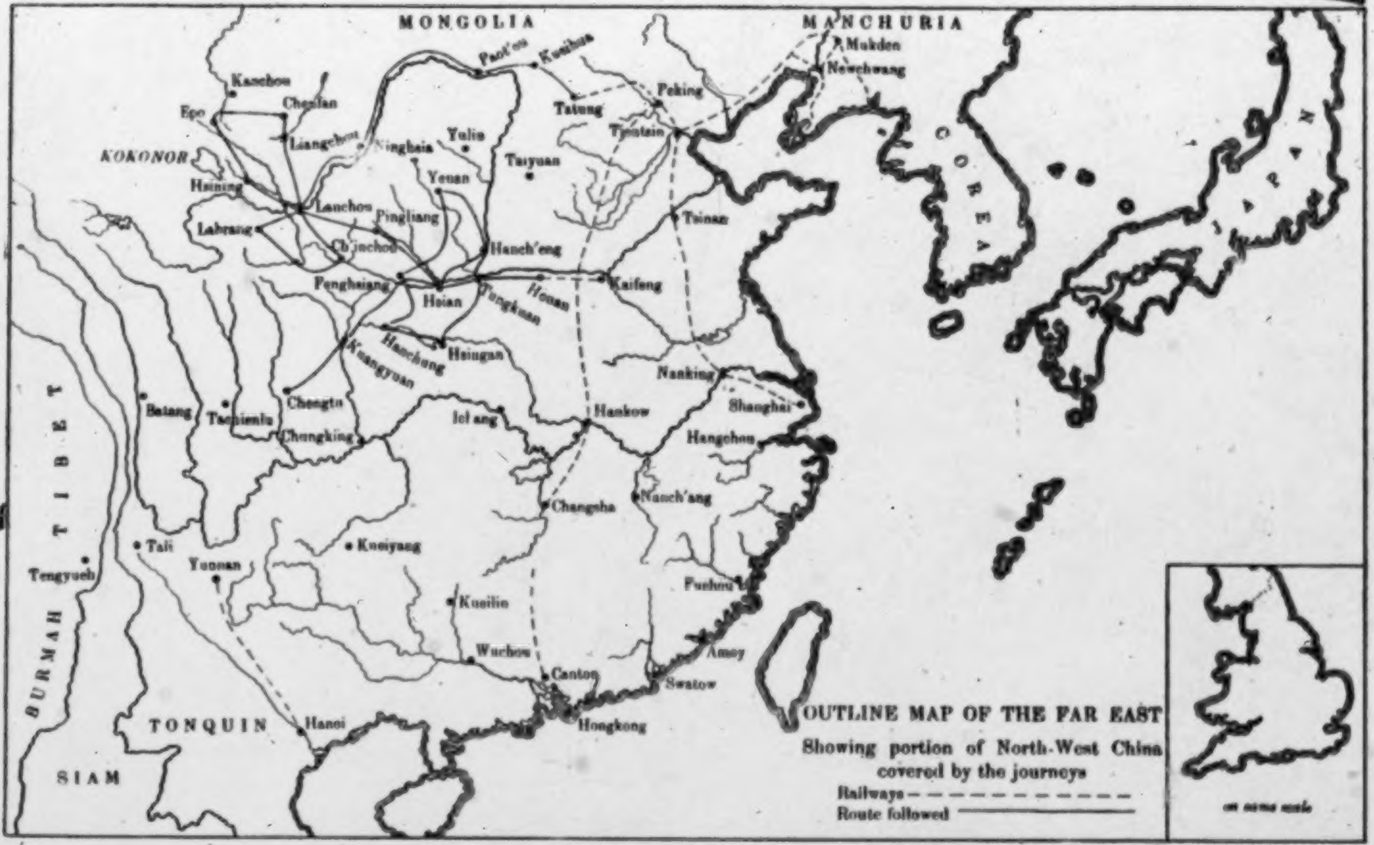

OUTLINE MAP OF THE FAR EAST
Showing portion of North-West China covered by the journeys
Railways - - - - - - - - - -
Route followed ———————

on same scale

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*175 it was opened for traffic in the autumn of 1945. This 165 kilometer
• 496 railway ran from Paoki following a stretch of the Wei River to T'ien-shui in Kansu. This Paoki-Tien-shui area was regarded as a place of great strategic importance during the war.

Excluding the Hsien-yang-Tung-ch'uan branch of 138 kilometers, total mileage of the Lunghai Railway, before 1949, was about 1,380 kilometers of which the section from Tung-kuan to T'ien-shui running in the Northwest Region was roughly 600 kilometers in length.

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B. Highways

Highway construction in Northwest China had been well-developed up to the war. The main lines may be listed as follows:

	kms.
1. Highways in Shensi:	
Sian-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchow Highway)	210
Sian-Tungkuan	145
Sian-Paoki-Ning-chiang section (of Szechwan-Shensi Highway)	500
Sian-Mei-hsien	145
Wei-nan-Ta-li-Han-cheng	180
2. Highways in Kansu:	
Lanchou-Ping-liang-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchou Highway)	550
Lanchou-Yumen-Hsin-hsin-chia section (of Kansu-Sinkiang Highway)	1,400
Lanchou-Hsiang-tang section (of Kansu-Chinghai Highway)	120
Lanchou-Min-hsien section	350
Hua-chia-ling-T'ien-shui	210
Ping-liang-Kuyüan-Tung-hsin (in Ninghsia)	220
3. Highways in Ninghsia (now part of Kansu):	
Ninghsia (Yin-ch'uan)-Tung-hsin	210
Ninghsia-Shan-pa (in Inner Mongolia)	325
Ninghsia-Ho-chia-chi (toward Lanchou)	240
4. Highways in Chinghai:	
Hsining-Hsiang-tang section	110
Hsining-Kuei-teh	108
Hsining-Lin-hsia (in Kansu)	190
Hsining-Tu-lan (toward Tun-huang)	428
Hsining-Ta-ho-pa (toward Yu-shu)	327
5. Highways in Sinkiang: (S 491)	
Urumchi-Hami-Hsin-hsin-chia	835
Urumchi-Wusu-Ili (toward Russia)	691

(Wang, Chin-fu. Hsi-pei ti ti-wen yü jen-wen Huang, Fen-sheng. 127-29; Pien-chiang tun-ken-yüan 126-28.)

N 491 487 S [491] [487]

It is interesting to note that part of the highways in Kansu and all those in Sinkiang were built on the old trade routes. Highways in this region were centered at Sian, Lanchow, Ninghsia (Yin-chuan), Hsining and Urumchi.

S 487 501 [505]

Cheng-hua via Burchun crossing the Soviet border to Ozero Zaisan, was navigable from April to November. It is reported that steamers under 500 tons were able to sail along its lower course.

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D. Civil Aviation

Civil airlines were initiated in 1924, the first route running from Sian via Lanchow, Hami to Urumchi. A north branch line was created from Lanchow via Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) to Pao-t'ou with a south branch line from Sian via Han-chung and Chengtu to Chungking. After 1932, a new line was inaugurated from Shanghai via Nanking and Lanchou to Urumchi. In 1935, an aviation station was established at Tah-cheng on the Sinkiang border in accord with the Sino-Soviet civil air aviation agreement to improve postal service between the two countries. However, some of the air lines were changed during the war. The Chungking-Han-chung-Paoki line of 530 kilometers was inaugurated in January, 1945, thus eliminating Sian as a regular port of call. The 1995 kilometer Chungking-Lanchow-Chiu-chuan-Hami line resumed its run in March, 1945, by extending the original Chungking-Lanchou line to Hami by way of Chiu-chuan. (The Sian-Lanchou -Urumchi line was no longer a regular line during the war.) Thus within Free China, regular air lines were focussed at Chungking. In addition, planes might be chartered, if necessary, for places like Sian, T'ien-shui, Hsining and Ninghsia which were not stops of the regular lines. Ma Hung-k'uei, the governor of Ninghsia, in order to maintain the seclusion of his province, obstructed regular calls at Ninghsia.

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III. Communication Development under the Communist Regime

A. Railway Building and Planning

1. T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway: This 346 kilometer section was the extension of the Lunghai Railway which had already been in existence prior to 1949 from Lien-yün via Cheng-chou, Loyang, Sian and Paoki to T'ien-shui. Construction on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou line was begun in 1950 and completed in October, 1952. It links the Lunghai with the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway. However, according to a Nationalist report, twenty-seven per cent of the construction work on this section had been done during 1947. Another source indicated that in August, 1947, the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section was under construction. (von Lochow, H. J., China's National Railways, p. 77.)

2. Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway: The Communist laid great stress on the project of running a line westward from Lanchou via Yü-men and Hami to Urumchi in Sinkiang for a distance of about 2800 kilometers. Construction was initiated at Lanchou on

*175 *668 • 496 499 648

Construction was initiated at Lanchou on Communist National Day, October 1, 1952, immediately following the completion of the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section. A Sino-Soviet agreement was concluded on October 12, 1954 which provided that the originally planned route was to be extended from Urumchi to Ho-cheng on the Sino-Soviet border to link with the Russian Turk-sib Railway at Alma Ata. Construction on the section on Chinese territory was to be undertaken by Communist China, while Russia was responsible for the construction on the section from Alma Ata to Ho-cheng. It has been reported that Russia had already finished the section on its territory in 1955.

On the Chinese side, service on the Lanchow-Wu-wei section of 303 kilometers began in February, 1954. At the end of that year, tracks had been laid as far as Chiu-pa, 347 kilometers northwest of Lanchou. On September 28, 1955, the section was extended to Chang-yeh, which, in the Kansu Corridor about 538 kilometers west of Lanchou, was the original goal for 1955. An extra 108 kilometers of tracks were laid up to a point about 100 kilometers from Yü-men by the end of 1955. A new section from Chang-yeh to Ching-shui reportedly began operating on May 1, 1956. This 138 kilometer extension made the railway serviceable for a total of 676 kilometers. It has been reported that tracklayers on this railway had pledged to extend the line to Yü-men, 800 kilometers from Lanchou, by the first of July, 1956, about one month ahead of schedule.

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Construction of this railway is of utmost significance economically and politically, as well as strategically. The Northwest still lags behind in industry, agriculture, and density of population, although it is vast in area and abundant in natural resources. When this railway is completed, trucks operating on the highways along this line can be employed to support the rail transport. The people in the region will be able to buy industrial products cheaply. Large numbers of workers and technical personnel will undoubtedly move to Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, so the population will grow rapidly and new cities spring up. Furthermore, travel time between Peking and Moscow via this railway would be greatly shortened, even more so than by the newly-opened route through the Chi-ning-Ulan Bator Railway.

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3. Paoki-Chengtu Railway: The Chinese Communists had long looked for a route through which it could move from North-west to Southwest China over the high mountains. At first, they intended to build a railway linking Tien-shui on the Lunghai Railway with Chengtu, the terminus of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway. It was the route originally planned by the Nationalists but construction on it was never undertaken due to the Sino-Japanese War and later, the civil strife. However, a new project, was reportedly drawn up by Russian experts and agreed to by the Chinese, to run a line from Chengtu through Lüeh-yang in Shensi to Paoki instead

of T'ien-shui. Construction on this 700 kilometer railway was initiated in July, 1952, and was scheduled for completion by the end of the first Five Year Plan in 1957. On January 1, 1955, tracks on the southern section had been laid to Kuang-yüan, 315 kilometers north of Chengtu, and rail service was officially opened on New Year's Day, 1956, from Chengtu to Lüeh-yang, about 170 kilometers north of Kuang-yang. Construction had been in full swing on the 215 kilometer northern section from Paoki to Lüeh-yang at the same time. Although shorter, this section was said to be a more difficult project: over 100 tunnels were cut through mountains, the longest one being more than 2.3 kilometers; the Chialing River was crossed 16 times and about 400 bridges and culverts were built. Soviet technicians planned to run electric locomotives along the Feng-hsien (in Shensi)-Paoki section in order to pull the trains through the sloping terrain of the Chin-ling Mountains.

It was reported that in March, 1956, only about 100 kilometers of tracks remained to be laid on the whole Paoki-Chengtu Railway. On the northern section, rails had passed through the Chin-ling Mountains area and continued southward. It was expected that the entire line would be connected and opened for traffic by the end of 1956.

This railway, when completed, will become the trunk line to link the southeast with the northwest of China. It will make possible deliveries of rice and other products of the Southeast to the Northwest and Central China, and provide cheap transportation for industrial machinery and equipment with which to tap the rich natural resources of Szechwan and its neighboring provinces.

4. Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway: Construction on the 1000 kilometer Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway which would link up North-west China with the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, was started in February, 1955. Work was under way on the fifty kilometer section from Lanchou to Hsing-hsing-wan until the end of 1955. When completed, it would not only facilitate the development of the iron and steel base of Pao-t'ou but also shorten the route between Peking and Moscow.

5. Lanchou-Chinghai Railway: Survey work on the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was begun on December 23, 1955. This railway was to begin at Ho-kou on the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, about thirty kilometers west of Lanchou, following the Lanchou Ching-hai Highway, through Hsining and along the Tsaidam basin which is rich in minerals, to Ta-erh-ting for a distance of 1500 kilometers. As reported, survey of the 176 kilometer section between Ho-kou and Huang-yüan (in Chinghai) was completed at the end of 1955, and construction was scheduled to start in the beginning of 1956. (The rest of the route was not yet decided.) The construction of this railway was aimed at opening up resources in the

Tsaidam basin and developing the economy and culture of the national minorities.

Up to the beginning of 1956, the railway mileage in the Northwest region was increased to roughly 1800 kilometers from some 600 kilometers prior to 1949.

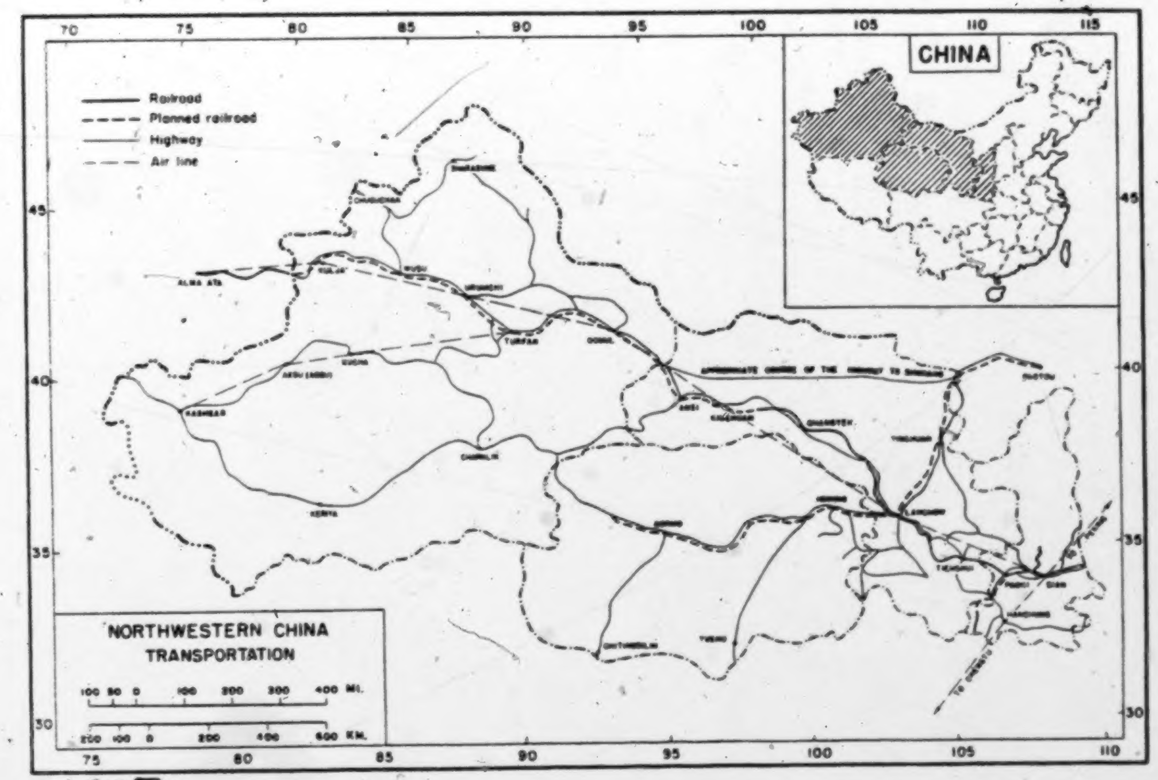
Based on the above-mentioned data, new railway construction in this region may be tabulated as follows:

Railway Construction in Northwest China
1950-1955
in kilometers

Line	length planned	date started	date completed	to 1955	Total
T'ien-shui-Lanchou	346	1950	1952	346	
Lanchou-Sinkiang a	2,800	1952	- -	646	
Paoki-Chengtu b	700	1952	1956	485	
Lanchou-Paotow	1,000	1955	- -	- -	
Lanchou-Chinghai c	1,500	1956	- -	- -	
Total				1,477[e]	3660[d]

a. To the end of 1955.
b. Of the total 485 kms. only about 100 kms were in Shensi.
c. Newly projected route
d. Based on the table of "Construction of New Railways in Chinese Mainland, 1950-1955" in Communication section of General Handbook.
e. Of the 1477 kms. about 1100 kms. were built in the Northwest region.

As shown in the above table, about thirty per cent of the total of new railways was built in this Northwest area. As officially reported, Communist China has scheduled to spend, on transport and communication projects, over 140 million taels of gold (1 tael is equal to 1.1023 ounces) of investments totalling over 700 million taels in capital construction during the First Five Year Plan. ("A Great Plan" People's China, August 1, 1955, pp. 5-6.) It appears clear that a very large amount has been spent on railway construction in this region, though no breakdown figure can be located. With regard to railway building materials, the same source indicated that "after reconstruction of the factories, Anshan alone will produce enough rolled steel to meet the needs of the nation's locomotive-building works, shipyards and motor and tractor works throughout the first Five Year Plan and the early part of the second. Anshan's annual output of rails will be sufficient for the laying of more than 3000 kilometers." It should be noted that at least up to the beginning of the first Five Year Plan, most of the materials for railroad building had to be supplied by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.



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CHAPTER I

FROM RAILHEAD IN HONAN TO HSIAN FU, THE CAPITAL OF SHENSI

Approaches to the North West—By train to railhead at Kuanyint'ang—Along the Yellow River to T'ungkuan—Road and railway construction in China—Up the Wei valley plain past Huayin, Huachou, Weinan, and Lint'ung to Hsian—Antiquities—Recent events in Shensi.

THERE are a certain limited number of trails leading into Shensi and Kansu from the coast, namely, from Honan *via* the T'ungkuan passage, from Hankow up the Han river, from T'aiyuan in Shansi *via* Suitê to Ninghsia, and from Kueihuach'eng *via* the Yellow River and the Ordos to Northern Kansu. We entered the North West by the first named route and eventually returned by the last named. The T'ungkuan trail, which nowadays carries most of the traffic, follows the valleys of the Yellow and Wei rivers through a natural gap in the mountains leading into the heart of the North West. Along this road has passed much of the traffic with Central and Western Asia since the dawn of history, and along it is one day to be built a trunk railway from the coast to the confines of Turkestan.

Starting from Peking, the Peking-Hankow railway is followed as far as Cheng Chou, the junction with the Kaifeng Fu Honan Fu line, which used to be known as the Pien Lo railway, but is now a section of the great East and West trunk line called the Lung Hai, meaning that it connects (or rather will one day in the distant future connect) Hai Chou on the coast of Kiangsu with Lung, the classical name for Kansu. Cheng Chou is a busy railway settlement attached to a little walled city; on a windy day in the spring it is an indescribably beastly spot, the whole place being shrouded in whirling dust, sand, and loess.

Leaving Cheng Chou the train soon enters a maze of loess hills through which it crawls to emerge near Kung Hsien on the valley plain of the Lo River, which is followed to Honan Fu (Loyang). The rolling stock on this section

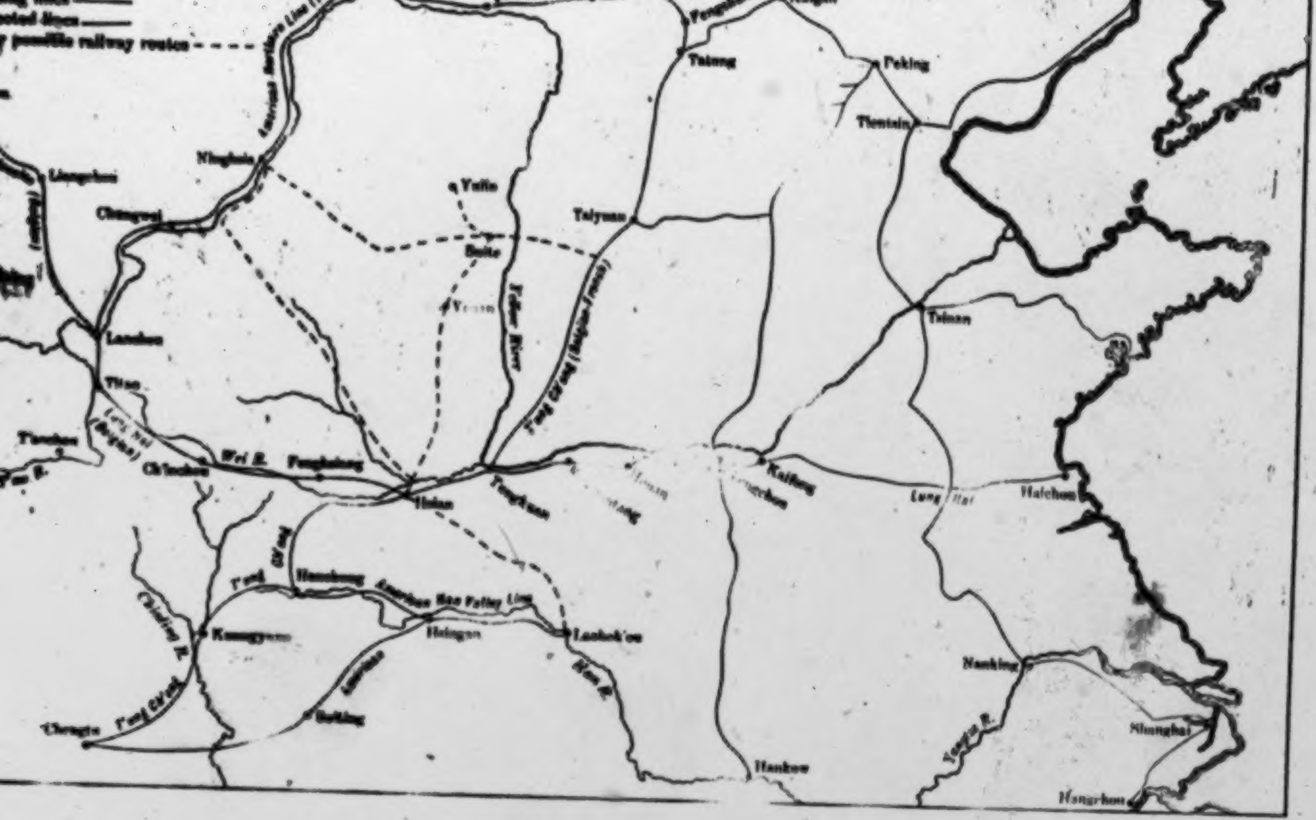
is in the last stages of decay, and the carriages are usually overrun with soldiers, Honan being one of the military reservoirs of man power for the Northern armies. The plain of the Lo Ho in early April, covered with vividly green winter wheat and dotted with pink and white fruit trees, all against the background of everlasting brown loess, forms a striking picture. The loess scenery between Cheng Chou and Kung Hsien is most remarkable, and the tourist who wishes to see a good example of this weird formation, with its perpendicular precipices and chasms, need not go further afield than this corner of N.E. Honan.

From Honan Fu a construction train, consisting of a string of open trucks packed with Chinese clinging like flies to every available spot, crawls slowly through the loess, which gradually gives way to reddish hills, past the little city of Mienchi'ih Hsien to the village of Kuanyint'ang, where the famous Lung Hai railway comes to an abrupt end, as though aghast at the appalling distances ahead. Immediately in front is a mountain range which will presumably have to be tunnelled to reach Shen Chou on the Yellow River. No more construction work has been undertaken at the time of writing, though surveys have been made up to Lanchou Fu. It is said that the plans allow for over 40 kilometers of tunnels before that place is reached. The concession is a Belgian one. The sight of the swarms of Chinese packed into the string of open trucks running backwards and forwards on this incomplete section testifies to the popularity of railway travel on this road and to the great number of travellers.

At Kuanyint'ang the traveller must hire carts or pack mules for the journey to Hsian. The latter are preferable, especially if it is likely to rain, as the mud in the loess cuttings on this much travelled road defies description. If the traveller has not brought his own ponies, a mule litter (*chiaowotzu* or *shantzu*) is a necessary accessory to a train of pack mules. This is a rough litter made of sticks and matting in which the passenger reclines carried by two mules, and is not likely to appeal to a foreigner as a pleasant method of travel. A Chinese is satisfied to be carried like a recumbent log in this contrivance for weeks on end, emerging at intervals for his meals; but the more active-

can be had, and then ascends to another grassy plateau. Herds of Mongolian ponies (the "China pony" of the Treaty Ports) were to be seen, but the good pony country lies much further north-east, beyond Kalgan and Dolonor. The following day, September 26th, we accomplished our last march, 60 li to Feng Chen. It was freezing hard in the early morning, and we decided we had just completed our journey in time; for winter on these steppes of High Asia is very severe. The trail continues across the grass lands for two hours' march, and then runs down a broad cultivated valley plain for the rest of the way to Feng Chen, an unwalled township, and the railhead of the Peking-Kalgan-Kueihua extension line.

A construction train took us down to Tatung Fu, an important town of Northern Shansi, where we were lucky enough to strike the weekly express, which runs through to Peking in one day. This was the end of our long journeys, and the reader, having accompanied us as far afield as Chengtu in Szechuan and Hsining and Liangchou in Kansu, is probably as tired of reading about them as the writer is of recording their description.



achman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

RAIL TRANSPORT--freight and passenger services and accommodations; make-up and operation of trains; schedules; fares and freight charges; traffic control; special services (e.g., railway express, refrigerated freight service); organization and specialized personnel; regulation; etc. See also:

Postal system . . . . 205 Corporate organization 473
Labor unions . . . . 467 Government ownership and control 471, 886

oil field which was discovered near Yümen in northwest Kansu during the latter part of the last war. Though several wells had been drilled and a small refinery plant established, oil production was never large due to shipping and transportation difficulties. (It might be noted that construction of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway has been completed up to Yümen in July 1956. Tank cars may now replace trucks in the transportation of Yümen oil.) Despite these adverse factors, the Peking Government's planned economy gives top priority to the development of the known and the search for the unknown mineral wealth of China's Northwest.

Thirteen construction projects were completed in the Yümen Oil Field, China's biggest oil center, in the spring of 1955. A number of these projects now enable Yümen to produce eighteen percent more heavy lubricating oil and fifteen percent more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955). A large coal field was discovered in Kansu in April, 1955. It is reported the new discovery with a total of approximately thirty-two million metric tons is four times as large as the A-kan-chen colliery of Kao-lan (Lanchou) county, one of the major coal mines in the province.

Work has been started by three oil prospecting teams sent to Sinkiang and Chinhai provinces by the Northwest Geology Bureau under the Ministry of Geology. The prospectors are operating in Turfan and Dzungaria Basins, Sinkiang and in Tsaidam, Chinahai, to locate oil-bearing structures, oil shales, heavy feldspar and other minerals. (NCNA April 19, 1955). One of the plans for 1955 was to complete the prospecting of several oil-bearing structures in the Turfan Basin and obtain the data to design a modern shaft mine in the Urumchi coal field (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955). In addition, rich coal deposits have been discovered in North Sinkiang, particularly in the Ili Valley.

According to 1955 reports, new oil fields were discovered and drilled, e.g., at Tu-shan-tzu, south of Wu-su, and new coal fields were discovered in Sinkiang. Up to now, eight coal fields are being worked along the foothills of Tien-shan in Sinkiang, which form one of the largest coal fields in China, ranking third among all the provinces. In coal reserve, Sinkiang is next only to Shansi and Shensi. The present doal reserves of Sinkiang are estimated at 35,040 million metric tons and can last for three hundred years at the present daily output rate of 320,000 tons.

Iron ore and ferro-metals like tungsten, manganese, molybdenum and nickel, as well as some non-ferrous minerals, like gold, platinum, copper, lead and zinc, and aluminum have been discovered and some even worked, especially in the province of

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*175 Communist National Day, October 1, 1952, immediately following
*668 the completion of the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section. A Sino-Soviet
496 agreement was concluded on October 12, 1954 which provided that
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648 Ho-cheng on the Sino-Soviet border to link with the Russian Turk-sib Railway at Alma Ata. Construction on the section on Chinese territory was to be undertaken by Communist China, while Russia was responsible for the construction on the section from Alma Ata to Ho-cheng. It has been reported that Russia had already finished the section on its territory in 1955.

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*668 Construction of this railway is of utmost significance economi-
497 cally and politically, as well as strategically. The Northwest still lags behind in industry, agriculture, and density of population, although it is vast in area and abundant in natural resources. When this railway is completed, trucks operating on the highways along this line can be employed to support the rail transport. The people in the region will be able to buy industrial products cheaply. Large numbers of workers and technical personnel will undoubtedly move to Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, so the population will grow rapidly and new cities spring up. Furthermore, travel time between Peking and Moscow via this railway would be greatly shortened, even more so than by the newly-opened route through the Chi-ning-Ulan Bator Railway.

*668 3. Paoki-Chengtu Railway: The Chinese Communists had
496 long looked for a route through which it could move from North-
499 west to Southwest China over the high mountains. At first, they
648 intended to build a railway linking Tien-shui on the Lunghai Rail-
*175 way with Chengtu, the terminus of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway. It was the route originally planned by the Nationalists but construction on it was never undertaken due to the Sino-Japanese War and later, the civil strife. However, a new project, was reportedly drawn up by Russian experts and agreed to by the Chinese, to run a line from Chengtu through Lüeh-yang in Shensi to Paoki instead

of T'ien-shui. Construction on this 700 kilometer railway was initiated in July, 1952, and was scheduled for completion by the end of the first Five Year Plan in 1957. On January 1, 1955, tracks on the southern section had been laid to Kuang-yüan, 315 kilometers north of Chengtu, and rail service was officially opened on New Year's Day, 1956, from Chengtu to Lüeh-yang, about 170 kilometers north of Kuang-yang. Construction had been in full swing on the 215 kilometer northern section from Paoki to Lüeh-yang at the same time. Although shorter, this section was said to be a more difficult project: over 100 tunnels were cut through mountains, the longest one being more than 2.3 kilometers; the Chialing River was crossed 16 times and about 400 bridges and culverts were built. Soviet technicians planned to run electric locomotives along the Feng-hsien (in Shensi)-Paoki section in order to pull the trains through the sloping terrain of the Chin-ling Mountains.

It was reported that in March, 1956, only about 100 kilometers of tracks remained to be laid on the whole Paoki-Chengtu Railway. On the northern section, rails had passed through the Chin-ling Mountains area and continued southward. It was expected that the entire line would be connected and opened for traffic by the end of 1956.

This railway, when completed, will become the trunk line to link the southeast with the northwest of China. It will make possible deliveries of rice and other products of the Southeast to the Northwest and Central China, and provide cheap transportation for industrial machinery and equipment with which to tap the rich natural resources of Szechwan and its neighboring provinces.

4. Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway: Construction on the 1000 kilometer Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway which would link up Northwest China with the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, was started in February, 1955. Work was under way on the fifty kilometer section from Lanchou to Hsing-hsing-wan until the end of 1955. When completed, it would not only facilitate the development of the iron and steel base of Pao-t'ou but also shorten the route between Peking and Moscow.

5. Lanchou-Chinghai Railway: Survey work on the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was begun on December 23, 1955. This railway was to begin at Ho-kou on the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, about thirty kilometers west of Lanchou, following the Lanchou Chinghai Highway, through Hsining and along the Tsaidam basin which is rich in minerals, to Ta-erh-ting for a distance of 1500 kilometers. As reported, survey of the 176 kilometer section between Ho-kou and Huang-yüan (in Chinghai) was completed at the end of 1955, and construction was scheduled to start in the beginning of 1956. (The rest of the route was not yet decided.) The construction of this railway was aimed at opening up resources in the

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498 TERMINAL FACILITIES--bus, tram, railway terminals; passenger services at railway and bus stations; freight yards; terminal repair facilities; freight and fuel storage facilities; etc. See also:

Description of terminal structures . . . . 349 Port facilities 804
Warehousing 488

in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region, it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956. p. 114.)

Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was constructed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang, a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sinkiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied up with communications development.

Communist China may very well focus its principal attention on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan concentrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a major role in the economic relations between China and Russia, and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

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499 HIGHWAY AND RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION--surveying of route; grading; construction of culverts, bridges, trestles, and tunnels; laying of ties and rails or of highway surface; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Specialization in construction. . . . . 33 Corporate financing 454, 473
Labor . . . . 46 Public finance 662
Weight-moving machinery . . . . 408 Surveying 804

under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i, was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the position of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks: First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

S 487 501 [505] Cheng-hua via Burchun crossing the Soviet border to Ozero Zaisan, was navigable from April to November. It is reported that steamers under 500 tons were able to sail along its lower course.

N 509 *175

D. Civil Aviation

Civil airlines were initiated in 1924, the first route running from Sian via Lanchow, Hami to Urumchi. A north branch line was created from Lanchow via Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) to Pao-t'ou with a south branch line from Sian via Han-chung and Chengtu to Chungking. After 1932, a new line was inaugurated from Shanghai via Nanking and Lanchou to Urumchi. In 1935, an aviation station was established at Tah-cheng on the Sinkiang border in accord with the Sino-Soviet civil air aviation agreement to improve postal service between the two countries. However, some of the air lines were changed during the war. The Chungking-Han-chung-Paoki line of 530 kilometers was inaugurated in January, 1945, thus eliminating Sian as a regular port of call. The 1995 kilometer Chungking-Lanchow-Chiu-chuan-Hami line resumed its run in March, 1945, by extending the original Chungking-Lanchou line to Hami by way of Chiu-chuan. (The Sian-Lanchou -Urumchi line was no longer a regular line during the war.) Thus within Free China, regular air lines were focussed at Chungking. In addition, planes might be chartered, if necessary, for places like Sian, T'ien-shui, Hsining and Ninghsia which were not stops of the regular lines. Ma Hung-k'uei, the governor of Ninghsia, in order to maintain the seclusion of his province, obstructed regular calls at Ninghsia.

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III. Communication Development under the Communist Regime

A. Railway Building and Planning

1. T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway: This 346 kilometer section was the extension of the Lunghai Railway which had already been in existence prior to 1949 from Lien-yün via Cheng-chou, Loyang, Sian and Paoki to T'ien-shui. Construction on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou line was begun in 1950 and completed in October, 1952. It links the Lunghai with the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway. However, according to a Nationalist report, twenty-seven per cent of the construction work on this section had been done during 1947. Another source indicated that in August, 1947, the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section was under construction. (von Lochow, H.J., China's National Railways, p. 77.)

2. Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway: The Communist laid great stress on the project of running a line westward from Lanchou via Yü-men and Hami to Urumchi in Sinkiang for a distance of about 2800 kilometers. Construction was initiated at Lanchou on

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*175 Communist National Day, October 1, 1952, immediately following
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Tsaidam basin and developing the economy and culture of the national minorities.

Up to the beginning of 1956, the railway mileage in the North-west region was increased to roughly 1800 kilometers from some 600 kilometers prior to 1949.

Based on the above-mentioned data, new railway construction in this region may be tabulated as follows:

Railway Construction in Northwest China
1950-1955
in kilometers

Line	length planned	date started	date completed	to 1955	Total
T'ien-shui-Lanchou	346	1950	1952	346	
Lanchou-Sinkiang a	2,800	1952	- -	646	
Paoki-Chengtu b	700	1952	1956	485	
Lanchou-Paotow	1,000	1955	- -	- -	
Lanchou-Chinghai c	1,500	1956	- -	- -	
Total				1,477[e]	3660[d]

a. To the end of 1955.
b. Of the total 485 kms. only about 100 kms were in Shensi.
c. Newly projected route
d. Based on the table of "Construction of New Railways in Chiese Mainland, 1950-1955" in Communication section of General Handbook.
e. Of the 1477 kms. about 1100 kms. were built in the Northwest region.

As shown in the above table, about thirty per cent of the total of new railways was built in this Northwest area. As officially reported, Communist China has scheduled to spend, on transport and communication projects, over 140 million taels of gold (1 tael is equal to 1.1023 ounces) of investments totalling over 700 million taels in capital construction during the First Five Year Plan. ("A Great Plan" People's China, August 1, 1955, pp. 5-6.) It appears clear that a very large amount has been spent on railway construction in this region, though no breakdown figure can be located. With regard to railway building materials, the same source indicated that "after reconstruction of the factories, Anshan alone will produce enough rolled steel to meet the needs of the nation's locomotive-building works, shipyards and motor and tractor works throughout the first Five Year Plan and the early part of the second. Anshan's annual output of rails will be sufficient for the laying of more than 3000 kilometers." It should be noted that at least up to the beginning of the first Five Year Plan, most of the materials for railroad building had to be supplied by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

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Manpower on railway construction is another interesting point. According to Dr. Ling Hung-hsün's (veteran engineer of Free China) personal survey of the present Lanchou Alma Ata line in 1943, population along the whole line within the border of Sinkiang did not exceed 600,000; the part in Kansu was also thinly populated. In view of the shortage of laborers, especially skilled workers, among the local population, it would be necessary for the Chinese Communists to use forced labor from other areas to work in this remote region. Although no exact information concerning this is available, as reported, out of a total of 23.25 million, about 250,000 persons were forced to work in transportation projects as a whole in 1955. (Wu, Yuan-li. An Economic Survey of Communist China. p. 323.) The armed forces were also employed for this purpose. For example, a unit of the First Field Army contracted with the Communist Government in the spring of 1950 for the construction of the entire T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. According to the news reporter, Robert Guillain, the manpower resources in building the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway consisted of the Northwest Chinese troops (as well as others) who had first "volunteered" to fight in Korea, and after being demobilized in Lanchou had again "volunteered" to remain as civilian workers. ("I Saw Communist China" The Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956, p. 114.) Russian experts, of course, were invited to supervise the railway construction.

B. Highways

In addition to the railway construction which is carried out at full speed in the Northwest, highway building and renovating were greatly developed. There is not much information available concerning new highway construction in Shensi province. The only report available said that during 1954 over 210 kilometers of highway were repaired and 115 kilometers of new highways added, in addition to the renovation of the Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway.

In Kansu, highways radiate from Lanchou towards Chinghai, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Shensi and Szechwan. The most important highways built in 1953 were the Lanchou-Hsia-ho-A-pa (in Szechwan), Hsia-ho-Min-hsien and T'ien-shui-Chang-chia-chuan lines with a total of 630 kilometers. In 1955, over 1000 kilometers of highways were either constructed or repaired in Kansu. One from Lanchou led to the Ching-tai coal field, one ran from Lanchou to the Liu-chia Gorge where the gigantic hydro-electric resources along the Yellow River are located, and another ran from Shan-tan to the Shantan coal area. The 426 kilometer section between Tun-huang of Kansu to Shuerhkuli in Sinkiang was being renovated.

N
*668 In Chinghai Province, three short lines were completed by
491 January, 1954, namely the renovated Lao-ya-hsia sector of the
• 499 Kansu-Chinghai Highway (Lanchow-Hsi-ning Highway), the sector
*175 south of La-chi-shan on the Hsi-ning Kuei-teh Highway originally
planned by the Nationalist Government, and the new Hsün-hua-Tung-jen Highway, with a total of 360 kilometers. Among the publicized trunk lines, the most notable one was the 2100 kilometer Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway. The first part of this line was constructed along the old Chinghai-Sinkiang route, and was originally built by the Mohammedan leader Ma Pu-fang during 1946-1948 (from Sining to Chin-hung-shan), from Hsining to Gormo along the southern edge of the Tsaidam basin, then the highway turning south via Ku-ku-shih-li reached Chi-ting-si-lin, the common point of Chinghai, Sikang (now part of Szechwan) and Tibet, and thence leading to Lhasa in Tibet. The complete Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954. It linked with highways radiating northwest to Sinkiang and east to Lanchou, and met Sikang-Tibet Highway at Lhasa to keep close contact with the Southwestern provinces. Of the old roads, there was the Chinghai-Sinkiang Highway (Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan Highway) which was damaged before 1949, the Hsi-ning-Gormo section of about 800 kilometers which was restored in 1954 as part of the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, and the rest repaired in May of 1955. Along the old Hsi-ning-Sikang route construction began in early May of 1955 on the Hsi-ning-Kuolo Highway of 627 kilometers leading to the Kuolo Tibetan National Autonomous District. Consisting of sections of the Hsi-ning-Hua-shih-hsia (424 kms.) and Hua-shih-hsia-Chi-mai (203 kms.), the Hsi-ning-Kuolo line was completed in November, 1955. The completion of these highways further facilitated the interflow of supplies between the agricultural and pastoral areas and supported the economic construction of the national minorities.

S
491 In Sinkiang, the traditional arterial highways were centered at Urumchi. To the south, one highway at Kurle was divided into two branches and met again in the west at Kashgar to form a circle link around the Taklamakan desert; to the east the highway led through Turfan, Hami toward Lanchou; to the north, a line ran along the Manas River to Sharasume (Cheng-hua); and to the west there were two highways stretching to the Sino-Soviet border, one to Ho-cheng and the other to Ta-cheng. Along the Old Silk Road, from No-chiang, one highway was extended eastward to Tun-huang in Kansu. There were three highways connecting Urumchi with Russia through Ta-cheng, Hocheng, and Kashgar, to link with the Soviet-Turksib Railway stations at Ayaguz, Ilisk, and Andizhan respectively.

C. Civil Aviation

*668 The Chinese Communist Civil Aviation Company, which until
509 the end of 1955 was a Sino-Soviet jointly-owned corporation and
[473] was still entirely adjusted to the Russian system, raised its
[648] service from two to four trips a week from Lanchou via Chiu-
*[175] chuan, Hami to Urumchi. There was another flight twice a week, continuing the route from Lanchou to Sian where two sub-lines existed, one to Peking and the other southbound to Chungking. A third flight, also twice a week, connected Urumchi with Alma Ata through Ili by the Sino-Soviet international route; and the fourth was running inside Sinkiang from Urumchi via Kucha, Aksu to Kashgar.

*668 IV. Conclusion

489 The influential role which the development of transportation
433 and communications can play in the creation of a favorable climate for sustained national economic growth, needs no elaboration. The Northwest which contains many of China's untapped mineral resources, and where the potential of agricultural development is fairly high, is a region where the man-resource ratio is low and the long-run economic potential is promising, provided it is linked with the populous regions of China and the outside world by better transport and a modern system of communications.

Transportation and communications development in Northwest
*668 China used to lag far behind the other regions as did its agricul-
489 ture and industry. After the establishment of the Communist
• 499 regime, transportation construction activities in this area have
178 increased greatly in the form of railway and highway construction. Of the total railway construction in Red China from 1950 to 1955, newly-built roads in the Northwest amounted to thirty per cent. Meanwhile the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway and Chengtu-Paoki Railway were still under way and the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was projected for 1956.

Highways were constructed or renovated mostly along the old
*668 routes already in existence prior to 1949, some of which might
491 not have been motor roads. Among them the most notable ones
648 were the Hsi-ning-Tibet Highway, Sian-Lanchou-Urumchi Highway, Ansi-Tun-huang-No-chiang-Ho-tien-Kashgar Highway and the Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan-No-chiang-Kashgar Highway. Three international highways starting at Urumchi across the Sino-Soviet border linked up with the stations on the Soviet Turksib Railways.
*668 Air transportation was to be established to strengthen the Sino-
648 Soviet relationship from Peking to Moscow via Sian, Lanchou, and
509 Urumchi.

*668 It is true that Chinese Communists had devoted much attention
489 to construction in the Northwest area, especially in the phase of
433 transportation and communication. Aside from their shrewdness

CHAPTER XV

RAILWAY PROJECTS IN SHENSI AND KANSU

The Lung Hai Railway—The T'ung Ch'eng Railway—The Kueihua-Ninghsia Railway—The Han Valley Railway—Other possible railway routes.

NOT a single rail has yet been laid in the whole of the vast region of N.W. China covered by the provinces of Shensi 600 and Kansu, though the need of railways is keenly felt both for commercial and political reasons. In the absence of waterways, such as exist throughout Central and Southern China, means of communication are limited to carts and pack animals, methods of transport which are both slow and expensive, while the vast numbers of ponies and mules employed consume a large proportion of the grain grown in these provinces. This absence of proper means of communication cannot but prevent the commercial development of the whole region, and encourages brigandage and political instability. There is no more vitally urgent reform waiting to be carried out in China than the construction of railways to outlying parts such as Szechuan, Shensi and Kansu. It seems safe to assume that nowhere in the world are there such vast, well-populated, and comparatively wealthy areas still without railways of any kind. Four trunk-lines have been projected through Shensi and Kansu, and there are openings for others. The four projects will first be discussed, in the order in which the concessions or contracts were obtained, for needless to say they are all foreign enterprises.

(1) The Lung Hai Railway from Kansu to the coast, 171
and its extension west to the confines of Turkestan. 499 •

In 1912 a loan agreement was arranged between the Central Government and a Belgian Syndicate (Compagnie Generale de Chemins-de-fer et Tramways) for the construction of a trunk-line from Haichou on the coast of North Kiangsu to Lanchou Fu in Kansu, a distance of more than 1000 miles, with the option of an extension to Suchou in the extreme west of the latter province. The line was to be an

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2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

extension east and west of the existing Kaifeng Fu Honan Fu Railway (called the Pien Lo). Lung is the classical name for Kansu province.

In 1917 the construction of this railway westwards from Honan Fu had reached, and stopped short at, the village of Kuanyint'ang, half a day's march beyond the district city of Mianch'ih Hsien in Western Honan, and about three marches short of the Shensi frontier at T'ungkuan. From here the route projected is somewhat as follows. Through or across a range of mountains to Shenchou on the Yellow River and thence along the big road to T'ungkuan. This stretch presents no great engineering difficulties after the passage of the Kuanyint'ang range, presumably by a tunnel, beyond some deep cuttings in the loess, especially as T'ungkuan is approached. From the Honan-Shensi border the line will cross Shensi from east to west following the fertile valley plain of the Wei River. This section is flat and open, and much of the way the only work required will be an embankment and a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River, the railway keeping to the south of the latter. Traffic will be heavy and remunerative, and the towns touched at will include the great metropolis of the North West, the city of Hsian Fu. From the Shensi-Kansu border near Fenghsiang Fu the line will probably keep as much as possible to the Wei valley up to Kungch'ang and Weiyuan, whence it will pass through the watershed between the Wei and T'ao rivers to Titao. From Titao it can either follow the T'ao River down to the Yellow River, or, more probably, it will cut through the mountains direct to Lanchou Fu. This stretch contains a great many serious engineering obstacles, and is said to entail more than forty kilometres of tunnels; nevertheless it is apparently the easiest way of ascending the three to four thousand feet from the plains of Shensi to the plateau of Kansu, and is certainly less formidable than the existing high road *via* P'ingliang, which crosses the Liupan Shan at a height of some 9000 feet, and passes for the rest of the way to Lanchou through most difficult loess country. The chief difficulties met with on the proposed railway route are the Wei River gorges between Paochi in Shensi and Ch'inchou in Kansu, and the passage

of the two watersheds, between Weiyuan and Titao, and between Titao and Lanchou.

As regards the extension west towards Turkestan, the chief engineering obstacle would seem to be the passage of the Wushao Ling, 10,000 feet; the P'ingfan valley provides an easy approach from the east, but the descent to the west is steep; there may, however, be a way round further north and east, as this range, the backbone of the Nan Shan, falls away in that direction. Further west the line can follow the main road, keeping if necessary a little further north on the edge of the desert, all the way to the frontiers of Turkestan without encountering any serious obstacle.

Generally speaking the Lung Hai Railway is a most attractive proposition through Shensi, but its construction through Kansu is likely to be very costly, and the traffic returns poor. However, sooner or later railway communication is bound to be established between China and Central Asia, connecting up with the Russian line from the Caspian Sea, and such a railway is more than likely to be an extension of the Lung Hai. For, whatsoever this great trunk line may be called, and by whomsoever it may be built, it is pretty well bound to follow the old fortified highway through Western Kansu along the narrow fertile belt between the deserts of Mongolia and Tibet, by which all trade and traffic between China and Western countries was once conducted. With the construction of this important trans-Asiatic trunk line, Kansu province will once more become, what it was in the past, the gateway from China to the West.

(2) The T'ung Ch'eng Railway, from Tatung in Northern Shansi to Chengtu in Szechuan.

In 1913 a loan agreement was arranged between the Chinese Government and a Franco-Belgian Syndicate for the construction of a trunk railway from Tatung in Northern Shansi, down the centre of that province *via* T'aiyuan to P'uchou on the Yellow River, thence *via* T'ungkuan and Central Shensi to Hsian, and thence *via* Hanchung to Chengtu in Szechuan. The period of construction was estimated at five years, but work has not yet been begun. This project is remarkable for its magnitude, but is in other respects not a particularly attractive proposition in view of

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

and costly and require much tunnelling. The Chialing River, on the other hand, flows straight down into Szechuan, and a line down its limestone gorges to Kuangyuan, if practicable, is not unlikely to prove the easiest railway route into Szechuan from the north, or perhaps from any side. In that case Hanchung, which is mentioned in the loan agreement as a point to be touched at, could be connected up fairly easily by a line across the Han-Chialing portage in the neighbourhood, that is to say from Yangp'ing Kuan to Mien Hsien. As regards a line south from Hanchung into Szechuan, the mountains on the Shensi Szechuan border in this neighbourhood though rugged and intricate are not to be compared with the Ch'inling Shan as a barrier to communication, and are pierced by a line of gaps followed by the high road with passes less than 2000 feet above the valleys on either side. As regards the line from Kuangyuan through Szechuan to Chengtu, it is only safe to assume that it will not follow the existing high road, admirable as the latter is as an example of ancient engineering work in the mountains. Probably a route will be found down the Chialing Chiang to Paoning or beyond, and thence west to Chengtu.

(3) The Kueihua-Ninghsia-Lanchou Railway to Northern Kansu.

In the autumn of 1916 an American railway group secured the concession or contract for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China, amongst which was the above line. The Peking-Kalgan-Kueihuach'eng railway, now constructed as far as Feng Chen, a day's march north of Tatung in Northern Shansi, and four marches short of Kueihua, was built by Chinese engineers with Chinese funds provided by the surplus earnings of the fine Peking-Mukden line. It was originally intended to extend this railway from Kueihua Ch'eng across the Gobi to Urga and thence to a junction with the Trans-Siberian line, a scheme which would have entailed years of unprofitable work in the deserts of Mongolia while many densely populated regions of China Proper were crying for railway communication; the present American project consists in a more useful extension of the same line in another direction, namely to the fertile plains of Ninghsia in Northern Kansu.

From the present railhead at Feng Chen to Kueihua

000 Ch'eng the line, if it follows the main road, will pass through mountainous but not difficult country. From Kueihua to Paot'ou it will run across flat corn-growing prairies, where the only work required will be an embankment. Once Kueihua and Paot'ou are reached there should be a fairly remunerative goods traffic, since this road carries a large trade to and from the vast north-west hinterland of Mongolia and Turkestan, whence camel caravans debouch into China Proper at these two points. From Paot'ou to Ninghsia will be flat going all the way except for the passage of the low ranges on the Kansu-Mongolia border near Shihchu Shan (Shihtsuitzu). This section will follow along the northern bank of the Yellow River, through a region which though partly desert contains an increasing population of Chinese settlers, and which is probably capable of great agricultural development with the assistance of irrigation works. Once Ninghsia is reached the trade of North-Western Kansu will be tapped, and, if it can compete successfully with the cheap transport by Yellow River boat and camel caravan across the desert, the railway will carry large quantities of wool collected from the grass-lands of Mongolia and the Kokonor down to Tientsin. From Ninghsia to Chungwei the line will run up the fertile and thickly populated plains along the Yellow River, with flat going all the way save for the passage of a low range near Kuangwu. The local traffic on this section should be heavy and remunerative, and the connecting of these isolated but comparatively wealthy plains by rail with the coast will be an event of great political and commercial importance to North China. From Chungwei to Lanchou the line would run through desert mountain country and will be neither easy nor profitable to construct until the capital is reached. An easier route, but also across desert, leads from Chungwei to Liangchou along the ruins of the Great Wall. On the whole this railway project is a not unattractive proposition, though there are many other regions in China where railway construction is far more imperative, and would be far more remunerative.

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499 It is understood, however, that the above project has been abandoned as far as the American group is concerned, owing to the discovery that another Power possessed

previously existing rights regarding the provision of funds for railway construction in that northern region should the Chinese require the assistance of foreign capital for the purpose. 471 499

(4) The Han Valley Railway.

As mentioned above an American railway group secured in 1916 the contract for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China, but when it came to deciding on the actual lines to be so constructed, it was found to be no easy matter to avoid the previously existing railway rights of other Powers. Eventually, however, it was announced in the press in the spring of 1917 that a line from Laoho K'ou in Hupei up the Han valley into Southern Shensi, and across the divide south into Szechuan, had been fixed upon as one of the railways to be constructed by the American group. This line, opening up as it will the rich but backward 000 upper Han valley, and thence penetrating into Szechuan, the goal of so many unrealised railway projects, from the north, is one of the most interesting and attractive of the many projected lines in China. Its passage up the Han valley should be highly remunerative, while the goods and passenger traffic likely to be secured by a line tapping the rich province of Szechuan has always been held by the planners of Chinese railways to be worth the greatest efforts.

From Laoho K'ou to Hsingan there appears to be the choice of two routes, neither very difficult, namely following the Han River to within a few marches of the latter city, or else outflanking the mountains on the Hupei-Shensi border by following a natural gap further west *via* Chuchi and Pingli. From Hsingan westwards the valley plain of the Yo River leading to Hanyin provides a natural railway route which outflanks the awkward mountain gorges of the Han River in this neighbourhood. From Hanyin a short tunnel will be required to regain the Han at Shihch'uan, whence there would seem to be no alternative, at any rate for the first part of the way, to a route along the difficult Han River gorges in order to gain the eastern end of the Hanchung plain, one of the most fertile and richest regions in China, near Yang Hsien. The latter portion of these gorges might perhaps be avoided by following a route *via* Hsihsiang, a rich and important city worth touching, and thence up the

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501 BOATS--types of water craft (e.g., rafts, skin and plank boats, bark and dug-out canoes, motor boats, sailing vessels, steamships); specialized craft (e.g., ferries, tugs, canal boats, tankers); mode of propulsion (e.g., poling, towing, paddling, rowing, sailing, power propulsion); rigging; machinery; gear (e.g., oars, paddles, rudders, anchors); seating, eating, and sleeping accommodations; etc. This category is designed for descriptive data only. See also:

Power	37	Water transport	505
Cordage	283	Boat names	552
Shipbuilding	396	Naval vessels	716

of the aerial origin of the loess is the absence in it of fossil 487 shells of water animals; but so far as I know such fossils 133 are equally absent in re-deposited loess obviously laid down by water. If the great rivers of South America have deposited the soils of the Argentine pampas, there seems little reason to doubt that the Yellow River has done the same for North China. The desert mountains round the lower end of the [135 Hsining River valley are rich in copper, and before the 316] Revolution a mine was being worked in the neighbourhood with the assistance of a foreign engineer and foreign machinery; it appears to have suffered the fate common to all Chinese official enterprises of this nature, but its failure was not, so far as I am aware, due to any deficiency in the quality or quantity of the ore.

From Hotsuitzu the road continues down the valley which debouches on to the Yellow River 55 li further on. The latter can be crossed by a ferry here, but the path [491] usually followed ascends through a desolate defile past a number of salt pans to a loess plateau, whence it descends to a ferry. The Yellow River is here some 200 yards wide and is crossed by means of a large ferry-boat taking animals. A further hour's march down the Yellow River valley through irrigated fields brings one to the township of Hsin Ch'eng, the end of a stage of 75 li.

From Hsin Ch'eng to Lanchou Fu is a march of 70 li by a good road down the valley through fertile irrigated fields backed by desert hills. This stage can be accomplished [501] rapidly and easily by taking passage on one of the small skin rafts, numbers of which descend the river in the month of August laden with water melons for the Lanchou market. These rafts, composed of a light framework resting on a few inflated skins, are usually small enough and light enough to be carried back up stream on the shoulders of their owners. We were fortunate in striking the valleys above Lanchou during the height of the melon season. The dry 244 heat in these arid valleys at that time of the year was at times truly terrific, and the melons, of which we consumed large quantities on the road, were delicious. The best melons in China are grown in this neighbourhood. We found four varieties; the *tsui kua* and the *hsiang kua*, small and very fragrant sweet melons; the *hsi kua*, the ordinary

CHAPTER XIII

FROM LANCHOU FU DOWN THE YELLOW RIVER TO NINGHSIA AND PAOT'OU, AND THENCE OVERLAND TO KUEIHUA CH'ENG AND RAILHEAD

Yellow River rafts—Currency in the North West—Through the desert hills to Powan—Kansu mules—Sandstone caves on the Yellow River—Chingyuan—Gorges and rapids—Goral—Wufang Ssu—Chungwei—Rafts abandoned for boats—Kuangwu gorge—Irrigation works—Chinch'i and Mahomedan rebellion—Steam and motor navigation on the Yellow River—Ninghsia—Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to become Emperor—Wool boats for journey to Paot'ou—Shihchu Shan (Shihtsuitzu)—The Ordos—Mongol brigands—Liquorice root—Paot'ou—Tibetan lamaism in Mongolia—Kueihua Ch'eng—Feng Chen and railhead.

AFTER returning to Lanchou from Hsining we had finished 487 our work in Kansu and were free to choose the easiest way back to the coast. Needless to say after so many months 133 on the road we decided to return by the Yellow River. For some distance below Lanchou the river breaks its way through a series of mountain ranges, flowing in alternate gorges and rapids, and Chinese travellers taking this route usually go overland to Chungwei, about eight days' march, and take boat from there. The prospect of another long desert journey was not attractive, however, and at first we decided to start on the river from Lanchou itself and chance the rapids; but were eventually persuaded to go overland for three days' march to a village called Powan, thus avoiding the most dangerous rapids which occur immediately below Lanchou. From all I heard on the subject I gather that these rapids really are very dangerous; certainly the ones between Powan and Chungwei are quite exciting enough.

The safest way of descending the rapids of the upper [502] Yellow River is by large rafts, which stand a great deal of knocking about amongst the rocks and rapids without 501 breaking up, and the officials had very kindly arranged for four of these rafts to be placed at our disposal, two for the ponies and two for ourselves. These rafts were thirty to

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PLATE XLI

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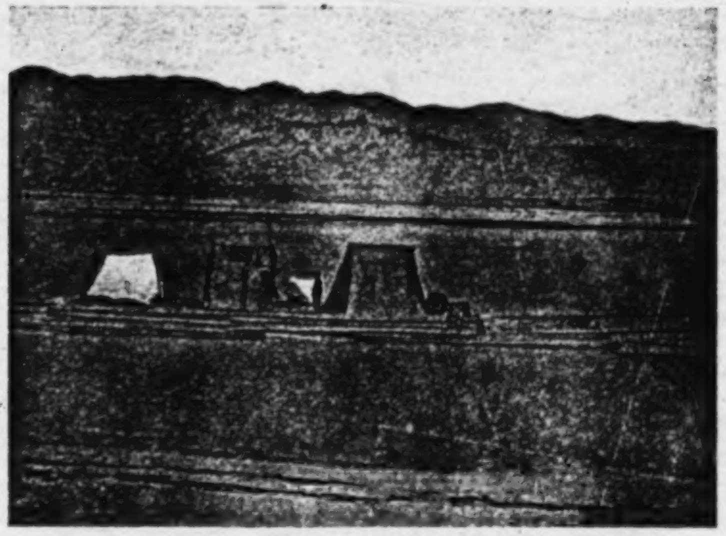
OUR RAFTS ON THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER



OUR RAFTS ON THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER

[FACING P. 180]

forty feet in length by ten to fifteen in breadth, with the lumber piled up in the centre to form a platform a foot or so above the water, on which we pitched our tents; I have seldom struck a pleasanter method of travel in China, the only objection being the floor of pine logs, which meant that if one dropped any small article it was irrecoverable except by taking the raft to pieces. We subsequently learned that we had been lucky in securing particularly fine rafts, as they consisted of a flotilla of telegraph poles *en route* from the Kokonor forests above Hsining to Ninghsia for the construction of a new telegraph line from that place across the Ordos desert to Paot'ou.

We were delayed a few days in Lanchou while our rafts were being got ready and various other preparations being made. It is as well to put a few days' provisions on board to last till one gets to Chungwei; all kinds of presents were thrust upon us in the way of supplies by our hospitable hosts, the Governor and his staff, including a skin bag of the famous dried apricots which are thus exported from Central Tibet—or perhaps they even come from India. A new supply of silver had also to be secured, for at the time we were in Kansu the old-fashioned lumps of silver and strings of cash were still the only currency available; two years later travelling in Shensi and Szechuan we were able to use silver dollars and copper cents even in the most out of the way parts, a great convenience; the buying up of the cash for the export of the copper they contain, which is now going on so extensively throughout China, may be illegal, but it is hardly to be regretted by the tourist in the interior, if it means the gradual disappearance of this dirty and cumbersome form of currency.

We finally left Lanchou on August 26 on our overland march to Powan, distant three marches of 65, 80, and 70 li respectively. The road runs down the left bank of the Yellow River for about 15 li, and then, turning north up a gully, winds through a maze of low waterless hills of loess for the rest of the way to the walled village of Ch'ang Ch'uantzu in the valley of a brackish rivulet, the end of the first stage. The second day's march is through similar desert hills to the hamlet of Hsikou. In places the small shallow valleys are cultivated and produce millet and inferior melons, but

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

the landscape is dreary in the extreme, the population scanty 133
and miserably poor, supplies non-existent, and the water, 487
where it is found, brackish. The third day's march is through
similar country until, 50 li from Hsikou, the trail debouches
from these barren hills on to a small irrigated plain alongside
the Yellow River, which here issues from a cleft in the
mountains; at the further end of the plain lies the long
straggling village of Powan. To the north and south are [361]
bare desolate mountains.

At Powan we abandoned our train of Kansu pack-mules. 492
These particular mules, each carrying between two and three
hundred pounds, had accompanied us for three to four
months, during which period they had covered over 2000
miles without a hitch, with never a sore back, and never one
sick or lame. The Kansu mule is perhaps the finest in the
world; his only drawback is that he requires a lot of grain
and does not do well in the grass country. The muleteers,
Kansu men, walked the entire distance and never gave us
any trouble whatsoever; both they and their animals seemed
capable of going on for ever as long as they both got plenty
to eat. The Kansu pack-mules are all entires, and their
strength and endurance are simply astounding; the mares
are worked in carts.

We found our rafts waiting for us, having accomplished 501
safely in a few hours the journey which had taken us three
days. Two of them were fitted out to take our ten ponies,
and two others had tents pitched for our accommodation;
another carried the soldiers of our escort, and two more
were laden with odds and ends of merchandize belonging
apparently to the owner of the lumber. By midday the
whole flotilla of seven were swirling down the river under
the autumn sun, and as we reclined in front of our tents
and watched the sandstone cliffs shoot by after so many
months of mountain and desert we felt thoroughly at peace
with things generally. The river flowed between low hills of 133
red sandstone with loess superimposed, grass covered on
the right bank and desert on the left. In places small [376]
plains, like that in which Powan lies, opened out on either
side; they were always irrigated by huge water wheels, of
exactly the same type as those so common in Szechuan, and
their green trees and fertile fields formed a striking contrast
to the background of desert hills.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Chinch'i, where we were able to examine some of the wonderful irrigation works which render these huge plains, otherwise desert, so fertile. There are similar works on the other bank near the village of Tapa. Their destruction would turn one of the richest plains in North China into a desert. In the North West irrigation is the key to agricultural prosperity, and though the ancient Chinese have done so much in this region, modern engineers could probably accomplish wonders in turning immense areas of what is still desert into fertile lands. Especially lower down, where the river makes its great bend round the Ordos, there would seem to be great openings for modern irrigation works. 312 133 361

Chinch'i Hsien, formerly known as Chinch'i P'u or Ningling T'ing, is a Mahomedan centre, and was the chief rebel stronghold in the great rebellion. The Mahomedans are still very powerful in this region, where their settlements extend south through Haich'eng and Kuyuan to P'ingliang in Eastern Kansu. T'ung Fu-hsiang's family own large estates in the neighbourhood, which they appear to have acquired after the capture of Chinch'i in 1871 by the latter. This event was the beginning of the end of the rebellion in Kansu, which led to the eventual defeat of Yakub Beg and the recovery of Chinese Turkestan; had the Kansu Mahomedans held out, the reconquest of Central Asia would have been rendered impossible, and the fall of Chinch'i constitutes therefore an event of the first importance in Chinese history. [361] 563 669

Shortly before reaching the neighbourhood of Chinch'i we noticed, much to our amazement, a small stern-wheel steamer tied up to the right bank. An examination through glasses showed her to be a mere rusty skeleton, and our boatmen said she had lain there for years. From subsequent enquiries in Ninghsia we learned that this vessel represented an attempt, made just before the revolution, by the Kansu Viceroy with the assistance of a Belgian gentleman to establish steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. A small river steamer was purchased, transported in sections at great expense overland and put together at Paot'ou. She seems to have made one trip up river, reaching with great difficulty the spot where she is now, and where she is likely 501

PLATE XLIII

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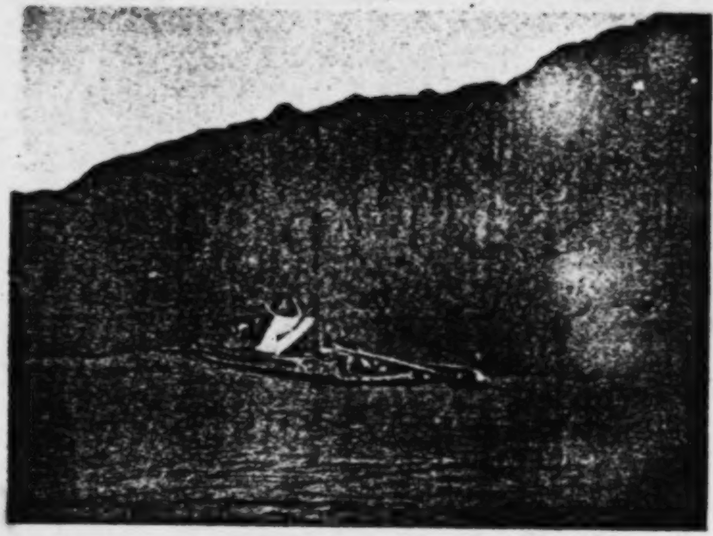


RAFTING DOWN THE GORGES OF THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER

RAFTING DOWN THE GORGES OF THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER

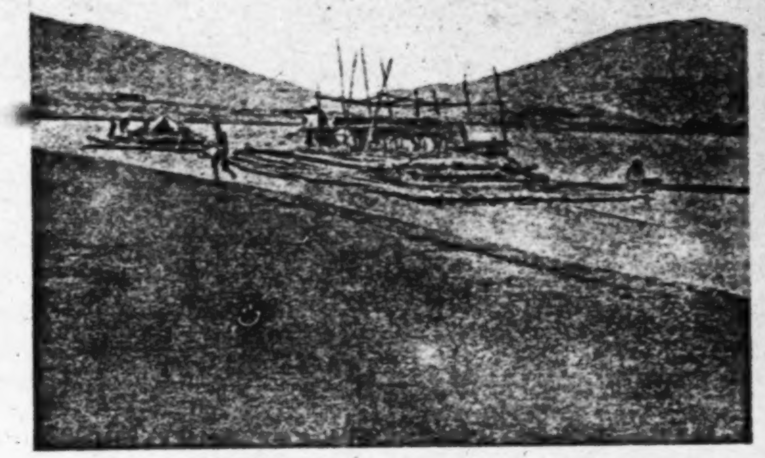
[FACING P. 186]

to remain until she falls to pieces. The Revolution was probably partly the cause of the abandonment of this progressive enterprise, as has been the case in so many others.

The shifting channel is said to be the chief obstacle to steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. There should, however, be a profitable opening for motor boats between Ninghsia and the important mart of Paot'ou, or even from Chungwei down to Hok'ou where the river takes its southerly bend and enters the Shansi mountains. Above Chungwei, to Lanchou, a special type of high-powered shallow draft vessel, similar to that in use on the upper Yangtzu, would be required to overcome the rapids, and the volume of trade and traffic is not likely to justify such an enterprise for many years, if ever. But with the Kalgan-Kueihuach'eng railway pushing on towards the Yellow River and Paot'ou, a motor boat service from that place to Ninghsia would revolutionise the existing means of communication between the coast and Kansu and the North West. Paot'ou is an entrepôt of increasing importance for the import and export trade of the North West and there would be no lack of traffic; the one great objection would be the suspension of the service in the winter. It usually takes months nowadays to reach Ninghsia from the coast going up stream; with a combined motor boat and railway service, even if the latter stopped short at Kueihua, it could be reached in a few days. Below Hok'ou and the southern bend of the river steam or motor navigation is out of the question owing to the many gorges and rapids, one of which, we were told, near the Yümen K'ou, amounts to a small waterfall. Below Yümen K'ou (Lung Men) the gorges come to an end, but beyond T'ungkuan, where the river turns east, more rapids occur, including those at Sanmen, which are said to be impassable for upward bound boats. The navigable section of the upper Yellow River is therefore confined to the Hok'ou-Paot'ou-Ninghsia-Chungwei section, which, however, forms the necessary link between Kansu and the Kalgan railway extension leading to the coast.

Below Chinch'i the river is a broad and placid stream flowing between irrigated and densely populated plains. Beyond Ling Chou the land on the right bank rises, irriga-

PLATE XLIV



OUR PONIES RAFTING DOWN THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER

RAFTS OF INFLATED SKINS ON THE YELLOW RIVER

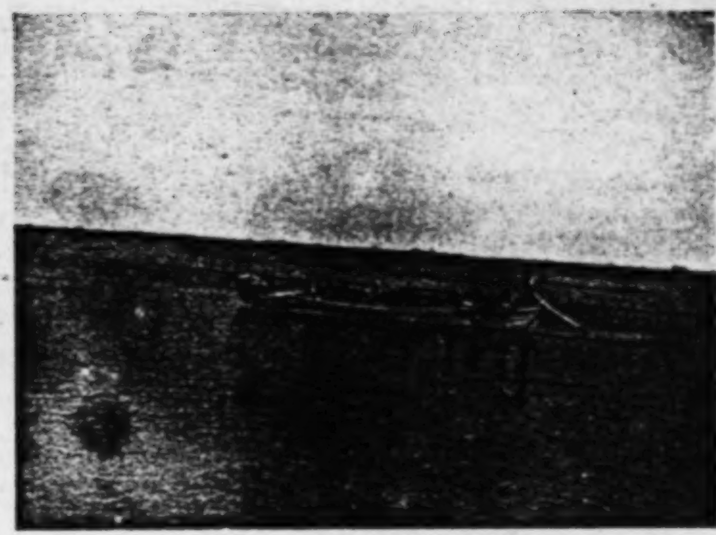
he was living in retirement in Honan after the death of the Empress Dowager he was in secret communication with many of the military chiefs of the new army of his own creation and plotting a *coup d'état*; then followed the revolution, and he was able to advance with consummate skill, under the pretence of trying to keep the Manchus on the Throne, to the positions of Provisional President, Dictator, and Emperor. Other Chinese assure one that he was a faithful servant of the Republic led astray by the ambitions of his family and entourage. Whatever the facts may have been, there is no doubt that Yuan Shih-k'ai would have made a splendid Emperor, and subsequent events have proved that he was then the only man capable of ruling China. The Kansu officials, like those of all the other provinces, were instructed to make preparations for the holding of popular elections for or against a monarchy, which were to follow a joint memorial from the provincial Military Governors, all with one or two important exceptions Yuan's own men, begging their master to ascend the Throne. These instructions were, however, accompanied by secret telegrams regarding the working of the elections, and so successful were these arrangements that Yuan Shih-k'ai was elected Emperor practically unanimously by all the provinces. Everyone throughout the length and breadth of China knew that these elections were a sham and a fraud from beginning to end; but the Chinese are a race of actors, and make-belief enters largely into most phases of their private and public lives, and the farce was solemnly completed. Yet when the standard of rebellion was raised by General Tsai Ao in Yunnan on Christmas Day, 1916, the fraud was soon apparent, and the whole monarchical scheme came tumbling to the ground as province after province, all of which had supposedly announced themselves as unanimously in its favour, deserted the Imperial cause. As an instance of Chinese make-belief (*yu ming wu shih*) the monarchical elections of the autumn of 1916 are hard to beat.

The officials of Ninghsia had kindly prepared two of the large wool boats for our accommodation and smaller craft for the ponies for the journey down river to Paot'ou. Our craft were broad flat-bottomed scows with high sides, and when roofed over with our tents made quite comfortable

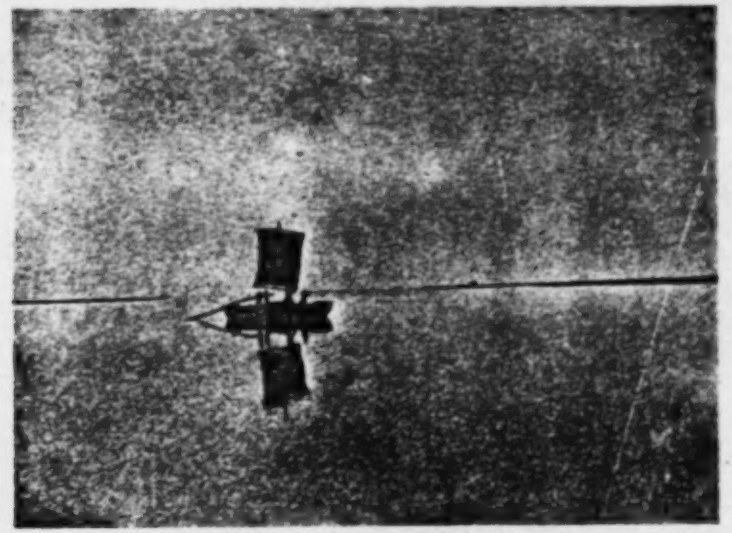
house-boats; they are used for the conveyance of the wool down stream, and are as often as not tracked up empty. For the convenience of future travellers on this route, it may be stated that the hire of one of these large boats from Ninghsia to Paot'ou should be about 35 taels, and of a small boat or raft from Lanchou to Ninghsia about 25 taels; but with a limited amount of baggage the journey can be accomplished very much more cheaply by hiring accommodation on a laden wool boat. The rapidity of the journey depends on the amount of wind met with, as with high winds, which are frequent in the Ordos, the clumsy scows are blown ashore or on to sand-banks, and have to tie up till the weather calms. Night travel is possible part of the way round the Ordos. It is a peaceful journey, navigation consisting in keeping the boat more or less in the middle of the current and watching the banks drift by. The boatmen are mostly Mahomedans, and thoroughly up to their job. We were much delayed by wind and other causes and took ten days to get to Paot'ou, the actual floating time being about 100 hours.

We finally left Ninghsia, or rather Hung Ch'eng, on September 9th and reached Shihchu Shan in the evening of the following day. The weather, as all the way down the river, was beautiful, cold in the early mornings, but brilliant sun during the middle of the day. Between Ninghsia and Shihchu Shan the river is a broad and placid stream with many shallows and islands. On the right hand is sandy desert, the Ordos, now included in the "Special Territory" of Suiyuan; on the left hand the land is still a part of Kansu province, a strip of waste land along the river, behind which lies the irrigated belt, with cultivation, trees, and houses, backed by the Alashan mountains. In places the sands were grey with geese. Shihchu Shan, locally known as Shihtsuitzu, is an unwalled township built of mud, which appears to owe its existence to the wool trade. It is a weird and desolate little place, lying on the left bank at a point where the Alashan mountains and a low range in the Ordos converge on the river, which narrows to a few hundred yards in width. All around are desert hills. The community, consisting of the native agents of the foreign wool exporters of Tientsin, is engaged in drying and re-

PLATE XLV



PONIES EMBARKED FOR THE JOURNEY ROUND THE ORDOS



ON THE YELLOW RIVER NEAR PAOT'OU

bridge has replaced the old bridge-of-boats, which until 491
quite recently spanned the great flood. Green sedan- 634
chairs, we found, were still used by the officials, and the 493
Yamens still retained the grand style which had existed under the Manchu Government—a pomp which entirely vanished from Shansi with the entry of the Republic, and has also since passed from Kansu, with the arrival
of Marshal Feng's armies. We spent three weeks in 797
Lanchow, staying most of the time in the central China Inland Mission compound, but paying visits to the Borden Hospital on the further bank of the river, and to the large boys' school at the foot of the Blue Lotus Hills, both of which are under the auspices of the China Inland Mission, which is the only society working in Lanchow. The whole visit was brimful of interest, and we were particularly struck with the way in which the Christian community had impressed itself on the civic life of the town.

The great Yellow River, during summer months, 502
supplies a waterway by which the journey to Peking may be accomplished in about thirty days by raft.
These rafts are floated by means of inflated goat and [501]
bullock skins, which are roped together and carried very swiftly down-stream. Though the journey is popular, being quicker and easier than if taken by road, yet the element of danger is always present, and Dr. George King, at whose hospital we stayed when in Lanchow, was drowned in May 1927 when travelling by this route. His raft caught on a sandbank, and in helping the men to release it, he fell into the water and was swept away.

During the winter months the river is frozen over and can be crossed on foot. When the stream is freezing, and while it is thawing, the toll of accidents is always heavy. During the whole of our stay the surface of the

Geography of the Chinese Empire, 1908, believes there are 361
500,000 inhabitants; Filchner, Bilder aus Kansu, 1912: 300,000-400,000 inhabitants. The high figures are improbable if only because, according to the census of 1910, all of Kansu has only about 4,000,000 inhabitants and according to the census of 1831 the whole district had only 468,000 souls.

Lanchow fu's chief source of revenue is its tobacco industry. The 249
so-called Lanchow schui yen, that is, the water-pipe tobacco which 439
is greenish in color, bites the tongue and is very finely cut, almost pulverized for the trade, is manufactured here. The Chinese value it very highly and it has for years been shipped far south, to Szechwan and the Yangtze Valley. On the outskirts of the city, in fields irrigated by means of large wooden water wheels (Plate XXXI), practically only tobacco is raised. (3) It is a species that I did not see

3. Besides tobacco, some rice and cotton, poppies, wheat, etc., were planted; only on the Hwang Ho bank and on the islands did groves of pears and peaches, and jujubes and grapes cover a large area.

farther south, with broad, thick, dark green and shiny leaves. In the fall the plants are very carefully pulled out of the ground and dried under straw coverings so that they keep their green color. There are about 20 large hang (manufactories) besides 70 small ones. In these all kinds of other ingredients are added to the tobacco and with the addition of a great deal of hung ma (linseed oil) the leaves are hammered together and pressed into cubes one to two cubic meters in size. At certain times one sees strong workmen everywhere along the streets working in 16-hour shifts, cutting up such cubes with a long plane. The commercial value in the city alone was 2,000,000-3,000,000 marks.

For years there was also a mechanical cloth-weaving industry in 288
Lanchow fu, which had been established in the '70s by the great viceroy Tso ts'ung /152/ and was run by four Germans. But the Chinese officials who supervised it stole so much that it was given up as unprofitable more than 20 years ago.

Because of its location the city is, of course, also a center of 501
transit trade. Wooden rafts consisting of several layers of beams are built here on the Hwang Ho out of wood from Tao tschou. Several

501 dozen whole yak skins are blown up and joined to make rafts and carry wool and other goods that come down from Tibet on camels or small conveyances farther down the river. In 1907 there were eight larger shops where Russian goods of the so-called Tschan tou hui hui - as the Sarts and Turkistan-Turks are called in Kansu - were traded. (1)

1. The number of Russian shops was on the increase. Tschan tou hui hui literally means "Mohammedans with bound heads." This designation comes from the fact that the Turkistan Turks always appear before the Chinese in turbans.

511 As long as I was in the province of Kansu the inhabitants used
651 astonishingly few foreign commodities compared to those of other provinces. The population of Kansu is particularly backward. To be sure, the way to the coast is very far and inconvenient. Besides that, the provincial government introduced a trade monopoly in 1907 on glass, bronze and lacquer goods, and Kansu in any case is regarded as the poorest province of the middle kingdom. Its annual balance is said to be so deficient that for many years other provinces have had to assume responsibility for the deficit. The many soldiers which seem to be necessary for the constantly recurring uprisings are said to be to blame for this state of affairs. The chief reason is, of course, the destruction and impoverishment, a result of the wars. Nor was stealing as prevalent in other provinces as here; the emperor was too far away. Payment of direct taxes, of land tax, is largely in kind. The most ancient registers of landed property are still used to control the levying of these taxes, whereas the farmer himself is taxed on the basis of the amount of land he
[661] has at the moment. In this way the agents of the yamen above all amass great riches.

When I was in Lanchow fu there were few Europeans living
563 there and these were missionaries. My old friend, the Belgian Father Van Dyk lived a quite lonely life in his mission and therefore greeted me particularly cordially. I moved into a camel hostelry outside the city quite near the Catholic mission, so that we could get together for an evening of conversation now and then and no city gates separated us, which were here irrevocably locked at twilight and divided up Lanchow fu and its suburbs into several separate parts. (Plate XXXIII). Mohammedans are not permitted to live here in the center of the city; they may only keep

502

502 NAVIGATION--direction of water craft (e.g., steering, tacking, piloting); watches; laying of courses (e.g., by landmarks, compass); fixing of positions (e.g., by sounding, celestial observations); adjuncts to navigation (e.g., buoys, lighthouses); adaptations to special situations (e.g., docking, running of rapids, portaging, ice-breaking, canal navigation); maritime customs and regulations; shipwrecks; salvage; etc. See also:

Description of lighthouses . . . . 349 Boat racing 538
Optical instruments . . . . 416 Admiralty courts 698
Sea lanes and charts . . . . 487 Military use of radar and loran 718

CHAPTER XIII

FROM LANCHOU FU DOWN THE YELLOW RIVER TO NINGHSIA AND PAOT'OU, AND THENCE OVERLAND TO KUEIHUA CH'ENG AND RAILHEAD

Yellow River rafts—Currency in the North West—Through the desert hills to Powan—Kansu mules—Sandstone caves on the Yellow River—Chingyuan—Gorges and rapids—Goral—Wufang Ssu—Chungwei—Rafts abandoned for boats—Kuangwu gorge—Irrigation works—Chinch'i and Mahomedan rebellion—Steam and motor navigation on the Yellow River—Ninghsia—Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to become Emperor—Wool boats for journey to Paot'ou—Shihchu Shan (Shihtsuitzu)—The Ordos—Mongol brigands—Liquorice root—Paot'ou—Tibetan lamaism in Mongolia—Kueihua Ch'eng—Feng Chen and railhead.

After returning to Lanchou from Hsining we had finished 487
our work in Kansu and were free to choose the easiest way
back to the coast. Needless to say after so many months 133
on the road we decided to return by the Yellow River. For some distance below Lanchou the river breaks its way through a series of mountain ranges, flowing in alternate gorges and rapids, and Chinese travellers taking this route usually go overland to Chungwei, about eight days' march, and take boat from there. The prospect of another long desert journey was not attractive, however, and at first we decided to start on the river from Lanchou itself and chance the rapids; but were eventually persuaded to go overland for three days' march to a village called Powan, thus avoiding the most dangerous rapids which occur immediately below Lanchou. From all I heard on the subject I gather that these rapids really are very dangerous; certainly the ones between Powan and Chungwei are quite exciting enough.

The safest way of descending the rapids of the upper [502]
Yellow River is by large rafts, which stand a great deal of
knocking about amongst the rocks and rapids without 501
breaking up, and the officials had very kindly arranged for four of these rafts to be placed at our disposal, two for the ponies and two for ourselves. These rafts were thirty to

without a scrap of vegetation. A little gold-washing is [316]
carried on in this neighbourhood. There were numerous rapids, over which our rafts rode triumphantly. Navigation,
carried out by sweeps at the bow and stern, consists in avoiding 502
the rocks and sand-banks and keeping the raft clear of the cliffs where the river swirls round a corner. Unless engaged in a particularly fierce rapid but little attention is paid to these cliffs, and on several occasions my raft crashed against the perpendicular wall of rock in a way which would have smashed a boat to pieces, but without doing any damage beyond shifting a few telegraph poles. In the bad rapids, however, where the water is heaped up into the centre of the river in a tongue like the big rapids on the Upper Yangtzu, great care is taken, since the pace is so tremendous that the raft could scarcely survive the impact with a large
rock. Towards evening we noticed large numbers of goral 136
(or wild goat of some kind) in these gorges, clambering about the precipitous cliffs in tens and twenties; one could have shot any number from the raft, but it would have been impossible to stop and retrieve them.

These gorges last for six or seven hours, until finally 133
a picturesque temple on a bluff overlooking the river marks the exit from the gorge and the approach to Wufang Ssu, a boating village in a small plain on the left bank of the
river. Sheep are grazed extensively on the semi-desert [236]
hills in the neighbourhood, and wool is collected here and shipped down river for the Tientsin trade.

From Wufang Ssu the river flows east and north-east again. Two hours further on another long gloomy gorge, with many rapids and whirlpools, is entered, the passage through which takes seven to eight hours; coal is exposed in the cliffs in places. At length the mountain walls give way to huge sand-hills and then to an irrigated alluvial plain, and two hours further on Chungwei Hsien is reached. Chungwei, lying inland about five li from the left bank of
the river, is quite an important town, the centre of a rich [312]
fertile region where the desert is irrigated by canals from the Yellow River, and also a market for the wool trade.

Below Chungwei the Yellow River becomes a broad stream obstructed by sand-banks and shallows, flowing through an immense plain dotted with low hills and irrigated stretches.

N
491 [487] Hsining and Urumchi. It should not be overlooked, however, that
caravan routes (or dirt roads) were still the main auxiliaries to
highway and railway transportation.

In the construction of highways in wartime, emphasis had been laid on building, renovating, and maintaining international lines in order to link the interior provinces with foreign countries. A good example in the Northwest was the 2,674 kilometer highway from Lanchow via Hsin-hsin-chia and Urumchi to Hocheng on the Sino-Soviet border. In addition, the following are among the more important highways built in this region during the war:

1. Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway: This 533-kilometer highway was an important motor-road link between southern Shensi and northern Hupei.

2. T'ien-shui-Shuang-shih-pu Highway: This line of 231 kilometers, from T'ien-shui in southeastern Kansu to Shuang-shih-pu in southwestern Shensi, formed junctions with the Sian-Lanchow and Szechwan-Shensi Highways.

3. A line of 1334 kilometers, linking Ansi in Kansu and Kurle in
N Sinkiang via Tun-huang, was planned in 1942. Between November,
*[175] 1942, and 1943 the 479 kilometer section from Kurle to Nochiang
was completed. Further construction plans were suspended.

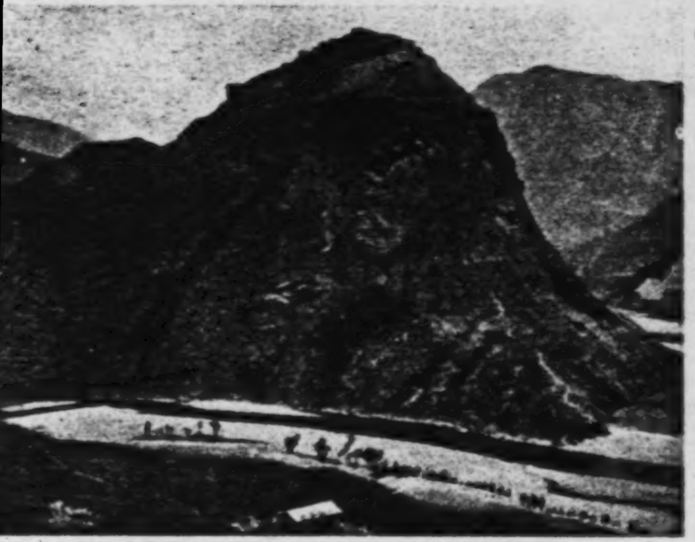
N
491 To cope with the rapidly growing transportation demands, the
485 Nationalist Government had constructed, in 1946, seventy-nine
*[175] New Life Movement Service Stations along the 2,200 kilometer
highway from Kuang-yüan in Szechwan to Chiu-chuan in Kansu, in order to facilitate the movement of migrants from the interior provinces to the frontier area. This kind of station was divided into four classes: the special first class which furnished room and board, medical and postal services and caravan equipment; the special second class, without medical and postal services; general first and general second classes offered much less service. This service was designed to provide travellers with a feeling of security and hence aid the government in its policy of a movement to the Northwest.

N
487 C. Inland Waterway Navigation:

Rivers in the Northwest were not very serviceable. The upper stretch of the Yellow River from Chung-wei to Pao-t'ou in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was navigable, especially for
N a distance of about 100 kilometers around Shih-tsuei-shan, where
487 a steamer line was opened for traffic. The passages from Lan-
501 chou northward to Chung-wei and westward to Hsining were navigable only with ox-hide or sheepskin rafts. In Shensi province, both the Wei and Han Rivers were navigable with boats (not steamers) starting from Hsing-ping and Mien-hsien respectively. In
S
487 Sinkiang, on the upper stretch of the Tarim River, native boats
501 and wooden rafts were used while the Irtych River, starting at

PLATE V

133



CHAITZU (HILL FORT) ON THE CH'IENYU RIVER

501

CANOE BOAT ON THE CH'IENYU RIVER

[Facing p. 28]

stretches. So far our river journey had been a complete success; but now things began to go wrong, and we spent three days making a few miles owing to the rafts constantly running aground, when, owing to their unwieldy weight, it was an extremely difficult matter to move them. The culminating misfortune was a tremendous storm of rain and wind one night, which blew our rafts adrift and scattered them over various sand-banks miles apart in impossible positions. We decided therefore to abandon them, and an appeal to the Chungwei magistrate having produced a couple of small boats, we transhipped our effects, sending the ponies overland to Ninghsia, distant a few days' journey. To be on board a raft stuck on a sand-bank in the middle of the Yellow River for two or three days is a good test of one's patience. I at first passed the time by shooting geese, which here began to appear in some numbers, but had to desist as no one would eat them; the Chinese goose, though a magnificent bird to shoot, is very tough and stringy to eat, and is only palatable if carefully cooked and stuffed. Fortunately the banks were here irrigated and inhabited and one could buy grain and vegetables. Our water supply, as all the way down, was the river; we had no filters, but a pinch of alum in a bucket soon changes the yellow pea-soupy liquid into clear water; another method of eliminating the yellow mud is to scoop a small hole in a pebbly bit of beach, which immediately fills with clear filtered water.

Making a fresh start in our small boats we floated down stream rapidly past several villages for some twelve hours to the walled township of Kuangwu, where the cultivated strips on both banks come to an end, and the large irrigation canal, which commences above Chungwei, rejoins the river. The abrupt cessation of these irrigated lands is due to a range of low mountains through which the Yellow River here breaks its way, and which separate the irrigated plains of Chungwei and Ningan from those of Ninghsia and Chinch'i. The desert everywhere begins where irrigation ceases. The passage through the gorge in these hills below Kuangwu takes about an hour, the exit being marked by temples on either side, and the river emerging on to a vast plain. A couple of hours further down we tied up at a village on the right bank not far from the district city of

to remain until she falls to pieces. The Revolution was probably partly the cause of the abandonment of this progressive enterprise, as has been the case in so many others.

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2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

packing the wool which comes down from Western Kansu by boat on the river and by camel overland, and in collecting local produce from the Mongols. The overland trail from Paot'ou, eight to ten marches from well to well across the Ordos desert, here strikes the Yellow River, crosses by a ferry, and continues up the plain to Ninghsia. Supplies must be laid in at Shihchu Shan to last to Paot'ou, little or nothing being obtainable in the Ordos *en route*.

Leaving Shihchu Shan we passed finally out of Kansu into the Ordos. The river runs for some hours with a rapid current between bare mountains, which gradually recede and give way to sandy desert. After about twelve hours drifting down stream Tengk'ou, a desolate little village in the desert on the left bank, is reached, and some eight hours further on the township of Santaohotzu is passed, where there is a Catholic Mission and a considerable Chinese population engaged in agriculture round the old branches of the Yellow River. The river banks on either side are lined much of the way with a belt of willow scrub, which furnishes a most useful supply of fuel to the boats going up and down. The current is fairly strong through the Ordos, considering the level nature of the country, but we were frequently compelled to tie up to the bank to wait for the wind to drop. On one of these occasions my five ponies, which were being exercised on the bank, took alarm at something and galloped off into the desert. We followed them for miles and then lost their tracks on some hard stony ground. The country was desert without a sign of life except for numerous antelope and an occasional camel turned out for the summer, and the boatmen expressed the opinion that we should never see the ponies again unless we chanced on them further down stream, as though they had galloped off inland they would be bound to return to the river for water. On the following day after having drifted many miles further down we fortunately spied a Mongol watering his camels on the bank, who turned out to have met the ponies inland, and they were soon recovered, very hungry, thirsty, and tame.

Lower down we met again and again with the most violent winds, necessitating long and weary delays in the desert. There was some trouble with Mongol brigands going on in this neighbourhood, and on one occasion shots

were fired at us from the bank, though our boatmen and escort were uncertain whether they came from brigands or from soldiers signalling us to stop; the river being wide, however, and the current swift we did not trouble to enquire. In many places when tied up to the north bank we found the ground pitted with small holes, the work of the liquorice root diggers. This is an old industry which has revived considerably of late owing to a foreign firm commencing to buy the produce for export. The liquorice-producing areas in the world appear to be limited in extent, and this is one of them. Twenty-four hours above Paot'ou the Wula Shan mountains are reached, a bare rocky range running a little inland along the north side of the river, and a prominent landmark from afar. In this neighbourhood the Ordos bank, hitherto uninhabited desert, begins to be populated, and Mongols and Chinese are to be seen with many camels, sheep, and ponies grazing on poor-looking downs. As Paot'ou is approached farms and villages become numerous on the north bank, and the plain between river and mountains is a vast corn-field.

Paot'ou Chen (also known as Hsi Paot'ou) is a large walled town lying a little way back from the Yellow River in the corn-growing plain which slopes up towards the Tach'ing Shan, a continuation of the Wula Shan. It is remarkable in many respects; in the first place it is essentially a new and growing place, unlike the dilapidated and hoary old towns of Kansu, and is the centre of a fertile corn-growing area which a generation ago was unoccupied except by a few Mongols and their flocks. There is probably plenty more good land waiting to be opened up further west, north of the Yellow River, and the curious spectacle may here be witnessed of the Chinese colonising Canadian-like prairies within the borders of their own republic. Secondly, as well as being a cleaning and repacking centre for the Tientsin wool trade like Shihchu Shan, it is evidently a commercial centre of considerable and increasing importance for the import and export trade of the vast hinterland to the west. We found more evidence of trade activity in this isolated town than in any city in Kansu. Unfortunately, situated as it is on the very outskirts of Chinese civilization, Paot'ou appears to have suffered greatly from the prevailing

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

bridge has replaced the old bridge-of-boats, which until quite recently spanned the great flood. Green sedan-chairs, we found, were still used by the officials, and the Yamens still retained the grand style which had existed under the Manchu Government—a pomp which entirely vanished from Shansi with the entry of the Republic, and has also since passed from Kansu, with the arrival of Marshal Feng's armies. We spent three weeks in Lanchow, staying most of the time in the central China Inland Mission compound, but paying visits to the Borden Hospital on the further bank of the river, and to the large boys' school at the foot of the Blue Lotus Hills, both of which are under the auspices of the China Inland Mission, which is the only society working in Lanchow. The whole visit was brimful of interest, and we were particularly struck with the way in which the Christian community had impressed itself on the civic life of the town.

The great Yellow River, during summer months, supplies a waterway by which the journey to Peking may be accomplished in about thirty days by raft. These rafts are floated by means of inflated goat and bullock skins, which are roped together and carried very swiftly down-stream. Though the journey is popular, being quicker and easier than if taken by road, yet the element of danger is always present, and Dr. George King, at whose hospital we stayed when in Lanchow, was drowned in May 1927 when travelling by this route. His raft caught on a sandbank, and in helping the men to release it, he fell into the water and was swept away.

During the winter months the river is frozen over and can be crossed on foot. When the stream is freezing, and while it is thawing, the toll of accidents is always heavy. During the whole of our stay the surface of the

3:Cable & French
AF13 Northwest China AF13

502 water was carrying considerable ice-floes, but one day, at a narrow part of the bed some miles further down, they were arrested, and in a few hours the whole river was piled up, mass on mass, with ice. The impact was so powerful that blocks were flung wildly about in all directions, and with one mighty solidifying spasm the iron grip closed upon the waters, and the Yellow River was ice-bound for months.

CHAPTER IV

LANCHOW TO LIANGCHOW

487 The journey from Lanchow to Liangchow can, under favourable conditions, be accomplished in one week. Half-way between lies the town of Pingfan, at the angle where the cross-roads leading westwards to Sining and Kokonor meet the main North-West road.

133 A few miles outside Lanchow we traversed the dry bed of an ancient inland-sea, circular in form. The high-water mark showed clearly far overhead near the top of the surrounding cliffs, where the stone was worn into the shape of pillars. The bed was strewn with finest sand, and all the water procurable was very salt.
253 It was here that we met the first herd of yak, which was being driven to Lanchow for slaughter, as a large amount of the beef sold in these cities of the North-West is yak meat.

376 The fourth day brought us to the Pingfan valley,
256 down which a watercourse rushed between banks of ice, supplying the power to work a number of flour mills which were grinding, even though their structure
788 was hung with enormous icicles. Here, for the first time, we passed a prayer-wheel, erected below a basin

503

503 WATERWAYS IMPROVEMENTS--description and building of canals; dredging of rivers and harbors; construction of piers and breakwaters; etc. See also:

Water supply	312	Pile drivers	402
Logging	313	Dredges	408
Development of water power	376	Public finance	652

377 653 and the other at San-men which will give an annual output of 110,000 million kilowatts of electricity, ten times the nation's total output of power in 1954.

In San-men gorge, where the river is narrow and its bed solid igneous rock, a dam and reservoirs will be built. The dam will be some 295 feet high and detain in its huge reservoir water to a level of 1,150 feet above sea level. The reservoir will be able to hold back some 47,086,344,000 cubic yards (7,923,600 million imperial gallons) of water. At San-men gorge, a great million kilowatt power station is to be built with an average output of 4,600 million kilowatt hours, equivalent to sixty-four percent of the country's total output of electricity in 1952. A big electricity supply network in central China as well as over the vast rich basins of Wei-ho and Fen-ho rivers in Shensi and Shansi respectively will be built around the San-men gorge; over 2,623,400 acres more land will be irrigated before 1967, for the water levels and the huge waterhead above the dam - the water above it may be close to 230 feet higher than it is below.

At Liu-chia, above Lanchow, another million kilowatt hydro-electric power station will be built with an annual output of 5,230 million kilowatts. It will not only supply ample and cheap electric power to the new industrial enterprises in and around Lanchou and Hsi-ning, but also would free the city of Lanchow from the menace of inundations caused by the overflowing of the river during a flood. In addition, large tracts of land [311] in Kansu as well as Inner Mongolia will be brought under [503] irrigation. Navigation between Lanchou or even Hsi-ning along the Huang -shui, a tributary of the Yellow River, and Paotou in Suiyuan will also be improved.

The two great power stations will mark the completion of the first phase of the plan in the fifteen years ending 1967. Thus the completion of these multiple-purpose plans for flood control, power generation and irrigation works to be built along the mid-course of the Yellow River will bring a new phase in the industrial and agricultural development of the region.

135 2. Iron Ore and Ferro-alloys

Northwest China has a fair amount of iron ore deposits and some ferro-alloy minerals, such as tungsten, molybdenum and nickel.

a. Iron Ore:

Iron ore deposits are found in all the four provinces of Northwest China. In Shensi province, iron ore is widely spread in the Chin-ling and Pa-shan Mountain ranges - extending west to Kansu, east to Honan, and south to Szechwan provinces. It is relatively more concentrated in the districts of Feng-hsien

504

504 PORT FACILITIES--boathouses; piers and docks; facilities for mooring, loading, and unloading; storage facilities; supply services (e.g., ship chandlers, fueling stations); facilities for repair and overhaul; use of natural harbors; etc. See also:

Construction 33
Ship repairs 396
Cranes 406
Weight moving 483
Warehousing 488
Trucking 494
Rail terminals 498

*175 487 648 It was the Mongol Empire under Chingis Khan (1162-1227) which extended her power from the Yellow River through the Northern Road across Asia into Poland and Hungary to the Danube. Marco Polo went to China from Italy in 1275 by way of the Southern Road. Through the centuries, however, the life of the trade routes was subject to frequent fluctuations. There have been interruptions to commerce during the periods of warfare when the Huns came south of the mountains, and the roads were overrun. But as soon as hostilities ceased, the merchants would resume their accustomed task of rebuilding their caravans and carrying loads of goods eastward and westward.

*175 487 [491] [496] These trade routes remained significant through the years until modern transportation was introduced to China. Later on, motor highways were built, based on the old trade routes in this area. The Lanchow-Urumchi-Alam Ata Railway is presently being constructed along the old Northern Road. Even so, caravans still travel throughout the northwest.

II. Communications Development before and under the Nationalist Government

*175 496 A. Railways

In the vast area of Northwest China, there was only one railway line which was an extension of the Lunghai Railway running to Shensi province. This railway is an east-west trunk line, starting from a seaport in Kiangsu, running through Honan and Shensi, and now into Kansu. Construction was started on different sections as early as 1903, but owing to civil strife only the 810 kilometer section from Taipu Harbor near Haichou in Kiangsu in the east, westward to Ling-pao in Honan, was completed prior to 1930. Construction on the section from Ling-pao to Tung-kuan, a distance of about seventy kilometers, was initiated in 1930 and completed in August, 1932. It was extended another 130 kilometers to Sian in December, 1934. Service was inaugurated before 1937 on the last section in Shensi from Sian to Paoki, a distance of 170 kilometers.

[504] Because of obstructions in Taipu Harbor, a new port at Lien-yün was built in 1935 to serve this railroad. In the same year, a thirty-seven kilometer extension to join the new port with the trunk line at Hsin-pu was completed.

During the war, railway construction in the Northwest was emphasized. To solve the serious shortage of coal on the Lunghai Railway, a branch line of about 138 kilometers was created in December, 1940, from Hsien-yang northward through San-yüan and Yao-hsien to Tung-ch'uan in Tung-kuan county. Despite the extreme shortage of rail-building materials and manpower, work on the extension of the Paoki-T'ien-shui section began in 1939 and

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505 WATER TRANSPORT--number, types, and distribution of shipping services; passenger and freight capacity and traffic; sailing schedules; fares and freight charges; booking arrangements; specialized personnel (e.g., line and engineer officers, crews, longshoremen, traffic agents); organization (e.g., shipping companies); regulation; etc. See also:

Marine insurance 456
Labor unions 467
Corporate organization 478
Government subsidies 664

V. The Chinese Moslems

*563 795 [162] A. Population

According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

*563 795 144 142 The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses. *563 795 181 Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans) also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies. Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or; "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concordantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers [441] and innkeepers. They are known for their skilled salesmanship "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram)

[505] The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

*563 795 771 Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exercise Sufism (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

*563 795 186 a. Chinese

The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

mountains, pine trees, and clear streams flowing through narrow cultivated valleys abounding in pheasants.

The following day we crossed another low pass, the boundary between Shang Chou and Shanyang districts, and then followed down a winding ravine for the rest of the way to Shanyang Hsien. The latter is a tiny place hidden away in a wilderness of red sandstone hills and mountains.

At Shanyang we struck a recognized road of sorts leading south to a place called Manch'uan Kuan on the Hupei border, whence boats can be taken down a stream called the Chia Ho across a corner of N.W. Hupei to Paiho Hsien on the Han River, and thence up stream again to Hsingan. To get into a boat wherever possible is the aim of every Chinese traveller, which, though rarely attainable in North China, is very natural considering the state of the so-called roads and the hardships of long overland journeys, and my Chinese companions were unanimous in discovering that this was the only possible route to Hsingan. But the object of our journey being—to use the expression of one of my French-speaking colleagues from the Wai Chiao Pu—"de parcourir toute la province de Shensi aussi rapidement que possible," I had no intention of taking a boat journey across N.W. Hupei, nor to waste a week in being dragged up the Han from Paiho Hsien to Hsingan; and therefore announced Chenan Hsien to be the next stage in our journey, this place lying to the S.W. and appearing to offer an alternative route. This produced a flood of expostulations and protests in regard to the difficulties of that road, which subsequently proved not unfounded. The district magistrate on being referred to admitted that there was quite a good trail to Chenan, and said that the difficulties of this route were reported to lie between the latter place and Hsingan. However, adhering to our usual practice, we made Chenan, distant about 230 li, three days' march, our immediate objective.

The first stage was an easy one of about 60 li. The trail lay down the valley for three hours' march to a point where the latter ended abruptly in an impassable gorge, and then turned up a ravine to the west, which was followed to a low pass with a steep descent the other side to the hamlet of Niuerhch'uan, lying in a small valley in the usual red sandstone mountains.

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509 AIR TRANSPORT--number and distribution of airlines; passenger and freight capacity and traffic; mode of conveyance to and from airports; flight schedules; fares and freight charges; booking arrangements; specialised personnel (e.g., pilots, navigators, radio operators, stewardesses, ground crews, sales force); private and public operation; mail subsidies; government regulation; etc.

See also:

Postal system 208
Government aid 654
Military air transport services 708

Cheng-hua via Burchun crossing the Soviet border to Ozero Zaisan, was navigable from April to November. It is reported that steamers under 500 tons were able to sail along its lower course.

D. Civil Aviation

Civil airlines were initiated in 1924, the first route running from Sian via Lanchow, Hami to Urumchi. A north branch line was created from Lanchow via Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) to Pao-t'ou with a south branch line from Sian via Han-chung and Chengtu to Chungking. After 1932, a new line was inaugurated from Shanghai via Nanking and Lanchou to Urumchi. In 1935, an aviation station was established at Tah-cheng on the Sinkiang border in accord with the Sino-Soviet civil air aviation agreement to improve postal service between the two countries. However, some of the air lines were changed during the war. The Chungking-Han-chung-Paoki line of 530 kilometers was inaugurated in January, 1945, thus eliminating Sian as a regular port of call. The 1995 kilometer Chungking-Lanchow-Chiu-chuan-Hami line resumed its run in March, 1945, by extending the original Chungking-Lanchou line to Hami by way of Chiu-chuan. (The Sian-Lanchou -Urumchi line was no longer a regular line during the war.) Thus within Free China, regular air lines were focussed at Chungking. In addition, planes might be chartered, if necessary, for places like Sian, T'ien-shui, Hsining and Ninghsia which were not stops of the regular lines. Ma Hung-k'uei, the governor of Ninghsia, in order to maintain the seclusion of his province, obstructed regular calls at Ninghsia.

III. Communication Development under the Communist Regime

A. Railway Building and Planning

1. T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway: This 346 kilometer section was the extension of the Lunghai Railway which had already been in existence prior to 1949 from Lien-yün via Cheng-chou, Loyang, Sian and Paoki to T'ien-shui. Construction on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou line was begun in 1950 and completed in October, 1952. It links the Lunghai with the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway. However, according to a Nationalist report, twenty-seven per cent of the construction work on this section had been done during 1947. Another source indicated that in August, 1947, the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section was under construction. (von Lochow, H.J., China's National Railways, p. 77.)

2. Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway: The Communist laid great stress on the project of running a line westward from Lanchou via Yü-men and Hami to Urumchi in Sinkiang for a distance of about 2800 kilometers. Construction was initiated at Lanchou on

C. Civil Aviation

The Chinese Communist Civil Aviation Company, which until the end of 1955 was a Sino-Soviet jointly-owned corporation and was still entirely adjusted to the Russian system, raised its service from two to four trips a week from Lanchou via Chiu-chuan, Hami to Urumchi. There was another flight twice a week, continuing the route from Lanchou to Sian where two sub-lines existed, one to Peking and the other southbound to Chungking. A third flight, also twice a week, connected Urumchi with Alma Ata through Ili by the Sino-Soviet international route; and the fourth was running inside Sinkiang from Urumchi via Kucha, Aksu to Kashgar.

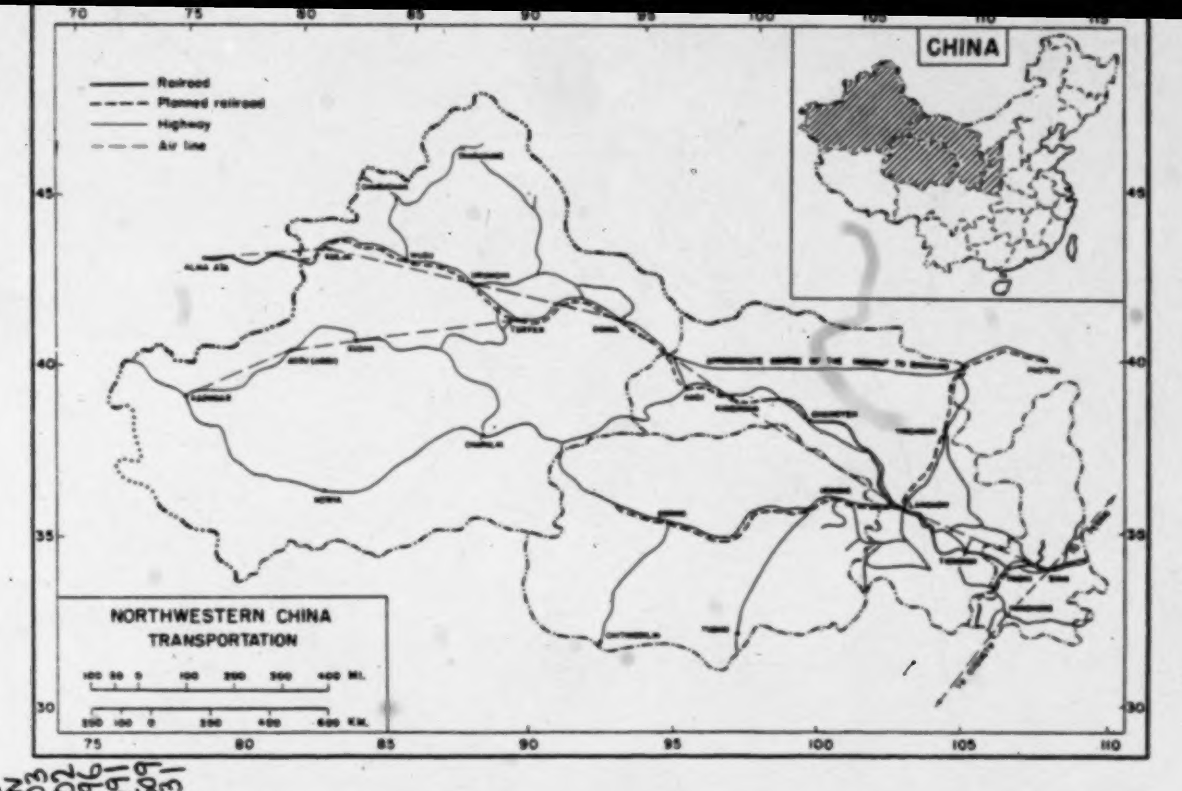
IV. Conclusion

The influential role which the development of transportation and communications can play in the creation of a favorable climate for sustained national economic growth, needs no elaboration. The Northwest which contains many of China's untapped mineral resources, and where the potential of agricultural development is fairly high, is a region where the man-resource ratio is low and the long-run economic potential is promising, provided it is linked with the populous regions of China and the outside world by better transport and a modern system of communications.

Transportation and communications development in Northwest China used to lag far behind the other regions as did its agriculture and industry. After the establishment of the Communist regime, transportation construction activities in this area have increased greatly in the form of railway and highway construction. Of the total railway construction in Red China from 1950 to 1955, newly-built roads in the Northwest amounted to thirty per cent. Meanwhile the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway and Chengtu-Paoki Railway were still under way and the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was projected for 1956.

Highways were constructed or renovated mostly along the old routes already in existence prior to 1949, some of which might not have been motor roads. Among them the most notable ones were the Hsi-ning-Tibet Highway, Sian-Lanchou-Urumchi Highway, Ansi-Tun-huang-No-chiang-Ho-tien-Kashgar Highway and the Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan-No-chiang-Kashgar Highway. Three international highways starting at Urumchi across the Sino-Soviet border linked up with the stations on the Soviet Turksib Railways. Air transportation was to be established to strengthen the Sino-Soviet relationship from Peking to Moscow via Sian, Lanchou, and Urumchi.

It is true that Chinese Communists had devoted much attention to construction in the Northwest area, especially in the phase of transportation and communication. Aside from their shrewdness



[following page 704]

511

511 STANDARD OF LIVING--ideal standards and actual levels of quantity and quality in regard to shelter, clothing, food, and other consumers' goods; extent to which actual levels fall below the minimal requirements for normal, healthy living; results of statistical studies (e.g., of family budgets); cultural standards of indulgence and luxuries in excess of minimal biological requirements; etc. See also:

Health and welfare	74	Leisure-time activities	517
Nutrition	146	Gradations in wealth	556
Population policy	168	Social classes	565
Diet	262	Ownership of dwelling	592
Housing	362	Taxation	651
Prevalence of home ownership and tenancy	427	Poverty	736
Income and purchasing power	434	Educational statistics	871
Wages and salaries	465		

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
361 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
[351] which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
[342] house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
[621] the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
[614] bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

631 The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
[532] stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
[172] figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
• [511] upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

largely attended, as many as eighty men and women 212
registering in one locality. The majority were illiterate. 871
We therefore considered it best to insist on all students 797
becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and 312
in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so 511 •
low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A 241
few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, result- [578]
ing in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep [733]
poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened, to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

501 dozen whole yak skins are blown up and joined to make rafts and
carry wool and other goods that come down from Tibet on camels
or small conveyances farther down the river. In 1907 there were
eight larger shops where Russian goods of the so-called Tschan tou
hui hui - as the Sarts and Turkistan-Turks are called in Kansu -
were traded. (1)

1. The number of Russian shops was on the increase. Tschan tou hui hui literally means "Mohammedans with bound heads." This designation comes from the fact that the Turkistan Turks always appear before the Chinese in turbans.

511 As long as I was in the province of Kansu the inhabitants used
651 astonishingly few foreign commodities compared to those of other
provinces. The population of Kansu is particularly backward. To
be sure, the way to the coast is very far and inconvenient. Besides
that, the provincial government introduced a trade monopoly in
1907 on glass, bronze and lacquer goods, and Kansu in any case is
regarded as the poorest province of the middle kingdom. Its an-
nual balance is said to be so deficient that for many years other
provinces have had to assume responsibility for the deficit. The
many soldiers which seem to be necessary for the constantly recur-
ring uprisings are said to be to blame for this state of affairs. The
chief reason is, of course, the destruction and impoverishment, a
result of the wars. Nor was stealing as prevalent in other provinces
as here; the emperor was too far away. Payment of direct taxes, of
land tax, is largely in kind. The most ancient registers of landed
property are still used to control the levying of these taxes, whereas
the farmer himself is taxed on the basis of the amount of land he
[661] has at the moment. In this way the agents of the yamen above all
amass great riches.

When I was in Lanchow fu there were few Europeans living
563 there and these were missionaries. My old friend, the Belgian
Father Van Dyk lived a quite lonely life in his mission and there-
fore greeted me particularly cordially. I moved into a camel
hostelry outside the city quite near the Catholic mission, so that
we could get together for an evening of conversation now and then
and no city gates separated us, which were here irrevocably locked
at twilight and divided up Lanchow fu and its suburbs into several
separate parts. (Plate XXXIII). Mohammedans are not permitted
to live here in the center of the city; they may only keep

there was little peace in and around the place. Every room of my 533
inn was filled, mostly with young men. By the light of the custom- 527
ary smoldering lamp dozens of them crowded around the coal braziers 563
which the innkeeper had set up, in their thick sheep furs, and sang
part songs with melancholy trills and yodels and snickered and laughed
and mocked the ones who were no good at it. All this lasted until
morning. They were all happy like contented and very well brought
up children. It was always long after midnight before the singers
would gradually, one after another, fall silent. Then girls and boys
would lean sleepily against one another and remain thus until the sun
awakened them and they began their fun anew.

But I found it difficult to come closer to the Tu ren. They shyly 563
withdrew from me, avoided me wherever they met me, and many 609
of them obviously disdained me. To them, as to the Tibetans, a 123
stranger was uncanny and seemed to them an extremely dangerous
creature who stands in close communion with death and the devil.
Many of them had seen only few white men, some, none at all,
and never one who wore Western clothes. /253/ On the other hand,
much Chinese coolie gossip had reached their ears. They knew very
definitely that our medicines are made of human hearts and chil-
dren's bones. It took days of encouragement on my part and a great
deal of baksheesh before I could get any of their legends and songs
and persuade some of the men to let me photograph them and take
anthropological measurements. It was particularly difficult because [511]
the Tu ren are largely well-to-do and intelligent farmers and be-
cause the harvests had been good in the preceding years. They said:
"We do not understand why you want this, such a proposal has never
been made to us and we do not need your money and your presents."
The few men I was able to measure were extremely frightened and
twitched at every single measurement. More than a dozen ran off
at the first touch of the measuring instrument, as excited as though
it were a matter of life and death. As for measuring Tu ren women,
that remained a pious wish on my part. (They were usually around
1.5 meters tall.) They were all afraid that they would thereby be-
come sterile for life. In a few years, when Europeans become more
familiar to them it may be an easy matter to make up for my failure.

It is often said that the Mongoloid peoples and especially the 152
inhabitants of China are much more calm, stoical and self-controlled
than we Europeans. I discovered the opposite to be the case. The
Chinese very easily fly into uncontrollable fits of rage which makes
them capable of almost anything. It is also well-known, of course, 000

512

512 DAILY ROUTINE--succession of activities throughout a typical day; time of arising and retiring; hours of work and relaxation; daily chores; longer rhythms (e.g., weekly, monthly); etc. See also:

Annual cycle of economic activities 221
Mealtimes 264
Housecleaning 356
Distribution of labor and leisure 461
Holidays 527

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long
line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which
was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place,
and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow.
An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where
life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers
marched in and out, and much official business was done, for
this was an important military center and the officer in command
held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the
place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly
resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to
be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to
walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert
stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where,
twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[525] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[276] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a
fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves
in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of bliz-
zard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were
dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by
[574] the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the
three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed them-
selves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the
properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their
belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating
stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sun-
rise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling
by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of know-
ledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her
712 wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to
the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them
come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand
the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which
they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to
bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they
[432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and
handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably
believed none of them....

712 The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the
512 large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things,
[701] and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up
the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover-
[352] lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into
[276] the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon
that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed:
443 "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the
(186) elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis.
They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely
to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-
supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in
regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of
marriages arranged between their own children and those of other
181 towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative.
436 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable,
441 "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained.
Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coin-
age on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at
it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down,
weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tun-
hwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless
cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became
therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other
towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When
the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome,
merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused
one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the
dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing
man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head
of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year
issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin
stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town
absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's
effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was
offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would
use it.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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312 51 241

your sins to God, and ask Him to incline the heart of the Mandarin to restore the water to this district. Meanwhile, let everyone of you fetch his own spade, and supply my men and myself with tools, and we will see what can be done by clearing the canal in preparation for the water for which we have just been praying.' In an hour's time the preacher and men, having thrown off their coats, were digging hard, and repairing the channel. Two days later, Dr. Kao received a summons from the Civil Magistrate of Kanchow, requiring his medical assistance. Before he left the Yamen, the Mandarin said: 'What is this I hear about you and your men, digging out an irrigation-canal at Hehcheng—Black City? I really think something ought to be done for those people over there; as soon as I am rid of this illness, I will enquire into the matter.'

A few days later the water which so long had been withheld poured down the canal, and a new life began for the inhabitants of Black City.

On the occasion of our visit, they had just reaped their first harvest, and some were eating wheaten-bread for the first time in two years. Their homes were almost denuded of the necessities of existence. When we entered many of the barest farms, the women dared not descend from the *kang* to receive us, their rags only covering their nakedness while sitting huddled together, and girls of eleven years of age went about entirely unclothed. Yet even in this poverty-stricken place gifts of food were brought us daily—a few eggs; a bowl of green wheat steamed till the grains burst; a handful of garlic picked wild in the fields, or a bunch of the desert-grown, edible plant (Nostoc commune flagelliforme) known as 'hair-grass,' from its likeness to black human hair;—all these things and many others were presented to us in token of friendship and goodwill.

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distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. They informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kiln-burnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the salt tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impossible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

bid her farewell, before she would permit the sacred words to pass her lips she washed her face and combed her thin hair, feeling it to be disrespectful to the One True God to address Him unprepared. Such a soul as this, met with on the road of life, one can never forget. She was ripe for the Call; and she heard it, and was glad.

The next city is Ansi, which also bids fair to disappear under the encroaching sands, as these have already drifted round it as high as the top of the wall. It is a cold, storm-swept place, exposed on every side, and with neither coal nor wood obtainable. The wind is said to blow every day in the year, but in the winter it is so fiercely terrible that all shops are closed, and everything is at a standstill. Every household then lives, eats, and sleeps on its dung-warmed *kang*, nor is it surprising that so many while away the weary hours with the fumes of the opium-pipe. Ansi lies at the cross-roads, where the great track from Suchow turns off towards Hami and Eastern Turkestan, meeting also the main road to the Oasis of Tunhwang, four stages to the south-west. The fame of Tunhwang had already reached us. We had entertained at Suchow a party of American archaeologists from Harvard University, who had recently been there for the purpose of seeing its art treasures. Not being able, however, to fulfil their purpose, they were returning to Peking, carrying away a rather unfortunate impression of the Tunhwang population, and they warned us that we should find them turbulent and somewhat rough-spoken. This did not alarm us, however, as our search was for treasure of a different kind, which called for excavation of another, and less obvious nature.

515

515 PERSONAL HYGIENE--*frequency and methods of bathing and laving; use of washing and bathing facilities; use of soap and other cleansers; use of towels; conception and idealization of cleanliness; miscellaneous hygienic practices (e.g., brushing of teeth, washing of hair, removal of body lice); etc. See also:*

Bathing apparel	292	Ritual uncleanness and purification	783
Laundering and cleaning	296	Sexual hygiene	833
Hairdressing and cosmetics	302	Sexual modesty	834
Bathhouses	343	Menstrual hygiene	841
Soap manufacture	389	Cleanliness training of children	863
Bathing resorts	520		

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

In all the valleys and on all the fields everyone was busy with cultivating anew. Men and women were naked to the waist, the men wore short knee pants, the women had let their caftan shirts which hang down to the ankles /312/ slip off their shoulders. Short blouses are worn only by wealthy people and when the weather is cool. The women, even more than in China, take part in the field work. Perhaps the reason for this lies only in their greater poverty and not in the fact that their feet are not so crippled. Here, too, the custom of not washing prevails. From Mr. Ruhl I learned that the Tao tschou Chinese also do not like water; as children they are washed on the tenth and fourteenth day of their lives and again on the first day of the third month and that is all until they are grown up and themselves perhaps feel the urge to wash occasionally, as for instance at their wedding before they put on the beautiful borrowed or rented ceremonial dress. The use of soap was, at the time of my journey, known only in the chief cities of Kansu and instead people used the pods of the soap tree, Gledichia xylocarpa H., introduced from Szechwan. T 291 T C 515

In the Dohar and the valley of Labrang the fields are allowed to lie fallow every second year. Since the little dung that is available, insofar as it is not used up entirely in the kitchen, is not sufficient as fertilizer, the inhabitants use the ashes of the bushes and woody roots which are gathered in the nearest scrub forests and the steep ridges between the fields. These are slowly burned and reduced to ashes in the fields under an earth covering, and are then scattered and plowed under. The plows are of Chinese origin and the ox which pulls it is harnessed with the Chinese collar hame. Strangely enough, however, the Amdo farmers have not taken over the harrow from their neighbors. The women beat the clods of earth with wooden mallets that resemble croquet or polo sticks, and tread the earth smooth with their feet. Loess is to be found everywhere in Amdo, even though often only in thin layers, or in scant remnants and in drifts formed by the wind. T 241

The houses and fields are preferably set on loess heaps, but I do not remember ever to have seen loess caves. The threshing of the grain is begun late in the year. The stone threshing rollers of the Kansu Chinese are never used, but people thresh on the rooftops of the houses with a flail, the 60 centimeter long tip of which is fastened by means of a cross nail to the upper end of the handle so that it rotates like a wheel. At each rotation of the tip an Om mani padme hung is rapidly recited.

516

516 POSTURES--bodily positions assumed in standing (e.g., with feet apart, on one leg, leaning against a support, slumping); relaxed postures (e.g., sitting, squatting, kneeling); recumbent postures (e.g., reclining on elbow); occasions for assuming particular postures; ideas about correct postures; motor habits not elsewhere described; etc. See also:

Motor habits in the use of artifacts	41	Dance postures	535
Nervous habits	157	Dramatic postures	536
Gestures	201	Etiquette	576
Furniture	352	Military drill	702
Gaits	481	Genuflection	782
Positions in sleeping	513	Positions in sexual intercourse	833
Positions in elimination	514		

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agriculturalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
[181] against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they take readily and successfully to farming.

[142] There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short, round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prominent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[177] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

[181] On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cautious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

*563 342 352 353 The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour, and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a heap of dried ox dung for fuel. [237] [372]

b. Food

*563 262 [241] [489] Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high altitude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley meal) and tea.

*563 264 [262] There are no regular meal times in most households. In winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day; in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

496 is in the last stages of decay, and the carriages are usually overrun with soldiers, Honan being one of the military reservoirs of man power for the Northern armies. The plain
133 of the Lo Ho in early April, covered with vividly green winter wheat and dotted with pink and white fruit trees, all against the background of everlasting brown loess, forms a striking picture. The loess scenery between Cheng Chou and Kung Hsien is most remarkable, and the tourist who wishes to see a good example of this weird formation, with its perpendicular precipices and chasms, need not go further afield than this corner of N.E. Honan.

496 From Honan Fu a construction train, consisting of a string of open trucks packed with Chinese clinging like flies to every available spot, crawls slowly through the loess, which gradually gives way to reddish hills, past the little city of Mienchʻih Hsien to the village of Kuanyintʻang, where the famous Lung Hai railway comes to an abrupt end, as though aghast at the appalling distances ahead. Immediately in front is a mountain range which will presumably have to be tunnelled to reach Shen Chou on the Yellow River. No more construction work has been undertaken at the time of writing, though surveys have been made up to Lanchou Fu. It is said that the plans allow for over 40 kilometers of tunnels before that place is reached. The concession is a Belgian one. The sight of the swarms of Chinese packed into the string of open trucks running backwards and forwards on this incomplete section testifies to the popularity of railway travel on this road and to the great number of travellers.

493 At Kuanyintʻang the traveller must hire carts or pack mules for the journey to Hsian. The latter are preferable, especially if it is likely to rain, as the mud in the loess cuttings on this much travelled road defies description. If the traveller has not brought his own ponies, a mule litter (*chiaowotzu* or *shantzu*) is a necessary accessory to a
493 train of pack mules. This is a rough litter made of sticks and matting in which the passenger reclines carried by two
516 mules, and is not likely to appeal to a foreigner as a pleasant method of travel. A Chinese is satisfied to be carried like a recumbent log in this contrivance for weeks on end, emerging at intervals for his meals; but the more active-

minded foreigner is apt to find it intensely wearisome. 493
A pony which can pace a little (the five mile an hour amble, in Chinese, *tsou*) provides on the whole the least tiring 516
method of travel in the North Western provinces; chairs are little used except in the Southern portions, and always entail trouble in getting bearers. We used ponies and pack mules throughout our journeys.

Leaving Kuanyintʻang there is a drop into a ravine and 487
then a stiff climb of a few hundred feet to reach the pass 491
over a range of mountains, the watershed between the Lo and Yellow rivers. This ridge is really the end of one of 133
the principal ranges of the Chʻinling Shan, the one which runs east and west right across Shensi immediately south of the Wei River. From the pass the road descends through undulating country to the township of Changmao Chen, where one is once more in the loess. From here it crosses a loess plateau, with typical valley rifts on either side, finally descending for the last mile to the village of Tzuchung. Changmao and Tzuchung, called 40 and 65 li from Kuanyintʻang respectively, are both used as stages for halts, but if the journey to Hsian is to be done in good time it is best to try and reach Shen Chou, another 50 li further on, on the first day's march. The road descends through deep loess cuttings to reach the latter, a little city on the banks of the Yellow River.

The traffic on this road is immense and an almost [484]
constant stream of carts and pack mules, laden mostly with cotton and hides on their way from Shensi to the coast, is met. In wet weather the mud is appalling; in dry weather the dust is if anything worse. There may be a happy mean, but the traveller who strikes it can consider himself lucky. The first time we travelled this road was in the mud; the second time, during the dry weather in early April, in the dust. In such weather the road is entirely hidden in vast clouds of dust in which the traffic is permanently shrouded. Those who have had experience of loess dust, which is so fine that it can be almost rubbed into the pores of the skin, will know what this means. The horseman can sometimes get away from the main road and its ankle-deep layer of dust by following small paths through the fields; but the passengers in carts and mule litters have to put up with it

513 European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like
[197] the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of Tʻao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and
272 further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal)
262 of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

142 There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the
516 Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

487 From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-
133 covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky gorge to a small monastery called Kʻachia Ssu (all our names
[792] are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to
[137] ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

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517 LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES--standards of amusement, recreation, and artistic appreciation; distribution of leisure time between active and passive, between social and individualistic, and between culturally preferred and less preferred pursuits; esthetic ideals and principles; canons of taste; levels of appreciation and "culture"; etc. See also:

Recreation	52	Distribution of labor and leisure	461
Artistic expression	53	Social classes	565
Entertainment	54	Visiting	574
Education	87	Religious activities	78, 790

of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods, but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.

The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and government, can be described as the average conception of the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.

Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, of course, the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia, became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep inclination towards Communism.

In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms, play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow. Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

These formed the stream of living men and women who moved up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

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521 CONVERSATION--loquacity and reserve; boasting and shyness; conversational patterns (e.g., idle chatter, rambling discourse, discussion, argument); occasions and places; participants; typical subjects (e.g., weather, news, gossip, politics); privileged and unprivileged communications; etc. See also:

Interpersonal relations	57	Oratory	537
Stylistics	196	Story telling	538
Verbal news dissemination and rumor	203	Debates	544
Drinking establishments	278	Lying	577
Idling and loitering	461	Gossip and intentional silence as a means of social control	628

depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

/The Tibetans/

*563 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door
574 After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a
576 wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter
The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They
562 have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to par-
796 ticipate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

*563 d. Customs

527 On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-
881 age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do
[302] their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the
[292] households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts.
[574] After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social
[431] functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in tra-
584 ditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the
[787] horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and
[675] katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male
583 bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his
584 own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bride-
585 groom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long
line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which
was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place,
and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow.
An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where
life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers
marched in and out, and much official business was done, for
this was an important military center and the officer in command
held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the
place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly
resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to
be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to
walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert
stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where,
twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[529] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[276] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a
fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves
in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of bliz-
zard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were
dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by
[574] the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the
three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed them-
selves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the
properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their
belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating
stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sun-
rise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling
by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of know-
ledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

3;Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AL1~~

we strolled between the flower-beds listening to singing 351
birds, which, alas! were in cages concealed among the branches of the trees. The arrangement of the garden was highly skilful and artificial. In one place a miniature mountain showed tiny paths connecting shrines and temples, all built to scale, while the whole was watered by the ramifications of a sparkling little stream, on the banks of which stood diminutive men, women and children—the whole happy-family scene conveying the impression of a life spent in Elysian
fields, which no disturbing element could touch. A good 351
deal of the verdure in the flower-beds was supplied by 262
asparagus plants, known to the Chinese as 'Dragon's
Beard,' which seems to be indigenous to Kansu, but [824]
which, strange to say, the people do not care to eat. [137]
Many are the bitter weeds, leaves and buds which the Chinese cleverly convert into palatable food, but the delights of asparagus have not yet been discovered by them, and it is distressing to a Westerner to see the shoots allowed to go to leaf without ever being cut.

The meal served to us was of the usual kind, com- 262
mencing with dessert and *hors d'œuvres*, and proceeding to chicken, fish, birds' nest soup, and sweet rice; then reverting to sharks' fins, seaweed, and apricot-kernel syrup; ending with plain boiled rice, rolls, and several basins of vegetable soups with meat balls, while on this occasion a seasonable dainty was provided in the shape of light fritters, made from the petals of the tree-peony. As we were by now on a footing of intimate friendship with these ladies, the social intercourse and delightful food thus prepared for us made a pleasant interlude coming between the exacting claims of the last days.

Late one evening a Suchow man of our acquaintance, 521
Mr. Li by name, called, bringing with him a gentleman 172

asking if he might leave the precious egg with us for the night, as his friend was afraid of losing it. [521]

The next day he fetched it away and we saw him no more, but some time later news reached us that, unable to restrain his curiosity, he had broken it open but failed to find the jewel within!

11th June, 1926, was the day decided on for our departure. Our explicit orders had been that all three carts must be completely packed by the evening of the 10th, as we should leave at daybreak on the 11th. For days past everyone had worked ceaselessly, yet the sunset of the last day saw various small jobs inevitably held over until the next morning. The nine mules were only brought back newly-shod from the farrier's after dark. Had we been so inexperienced as to question why this important job should be left to the last afternoon, the answer would have been: 'Had anything occurred to delay your departure, the shoes at present in use would have lasted another three weeks, and what a lot of money we should have saved you!' 000

On the 11th we all rose at 4 a.m. in order to start before the great heat began. We drank a single cup of tea, after which the kettle, teapot and cups were packed into the food-basket and stowed away in the recesses of the cart. Men ran hither and thither; neighbours came in to say last farewells, while a crowd of our beloved children ran in and out to report generally on the progress made. It was, however, midday before our carts left the compound, yet had we suggested the possibility of dinner, there must have been a further delay, so we suppressed our desire for food, and made a start. Never had our carts been so heavily laden, and as each fresh bundle appeared, the crowd of bystanders sighed, announcing openly that no mules could possibly accomplish what was expected of ours! There was

000 then quickly succeeded in getting back the stolen goods and even the people who were most guilty. Later on soldiers had to be sent to Tombu mda only because the French government insisted that the body be handed over. But it had been thrown in the Yangtze Kiang and the soldiers returned without having accomplished their mission.

574 291 During my stay in Dankar I was invited to a pleasant dinner at the house of the ting, along with the officers of the place, the colonel, major, first lieutenant and a few second lieutenants, as well as a few Chinese compradors of European firms in Tientsin. Among the countless dishes the most interesting this time was the tasty Koko Nor fish which has no scales but an unbelievable number of bones. Although we all sat in the small workroom of the mandarin we were, of course, all dressed in the thickest furs which consisted of Tibetan lynx, snow leopard from Himalaya, Manchurian fox or fine lamb skin, according to the size of one's pocket-book. This made for an extremely motley assortment, for everyone wore his costly fur on the outside in order that all could see what he had on. Although I wore a thick fox fur under my Prince Albert I was nevertheless far too shabbily dressed and was often asked by the voluminous Chinese - many of them were not content to wear only one fur - whether I was not cold. I believe that at that time I had scarcely half the girth of a Chinese and that I must have looked like a ray of sunlight between the fat colossi. Our [354] feet with their felt soles several centimeters thick we braced against the edge of a coal brazier which was the sole source of heat in the room. Charcoal briquettes were used and they had a dreadful odor. 574 521 It was therefore a long time before anyone noticed that the felt shoes of two of the guests who had got too near the fire were slowly being charred. Finally the ting asked very politely whether he might say something unpleasant and whether they were sure no one would feel hurt about it. He addressed his question to two lieutenants. They were sitting on pins and needles waiting to hear what unpleasantness their superior might know about them. But the rascally ting let them dangle for a long time until they themselves began to feel what was wrong, until even their thick socks finally began to smoulder. In the Kingdom of the Middle the loser is the last who need /182/ worry about derision. The stiff wax-like faces of the Chinese gentlemen now took on life. Before that only one at a time had spoken while the others had slowly rocked back and

[text continues on p. 302]

forth from their hips, either sideways or forward and backward or even diagonally, according to the available space, always with an ingratiating smile - I was getting quite dizzy from it all. Now they became animated. The spell was broken. Drinking games were begun. Everyone wanted to tell an amusing story. Funny riddles and witty sayings were brought up as well as caustic stories of how mandarin so-and-so made a fool of his superiors and subordinates and directed a golden spring onto his acres. Even after the meal was over the party did not break up immediately, as is customary and even good form after a more formal dinner. In the adjoining room Japanese cigarettes and tobacco pipes as well as rice wine were offered and in one corner on a kang where the host slept there was a place for opium-lovers. As usual the pipes had already been prepared by the servants. The opium was first offered to each one in turn, and to me first because I was the guest of honor. I, of course, politely declined. I would not even have known for sure how to go about smoking opium, for it is an art. But the second in order, the colonel, then the major, and on down the line to the lieutenants with the charred soles, all of them lay down one after another on the kang which was covered with the most elegant knotted rug from Turkistan and heated from underneath with horse dung, lifted up the richly ornamented opium pipe with both hands and, with a silent nod, as though inviting the other guests and the host, took a few puffs and handed the pipe to the next person. Thereupon the smokers, wittier and more animated, again took part in the general conversation. C 574 521 C 574 276

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/183/ CHAPTER V

To the Koko Nor

In a small valley meadow a few hours south of the city of Dankar I had bought eight yaks from Tibetans of Tombum da who had come to Dankar to carry on trade. With these eight yaks and five mounted servants whom I had armed, as well as a few pack ponies, I left Dankar on January 11, accompanied also by a sergeant with a few soldiers. Ten kilometers farther west I passed the last frontier guards (Plate XXXIX) and before nightfall I came to the Gomba soma monastery (Chinese: hsin se, meaning "new monastery"). By journeying via Gomba soma, I was on the military road to the north T 792

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524 GAMES--playthings (e.g., dolls, blocks, mechanical toys); games of dexterity (e.g., string figures, tops, juggling, kite flying, billiards); problem games (e.g., riddles, charades, puzzles); games of calculation (e.g., chess, checkers, card games); special childrens' games; occasions for playing games; participants and spectators; special equipment; rules; organizers and sponsors of games (e.g., cliques, clubs, churches, communities, business organizations); etc. See also:

Childhood activities 857

shops there, but must leave the central part of the city before darkness sets in. 563

There had been a great deal of progress since my first visit to the city in the spring of 1904. In the summer of 1905 the old, very reactionary viceroy was replaced by one who had been in Berlin and Petersburg. This man had sent Splingaert, the interpreter of Baron von Richthofen, known to every Sinologist, /153/ in order to find European engineers who should open up a new era for the province of Kansu. He wanted to re-open the cloth factory, and build sugar and champagne factories. The very good coal mines which lay a short day's journey south of the city were to be made more accessible by means of a small railway. But above all, a university and technical school were to be opened, and, for strategic purposes, an iron bridge built across the Hwang Ho. 651 185 [316]

That was the program which everyone was discussing in this city of no newspapers, but there were for the most part unbelievably exaggerated and distorted rumors about it. Because a Chinese province is an independent unit, the governor-general was obliged to raise a large part of the funds which were necessary before he could carry out his program. He therefore wanted to open up another mint in which special Kansu money was to be coined and the silver and gold for this he wanted to get from the provincial government. He therefore needed European foundry experts; prospects of mining concessions for Europeans no longer existed here. But everyone knew that there was gold as well as silver in Kansu; for Kansu, like Szechwan, borders on Tibet and since ancient times gold has been washed in the rivers on the border. [436] [316]

It was in connection with this very program that I came into frequent contact with the higher officials during my three-weeks' stay in Lanchow fu. I was often obliged to attend Chinese dinners at which the Chinese are so fond of testing the drinking capacity of a foreigner. Their drinking games are particularly dangerous, being a sort of morra in which the loser must empty cups the size of a thimble, filled with warmed whiskey. For linguistic reasons alone it is very difficult for foreigners to win. But I found that the cultivated Chinese and Manchu begins to warm up to a foreigner when the latter, through this sort of thing, comes closer to him as a human being. Thus I learned the game "dry" from one of my servants and in the course of time I had many a "Chinese queue" on my conscience. I was amazed to see how brief the emotional flare-ups of these people were; or could they, perhaps, even if they had had too much of a 574 524 574

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525 GAMBLING--laying of wagers on games, athletic contests, and spectacles; betting; lotteries; special gambling devices (e.g., roulette wheels); calculation of odds (e.g., bookmakers, parimutuel machines); informal gambling; gaming houses and their operation; gambling as a method of finance (e.g., government lotteries, church bingo games, hospital sweepstakes, club slot machines); specialists (e.g., gamblers, croupiers); prevalence of and attitudes toward gambling; restrictions and regulations; etc. See also:

Debts	426	Illicit gambling establishments	548
Speculation	456	Conception and manipulation of luck and chance	777
Horse racing	541		

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 361 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life. 712 701

712 512 517 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that howling wind, they would say frequently.

[525] [521] [276] [567] The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms, play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] [574] [545] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow. Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

712 485 484 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 712 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

527 574 gentlemen acquaintances, it being the social custom that no woman should pay calls before the fifth of the month. Each visitor was duly offered tea and light refreshments, and each on leaving laid on the table his scarlet visiting-card.

527 525 The next morning[1] early, the main street was converted into one long casino for the purpose of gambling, each croupier spreading a table, bordered by cash strung on red cords, and to these tables the townsmen and villagers flocked to enjoy the excitement of play for high stakes. For three whole days the crowds were so dense that no horse traffic of any description could pass. On the flat mud roofs the women gathered in swarms to watch the fun. All had painted their faces, and wore brilliant dresses of green, pink or scarlet, while artificial flowers decked their hair. But underneath all this gay scene many a tragic shadow was concealed, and darkness had scarcely closed in when the Mission compound was aroused by urgent calls for help, the doctor being sent for to save, if possible, the life of a woman who, driven to despair by her husband's losses, had tried to kill herself. During the next few days many were the cases of suicide dealt with; some for an overdose of opium; others for swallowing the white face-powder which was always at hand; others, again, jumped down wells, or cut their throats; while one woman, more determined to end her miseries than the rest, had eaten handfuls of whole dried peas, after which she had very deliberately swallowed several bowlfuls of water, believing that no medical aid could possibly avail to restore her to life.

527 796 Within a week from New Year's Day came another ceremonial date, named 'The Greeting of Spring,' when this season is represented by a roughly-modelled, symbolic mud-cow, whose body is filled with dried

[1] [the New Year Festival--Analyst]

that relatively few Chinese are able to withstand certain temptations, that they can easily be persuaded to the excessive use of stimulants. Countless millions of Chinese succumbed to opium and every visitor to China, even those who have seen only a few coastal towns, is struck by the astonishing number of gambling games that exist. Everywhere there are countless professional gamblers and in most cities there are special places where these gamblers meet. In Wei yüan bu this place was a large open garden. This was sought out above all by countless Chinese from Hsining fu and by Mohammedans of the vicinity. There were almost always more than one hundred players to be seen there. They sat in a circle on the ground, squatting on their heels, kneeling or with legs tucked under. They played go pai, a cross between our cards and dominoes, in which betting is part of the game itself. Among other games there was also one money game often played which corresponded to our "heads and tails."

The amount of money that changed hands was enormous, especially if one takes into account the currency prevailing there. Many a peasant and day laborer who entered the fair grounds with his entire year's earning in his pockets, left it a beggar, after having gambled away even his holiday clothes. No wonder that heads grew hot and hands trembled with excitement.

On one of the first days when I visited the gambling place one of the Mohammedans who the summer before had carried on the dangerous occupation of gold-washing, far in the interior of Tibet, had just lost his entire yield amounting to 40 taels. As soon as his money was gone he began ranting blasphemously. At first his words made sense, but soon he had /254/ talked himself into such a passion that he began hitting the by-standers senselessly. At the very first blows the Chinese cried: "He has gone mad!" and before he could do any serious harm he lay bound on the ground. The diagnosis which the Chinese had made so surprisingly quickly, proved to be correct. I sent to my pharmacy in order to give the man a sedative. But before it arrived - a half day after the attack - he died in the arms of the ahun and his father who, in despair, had scratched his own face bloody. Two similar cases occurred during the fair. They reminded me of the well-known cases of Malayans running amok. Mr. Ridley told me later on that such seizures are remarkably frequent in and around Hsining among Dungan as well as Chinese. He attributed the phenomenon to the high altitude.

out of the question. During the second watch we were visited by wolves and their constant howling made sleep impossible. My dogs were mad at this disturbance and answered with angry barking, and the surrounding rocky mountains intensified this concert of the steppes with endless echoes. On the third day we again came across traces of human beings, finally discovered a distinct path and soon saw people. We found a few dozen tents of the Tscham ri Tibetans, and around noon we pitched our tents on the small grassy plain in front of the Schara khoto walls (Plate LVII).

The extremely jovial Schu be Tsch'en, the captain of Schara khoto, with whom I was well acquainted from my previous visit, arrived accompanied by his non-commissioned officers and official interpreters and was friendliness personified, although he must have cursed me inwardly for once again disturbing his peace and meditation. After the initial formal greeting, we embraced like old friends and exchanged presents. He asked me above all for European gunpowder because he could not get any at all or none that was good, from his superiors. His thick accent, his many "f" and "pf" sounds instead of the North Chinese "sch" and "tsch" respectively, betrayed the fact that he was a man of the people from "Lan dpfu" (Lanchow fu). He was an officer who had risen from the ranks. This schu be did me a great favor by sending a messenger the very first evening to the amban of Hsining fu to inquire after the promised /280/ escort. I had notified the amban of my change of plans and the reasons as soon as I got to Kue de and had reminded the old gentleman of his promise. But up to now I had received no answer.

At Captain Tsch'en's orders, a uniformed soldier with a loaded gun always had to help my men tend the animals during my five-day stay at Schara khoto. However, none of the soldiers inspired me with confidence. They were 15 and 16-year old boys, and yet the Chinese mature more slowly than Westerners. Besides, the entire garrison indulged in opium and were, without exception, obsessed with gambling. And indeed, what else should these people do with their time in this godforsaken place? Once a month there is drill, otherwise, except for carrying messages, there is no official duty for the men. Throughout the rest of China the soldiers can carry on a little trade or agriculture on the side. But in Schara khoto there is nothing to sell, the caravans pass heedlessly by and on the few fields only wild oats grows and even that ripens only every few years. It is easy to see how little profit there is in animal husbandry, considering how much is stolen, for Tibetans passing by take all the animals that are not carefully

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526 ATHLETIC SPORTS--*forms of exercise* (e.g., hiking, swimming, skating, skiing, riding, mountain climbing, calisthenics, gymnastics); sports of pursuit (e.g., hide-and-seek, paper chases); individual contests (e.g., foot races, jumping, weight lifting, boxing, wrestling, archery, hoop and dart game, javelin throwing, trap shooting, bowling, tennis, golf); team contests (e.g., tug-of-war, boat races, lacrosse, hockey, football, baseball, basketball, polo); occasions; participants and spectators; special equipment; rules; associated ideas (e.g., sportsmanship, amateur status, value of physical fitness); organizers and sponsors of sports (e.g., clubs, schools, business organizations, promoters); etc. See also:

Fishing and hunting	22	Racing and fighting with animals	541
Recreational structures	348	Commercialized sports	542
Locomotion	481	Manufacture and distribution of sporting goods	549
Athletic clubs	529	Military training	702

lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students thus treated have been reported.

Another factor which influenced education was the austerity movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment, facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office. This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shensi, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, without contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minority groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

2. Higher education

Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense. The second includes political training institutes. The third includes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's attitude toward land must have been different from that of the people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood. Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might mean nothing.

Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This complication influenced not only political and social affairs but also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in the province of Chinghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from China Proper, chung-yüan. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrimination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political, economic, and military positions and they were the predominant group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese toward the Moslems.

About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou, Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communities stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the partici-
181 pants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship
526 distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son,
[593] if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce
as that between two other persons.

*563 In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-
speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite
[184] different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-
speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race
different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group.
Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their
co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the
basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the
racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another
[178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional bar-
riers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting
*563 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the north-
177 ern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and
learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders
were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered
them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools
and learned the Chinese language they immediately become use-
ful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of
learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the
southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his
wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans
in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous
observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced
798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent
*563 incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we
have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in mat-
795 ters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border
differ from those already described in that they place a greater
emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Con-
fucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become
almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course,
give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confu-
cian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the
Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possi-
bly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear
more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao
district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the seden-
621 tary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organiza-
tion permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in
184 the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped
527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received
545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly on
their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of his
cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252/

541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners and
527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged
563 horse races, i.e., each of the competitors felt he had the best
pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been
ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is
generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was
general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistanced
his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators,
at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together,
then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly
gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips
which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shouted
and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, scream-
ing with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances re-
ceived the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thumbs,
and praised the horse and the cleverness of its rider to the skies.
Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track which
extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the midst
of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luck
with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, every-
one became critical and the owners who had previously been less
fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once
[492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Moham-
medans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic horse-
men, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost hori-
zontally against the horse.

[526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just as
at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells. But
[273] the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Round
about the fair-grounds groups of men and women assembled, especial-
ly young people. They gathered into groups according to the tribes
and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of barley
schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a
533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds among
527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love, of
563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at night

527

527 REST DAYS AND HOLIDAYS--days reserved for rest from labor; conceptualization (e.g., as harvest celebrations, as patriotic or commemorative occasions, as reserved by religious taboos); secular festivals (e.g., harvest, housewarming, patriotic); birthdays and anniversaries; holiday activities (e.g., feasting, drinking, visiting, games, pageants); etc. For ceremonies associated with specific economic activities see elsewhere under specialized categories (e.g., agricultural ceremonies, see 24). See also:

Potlatches	431	Feasting	574
Distribution of labor and leisure	461	Victory celebrations	727
Leisure time activities	517	Taboos	784
Pageants	541	Religious festivals	796

/The Tibetans/

*563 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door
574 After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a
576 wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter
The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal.
It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave
immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They
562 have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to par-
796 ticipate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the
monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on
the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put
on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments,
and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village
form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the
temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to
witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

*563 d. Customs

527 On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-
age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do
881 their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the
[302] households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts.
[292] After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social
[574] functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with
[431] men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any
man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in tra-
584 ditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who
are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the
[787] horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the
parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and
[675] katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the
terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male
bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his
583 own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in
584 money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of
the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the rela-
tives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes
for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in
livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the
family.

*563 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bride-
585 groom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who
bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for
the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

whom he introduced as a friend travelling from Urumchi to Lanchow. Pending the moment when he should declare the object of his visit, we engaged on a conversation which, starting with enquiries regarding our respective ages, family circumstances, and the reason of our living in Suchow, led on to the cost of living, the local money exchange, and various other topics of interest. After some time thus spent, the stranger drew from his pocket an object wrapped in a cloth which he unfolded, and produced a petrified egg, asking if we were interested in such things. Mr. Li explained that he could not expect travellers of our experience to marvel at a mere egg, but the man said : 'Eggs of this kind are scarce, and some foreigners give big prices for them.'

'Where did you find it ?' we asked.

'It was picked up in the Gobi Desert.'

'What are you going to do with it ?' we enquired.

Mr. Li bent forward and explained *sotto voce* : 'The egg is greatly coveted by a powerful Official, and this merchant has had to leave Turkestan on that account. He is willing to part with it, but says its price is one hundred pounds.' Both men looked questioningly at us, but the offer elicited no response, so the owner of the egg shook it vigorously, whereupon a slight gurgle was heard, and his eyes glittered with delight.

'He says that is a jewel rattling inside,' explained Mr. Li.

Our advice was that he should take his treasure to Lanchow, and show it to a famous Swedish archaeologist who was living there.

'He can tell you all about it,' we said : then, with unpardonable stupidity, added, 'Whatever happens, do not let it get broken !'

He thanked us, exchanged some more polite words, and Mr. Li then revealed the main object of the visit by

Part of the complicated debt-system in which the 527
whole of China's financial organisation is involved, is 426
the general settlement of accounts, which takes place in the last month of the year. A son's inheritance of debt often exceeds the property devolving on him by the death of his father, which debt he hands on in turn to his own children. A creditor always claims large interest, which is due to be paid in the twelfth moon, but in order to collect the amount the problem is when and how to find the debtor. For many are the subterfuges and evasions practised by the impecunious, when the voice of the unwelcome visitor is heard in the distance—back-doors, roof-apertures, gaps in walls, all come in handy, and 'not at home' is the usual policy! During the final five days, the city is noisy throughout with the sounds of wrangling, quarelling and violent invectives, the uproar increasing in a regular *crescendo* until the appointed time when each family must gather within its own walls, to observe the religious rites necessary for the auspicious ushering in of the New Year. From this moment, suddenly, everything changes! Men, who a few hours before were heaping curses on each other's heads, now meet with urbane countenances, and exchange bows suitable for a Court function. Cordial greetings are also mutually expressed, and as with a sponge all animosities are, apparently, wiped off the slate of memory, while the whole population gives itself over to merry-making and feasting.

Long before dawn we were awakened by the sound of 527
bursting crackers; temple-bells were clanging, gongs 574
were booming, and the subtle perfume of incense crept into our room. As soon as the doors were opened, every man in the compound, dressed in his best clothes, came in to pay his respects, and from then onwards, throughout the day, we received visits of ceremony from all our

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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527 gentlemen acquaintances, it being the social custom
574 that no woman should pay calls before the fifth of the
month. Each visitor was duly offered tea and light refreshments, and each on leaving laid on the table his scarlet visiting-card.

527 The next morning[1] early, the main street was converted
525 into one long casino for the purpose of gambling, each
croupier spreading a table, bordered by cash strung on red cords, and to these tables the townsmen and villagers flocked to enjoy the excitement of play for high stakes. For three whole days the crowds were so dense that no horse traffic of any description could pass. On the flat mud roofs the women gathered in swarms to watch the fun. All had painted their faces, and wore brilliant dresses of green, pink or scarlet, while artificial flowers decked their hair. But underneath all this gay scene many a tragic shadow was concealed, and darkness had scarcely closed in when the Mission compound was aroused by urgent calls for help, the doctor being sent for to save, if possible, the life of a woman who, driven to despair by her husband's losses, had tried to kill herself. During the next few days many were the cases of suicide dealt with; some for an overdose of opium; others for swallowing the white face-powder which was always at hand; others, again, jumped down wells, or cut their throats; while one woman, more determined to end her miseries than the rest, had eaten handfuls of whole dried peas, after which she had very deliberately swallowed several bowlfuls of water, believing that no medical aid could possibly avail to restore her to life.

527 Within a week from New Year's Day came another
796 ceremonial date, named 'The Greeting of Spring,' when
this season is represented by a roughly-modelled, symbolic mud-cow, whose body is filled with dried

[1] [the New Year Festival -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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fruits, emblematic of fertility. To burn incense before this grotesque monster came the highest official of the city, in his green sedan-chair, while groups of workmen of the various trade guilds formed themselves into pageant scenes and walked round the town in procession. Needless to say, this was for us also a very busy day, with the result that later on, while itinerating in the country, we frequently were welcomed by people in their homes, who showed us books bought from us on that occasion.

On our return home, we found our landlord's family in a strange state of confusion, and learnt that, during their absence, while merry-making with their friends, a beautiful fur gown had been stolen from the eldest daughter's room. We soon realised that they were more disturbed by the incident than the actual value of the garment warranted, and the fact soon came to light that there was in existence another member of the family of whom we had hitherto never been aware, namely, the ne'er-do-well eldest son. From gambling and opium-smoking, he had gradually sunk so low as to become a member of a gang of thieves, and it was undoubtedly he who had walked into the empty house, opened his sister's cupboard and abstracted the valuable robe.

After the doors were closed for the night, all the senior members of the family clan were called in, and a solemn conclave was held. The father himself was a typical specimen of a gentleman of the ancient school. Tall and thin, with a straggling grey beard, he wore large goggles, and finger-nails two inches long. Daily he might be seen pacing up and down the path of his loved flower-garden, smoking a long pipe with a slender stem, regarding, doubtless, the theoretical care of his pretty plants as the fitting, final occupation of a con-

it under heaven."

The common people usually call the city of Lanchow fu, Gao lan hsien, after the title of the sub-prefect or head of the district (hsien) who has his seat there and who chiefly deals with the people. (1) The city lies close to the right bank of the Hwang Ho where

1. This post of Gao lan hsien was supposed to be a very busy one but poorly paid. These officials were therefore usually transferred to a good sinecure after a year. If they knew how to make a good impression on their superiors and relieve them of a great deal of work, they usually got Tsin tschou in the following year. I heard of a mandarin who three times changed over from one of these posts to the other, i.e., in one year he had to supplement his salary, whereas in the next, his earnings were very good.

the latter narrows down for a short distance to a width of only 250 meters. There is no other place up and down the river where there is a similarly favorable spot for crossing over.

Each winter at this place the Yellow River is frozen over for at least one and one-half months, so that even heavily-laden freight wagons can drive across. The opening of this natural bridge which took place toward the end of December was always a great festival occasion and was celebrated with great pomp. First of all the Gao lan hsien as fu mu kwan, i.e., father-mother-mandarin, as the patriarchally-minded Chinese calls his district chief, had to drive over the ice in his gala carriage, accompanied by a large retinue, in order to prove that the ice was safe. On the other hand, in fall and spring when the ice broke up, river traffic was often blocked for days or weeks. One could, perhaps, at the risk of one's life cross the raging stream between the ice floes on a raft of goat-skin bags. But in the spring when the ice had disappeared, the famous pontoon bridge, the afore-mentioned wonder of the world, was set up at the expense of the provincial government. Twenty-two box-shaped wide boats of poplar wood were held together with heavy iron chains and especially with thick hemp ropes, as may be seen on Plate XXXIV. On top of these were laid unfinished planks, but so unevenly that one seldom dared ride across on horseback. Everywhere there were large holes, everywhere the planks rocked and tipped. The wooden railing, too, was more to look at than to lean on. Even Europeans regarded the bridge as a wonder of the world, but only /148/ to

453 was the soul of politeness, but only after I rudely asked whether his business was in such a bad way that he could not give me my money at once and weigh out for me the paltry few thousand taels, did the weighing of the silver begin. Piece by piece I tested it for its excellency, many a piece had to be refused, until it had all been weighed out before my own eyes. Then the rattle of the counting boards began again. The long column of figures was added up four times in succession. In the end the silver was put in my bags and after three hours of work it was on my carriage. I sat down on top of it and drove home. Later when I used the money, only two pieces were given back to me because they contained lead. To this day I am proud of this result. It was a loss of only about 40 marks.

I left Lanchow fu on December 7, after having witnessed two
527 more large festivals. One of them was the Mohammedan New Year, which is an important event in a province like Kansu where there are so many confessors of the Islam faith; the other was the birthday of the then Empress Dowager. On the latter day all the larger streets of the city were covered with thousands of large square paper lanterns all of the same shape, which were hung in several rows over the street so that one could just barely ride under them on the
531 small ponies which are used in this country. The Lanchow lanterns are particularly pretty. They are artistically painted and portray different scenes taken from the rich Chinese mythology and legends and popular romances. The figures show the well-known grotesque theatrical attitudes which Chinese artists love and are, of course, painted only in flat colors without any modelling. On these days you also see the better class of Chinese wandering through the streets and studying these paintings. I must refrain from going into detail about the pictures. They are a world in themselves. The treasure of Chinese romances is extremely rich and only in part easily available to us, namely insofar as it is of foreign, that is, Buddhistic origin. For the typically Chinese part the skilful pen is still lacking which might acquaint us with these confusing masses of demi-gods, of souls of the dead, like those of the ancient Greeks in a more easily comprehensible form.

529 On December 8, I reached the little town of Kin (pronounced Tschin) hsien, south of Lanchow, after I had ridden through thick dust and haze and through endless narrow passages three to four meters deep. Not far from the town, near Tschang kia (pronounced: dia) gao, at the foot of a long mountain chain coming from the Koko Nor region and running southeast, there is a favorite excursion

000 even met by a sergeant with soldiers (Plate XLII). This time the city of Dankar put at my disposal the amban gung kwan, that is, the hotel of the governor of Northeast Tibet, and scarcely had I arrived there when the ting and the sie tai called on me and apologized profusely, also in the name of the amban for the attack on me and straightway blamed the hsiĕ dia who had most carelessly sent a very inferior employee of theirs along with me, who, they said, knew nothing at all about how to deal with Tibetans. /205/ I was assured that the hsiĕ dia would quickly adjust the matter and return everything I had lost. I heard various answers to my question as to who the robbers could have been. It seemed that there was still uncertainty on that point.

On January 22 I was again back in Hsining fu. For the journey from Dankar to Hsining fu I was given an escort consisting of ten armed horsemen. Meanwhile, in Hsining fu where my large baggage was stored, the instruments from Europe had arrived which were to replace those that had been stolen at Hu peh. They were now more than welcome, for in the Koko Nor attack I had lost a few more of the reserve instruments. Through the kind intervention of the consul general of Shanghai the new supplies had, after many delays, been sent to this remote corner of the earth where at that time no one knew anything about mail. I was less fortunate in Hsining fu with my cook Liu. A day after my return, after he had heard me say that I would again travel into Tibet, he disappeared in the night without a word and also without asking for his back pay and the travel money still due him. Later Father van Dyk told me that he appeared in Lanchow fu as though he were still being chased by robbers and there told, still completely horrified, of the dreadful cold at Lake Koko Nor. The poor fellow was completely beside himself as a result of the night of terror and the Tibetans at his throat.

527 On January 25 the Chinese New Year began, and this, as is
426 well-known, is the only Chinese holiday on which all businesses are closed. Thus, everyone had to get his entire supplies for a
454 week on the preceding days. But I had difficulty in getting assistance from my Hsining men and even in catching a glimpse of them. Like the rest of the inhabitants of the city, they, too, were busy all day cashing in old debts and paying their own. By far the greatest number of Chinese do not own a penny of savings, to say nothing of capital, and so almost everyone in the course of the year runs out of cash at some point and is obliged to borrow.

However, it is an ancient custom that debts must be paid the last 527
day of the year. Now, any half-way decent object owned by a 426
Chinese family must serve to plug up the old gaps on these last days 454
of the year. Thus, many heads of families came to me also, and offered me for sale all kinds of curios and things, in fact, some of them brought their creditors and the creditors of their creditors along and hardly had I bought a thing when they began subtracting among themselves. For days the pawn shops of the city were crowded with customers until midnight. Lucky the man who has plenty of cash on New Year's Day in China!

On New Year's eve the city was surprisingly quiet. The city is 527
too poor for the noisy demonstrations that take place annually in 426
Shanghai and other coastal cities. Large firecrackers went off rather seldom. Toward morning one heard a few more petards, because on New Year's eve all ghosts are on the loose. Only the pawn shops were continually busy. Far into the night one could see Chinese loitering about outside them, many a one defended himself with his fists against an all-too obstinate creditor who was on the point of forcing him on that bitter-cold winter's night /206/ "to sell the shirt on his back."

Many of the pawnshop customers, after they had paid their debts or collected the necessary cash, immediately wanted to redeem their gala clothes for the forthcoming holidays, even at that late hour.

In the inn which I occupied there lived a large Chinese family 426
diagonally across from me, who made such a racket all during the night of New Year's eve that I did not sleep a wink. Half a dozen creditors had gradually assembled there, all of whom demanded to be paid. The man quietly explained to each one in turn that he was unable to pay at the moment but that he would do so within the next few months. None of the creditors was satisfied with this. After the first eloquent remonstrances, each one of them let his glance travel over useful objects in the dwelling and then suddenly demanded this or that object as a deposit or substitute. But it was not easy for any of them to obtain anything. For hours the parties wrangled over things until the head of the house finally gave in. Early the next morning the entire apartment was cleaned out, even their blankets were gone and the private bailiffs had even torn the wife's jacket off her body. The spectacle was pitiful. But when day dawned, when no more creditors could be expected, when all were congratulating one another with "gung schi!" "gung schi!",

426 then my friends, too, appeared dressed in silks and velvets and all their children, as good breeding demanded, wore new shoes. I now learned that the man had been cautious enough to store a few chests of his belongings in my little courtyard, with the help of my servants, and he had now brought them back to his apartment again. Nor was the man by any means bankrupt. All he lacked at the moment was cash to cover all his debts.

527 At the first cock's crow, long before day, my servants came back from the New Year's celebration with their families and offered me
574 their New Year's kowtow for which one's employees always receive a major gift of money. The first official callers, among them the hsien and a few officers of the city who were acquaintances of mine, also stood at my door at six in the morning just as the sun was rising. They were on their way back from the temples where they had delivered offerings and congratulations to the official state deities and the emperor. In China I learned the meaning of New Year's calls on acquaintances, and good luck wishes. Surely no Chinese would be impressed by our European manner of doing this. Beginning with the first day of the new year, the inhabitants of China are on their feet from morning till night and hasten from one to the other of their acquaintances in order to express their good wishes in the form
527 of a kowtow. On the morning of New Year's day everyone washes
777 his face and appears in holiday garb which should be new if possible, and all doors, all door posts and implements are freshly pasted with luck-bringing words and sayings. The paper which is used for this is fire-red, unless the family happens to be in mourning. (1) Thus,

1. Like the color of the Yang, see footnote to p. 33.

on New Year's in China everything looks pretty and orderly, and above all, indescribably gay. On my house, too, the servants had during the night pasted new pictures of the gate deities on the outside of all the doors, and over the hearth they had put a fresh picture of the kitchen /207/ god Ts'ao ye (1), and when I awoke there was

776 1. Also called Ts'ao wang ye. This is the chief deity of
782 the family. He is below the city god and the almighty god of heaven, the supreme Chinese deity, and of course, also below the emperor, the son of heaven. He guards the fire and the domestic hearth. On the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of the last calendar month he ascends to heaven

and reports there the way things have gone for the family 776
throughout the year. Thus, this day is very important and 782
is called the Little New Year. On this day he is offered sweets, rice and other things and while his picture is being burned in the fire the entire family calls after him: "Sir Kitchen God, Sir Kitchen God, do not report anything bad about us!" In the real New Year's night he returns from heaven and that is when people again paste his picture on their walls.

a little epigram or a Chinese symbol of luck and wealth on all my 527
chests as well as my saddles, on the baskets, bags, hammers, on my 777
camera, in fact even on the broomstick which I had bought two days before and on the shovel, in short, on everything I possessed. Even in the rubbish heap there was a special piece of paper for the important god of rubbish. My three horses had red ribbons braided into their manes and wore a piece of wide red cloth on their foreheads; all this was part of the New Year's greeting of my servants. And everyone exchanged wishes of "Fa ts'ai ba! fa ts'ai ba! may you be rich!"

My New Year's call to the amban was undertaken together with 574
Mr. Ridley, and on this occasion I saw the old gentleman for the first time. As is customary in China, he greeted us in the vestibule and then led us, amid many bows and the most ingratiating smiles, into his guest room. From the moment we arrived he talked incessantly and it was perfectly obvious that he made every effort not to give us a chance to speak. He did not trust us. He was afraid of a complaint which would have lowered him in the eyes of his men. We were scarcely able to give him our New Year's greetings. He avoided any kind of dialogue and kept repeating how sorry he was that I had been attacked in his territory and that the hsiē dia did not take better care of me. It was all their fault. He would have our guide severely punished. His soldiers were on their way to fetch my things. (2) And he said if I were going to travel again in his

2. As a matter of fact, they did set out three days later for the Koko Nor and brought back all my animals, but unfortunately none of the irreplaceable equipment.

province I should by all means let him know in time so that he could give me a military escort. "I shall give you soldiers to take along. I ding wo ba ni sung. You may depend on it, I shall have you

574 escorted!" he repeated over and over again, not even giving me a chance to ask for it. Then, suddenly interrupting himself, he asked us politely but firmly to drink our tea and because we pretended not to hear him, he repeated his request. There was nothing for it but to take up the tea cup and "Tso-aa!" Departure! cried the doormen at the same instant. Throughout China the invitation to drink one's tea is only an invitation to leave, and if a guest reaches for the teapot which must always be placed beside him when he comes for a visit, then everyone knows that it is time to depart. Within less than five minutes /208/ we again found ourselves in the doorway. In spite of our doubtful reception I was blissful, for what more could I wish than a small escort for my further journeys. At that time I still had confidence in the words of the higher Manchu officials, all of whom had received me well and treated me with friendliness, and I still had the best opinion of the amban, especially because he had returned my New Year's gifts with a large, costly dinner which, however, he had had served to me at my inn. But,
[437] this is not an unusual custom in China. In larger cities it is also often customary to make out notes to some restaurant for a dinner of four or eight persons. These notes one may give away to someone else without embarrassment, and it sometimes happens that the tenth man into whose hands the promissory note falls really takes advantage of it, even though he may not know the first man who is actually paying for the dinner.

527 On the fifth day of the New Year shortly after sunrise the general
541 and all the officers of the city set out to fetch the god of entertain-
788 ment. A gala sedan chair which bore the written character Si (entertainment) was placed in a temple outside the east gate. In front of this letter, which was more than a meter high, the general and the men accompanying him fell on their knees in the dust of the road and kowtowed three times. Later on, the letter on his sedan chair was brought to the city in solemn procession and then placed in the general's yamen. There it remains throughout the year and is a guarantee that in the coming year there shall be no lack of entertainment and theatrical performances of all kinds in the city.

On the tenth day of the New Year the so-called spring festival was celebrated in Hsining fu. Scarcely was the sun up on that day when all the streets leading to the east gate were crowded with people. The Chinese farmers with their wives and children poured into the city from distant places. All the roofs of the main street were covered with representatives of the fair sex whose faces were

[text continues on p. 354]

Plate XLV.

527 541

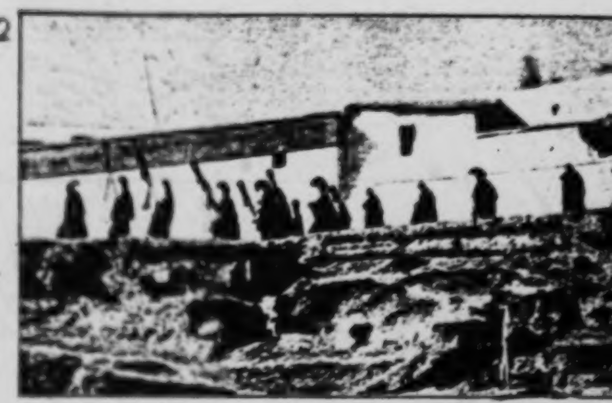
(Captions on following page) /208A/

Captions for Plate XLV.

527 Celebration of the spring festival in Hsining fu. The clay cow
541 (page 354) was defended by the soldiers against the farmers.
Two masks of lions danced at the head of the procession, behind them two dragons were being carried, and these were followed by soldiers bearing the honorary umbrellas of the hsien.

Plate XLVI.

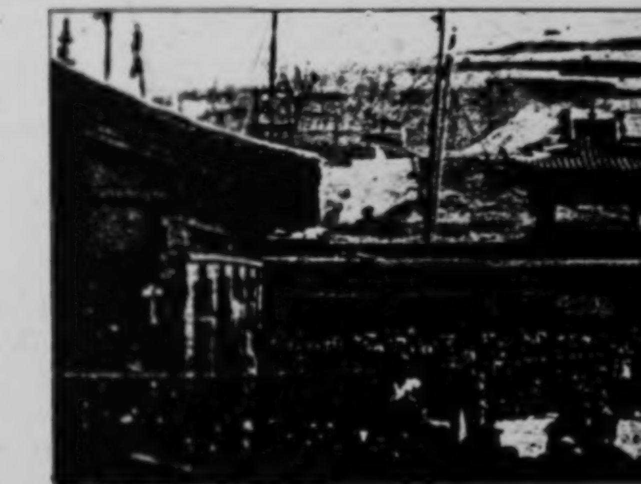
792



The Kambo, the lamasery abbot, of Gum bum
every day in the Tsogs ka

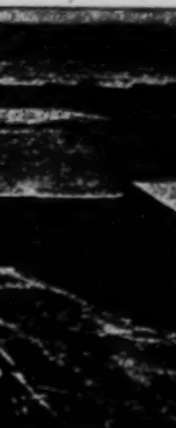
527 541

Return of troops from the spring festival in Hsinin



The dance of the Tscham in Gum bum.

goes to pray
ng.



ng fu.

/208B/

painted white. And the heads of families who stood below in the 527
street offered them sweets and refreshments from time to time. This 541
was not too difficult, for all the houses in Hsining fu are one-storied 788
and low besides. Around eight in the morning the prefect (fu) and the sub-prefect (hsien) solemnly proceeded to a temple outside the east gate where they expressed their veneration for the dragon (1) and the

1. De Groot, Fêtes annuelles d'Emoui (Paris 1886, Vol. I, p. 36): "The dragon is the symbol of rain, of fecundity and also of imperial dignity." - In my journey through Hu peh I saw, at the end of the first Chinese month, dragon processions moving through the fields, in order to bring about a fruitful year.

cow and the goddess of the earth. Then they returned home with equal pomp. In front marched a lion made of colored paper and cloth and a man who danced about with a sun (yang), then followed two dragons with snapping jaws (Plate XLV). Each of the dragons was represented by twelve men who walked in single file. Behind the dragon rode the amban's cavalrymen, producing dreadful sounds on their half-broken and dented trombones, which would have surely caused even Jericho's wall to fall. Twenty horsemen carried huge gaily-colored flags which almost covered horses and riders (Plate XLV). Then came /209/ infantrymen of the general, two by two, carrying German guns, model 71-84, whose sights and muzzles were decorated with new red paper cushions. In the muzzles they had the stoppers which are never lacking on Chinese guns. All the yamen secretaries followed in their best clothes, then halberdiers, yamen servants with imaginary weapons, with coats of mail containing the trident and morning star, after these came the higher town clerks in fur coats and mounted. Finally came the hsien, father and mother of the city, in an open sedan chair carried by eight men. He was dressed in a large cloak of lynx, and sat stiff and immovable like a doll or an idol. Close behind the chief personage there followed only four soldiers, then the crowd pressed up close behind in motley confusion. In similar fashion, except if possible with a larger advance procession, the Hsining fu, the prefect, also marched through the streets. The latter wore a huge sable fur which was so elegant it was almost a spectacle in itself. Only these two civil officials are obliged to appear at this festival. All the officers as well as the dáo tai and the amban do not appear at all.

527 The object of worship is as everywhere in the kingdom, a life-
778 size model of a bullock made of clay, and beside it stands the figure
788 of a woman made of paper. After the mandarins have kowtowed to this latter image, it is always driven back as quickly as possible to the hsien yamen. But people try to break the image of the bullock and every farmer tries to get a piece of it; anyone who is lucky enough to do so may be sure that his harvest will be good that year.(1)

1. See in this connection: De Groot, Fêtes annuelles d'Emoui (Vol. I, p. 90): "The reception of spring. The origin of the custom of carrying the spring ox to the fields has become lost in the night of the times."

The people of Hsining fu know almost nothing about the meaning of this ancient custom. In fact, the ordinary Chinese can tell you very little about their mythology and most of it is confused. The bullock, so the people of Hsining fu say, was formerly an emperor of China and the girl at its side, the emperor's younger sister. The emperor was carried away by his sister's charms and married her, and as a punishment for that the gods turned him into a bullock, while his sister was obliged to follow him as his driver all her life. The people seek to destroy the bullock because of the emperor's shameful behavior. But because the bullock represents an emperor, the yamen servants must guard it.

527 After this festival which, by the way, is not celebrated on the same day each year, the larger businesses again open their shutters. The Chinese like to have wealthy people as their first customers. This means good luck for the rest of the year. I was again forced to admire the Chinese on the afternoon and evening of this holiday. In spite of all the commotion of the festival, there was no excess anywhere, not a case of noisy drunkenness anywhere. Even the uncultivated Chinaman has much better manners than we usually assume, if there does not happen to be a famine or the confusion of war to make life difficult for him.

* * * * * *

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Tu ren

563 down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood
291 which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored beads and cowrie shells and sticks out horizontally (Plate LIII). It is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves
[302] even more beautiful and colorful; the young peasant women paint a round red disk on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan can is in point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival at Gum bum.

527 The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the second
563 Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have been frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the region gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meadow
[346] south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There
[669] is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards, one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temple has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed during the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an ambush in front of Wei yüan bu and were killed to a man by the Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-
[211] to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small wooden tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the
[782] temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of one of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it. He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were incense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan bu itself strikes the visitor as very worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings, the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

252 1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of charcoal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is eaten throughout West China

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eaten throughout West China. 000

flour, the heads of slaughtered pigs which, according to ancient 527
custom, are set up by the community in front of the picture of the 563
god in the main temple of the fair ground. But there are crowds of people on the square where the eating shops and the booths for the sale of all kinds of bright-colored materials and ribbons have been erected, and where the liquor sellers and the men who rent tobacco pipes are to be found, and especially on the meadow which is several acres large where the gamblers assemble. (Plate LVI). For ten days 563
from early in the morning until late in the afternoon a Chinese 527
theater group performs on a Chinese stage. The Tu ren community 545
makes possible these performances through local assessments and through half-voluntary contributions of the wealthier populace, as is the case with Chinese festivities, and the individual spectator need not pay admission. The part of the theater where the audience gathers is not marked off specially from the rest of the fair grounds. People can come and go as they please, can set up a tent to protect themselves from the sun, or bring chairs and tables. The wives of [556]
the more well-to-do, especially the Chinese women who attend the festival view the performance from their private carriages whose large sun roofs cut off the view even more than the largest hats of ladies on European race tracks. The stage is built of tiles with an arched roof, closed on three sides and - exactly as in China proper - is next to the main temple, as though it were a part of it. The stage [782]
faces the entrance to the temple, for the Eastern Asiatic is of the opinion that theatrical performances are particularly meritorious and pleasing to the gods, and that therefore the stage must be placed so that the gods can watch the performance. For in Tibet today theatrical performances are a part of the cult - as we saw in the last chapter - and this is the way it was in former times in China. Today, however, the connection is somewhat external. The Chinese theater has for a long time also presented secular plays, pranks and love dramas, and is by no means satisfied as are present-day Tibetan plays, merely with the presentation of horrible images of the gods which, according to the priests, will punish mankind unless they are appeased with gifts and assessments of all kinds.

A Tibetan incarnation, an old cozy-looking holy man with a nice pot-belly, who came from a monastery not far from Wei yüan bu, seemed to think there was no harm in sitting for days on end in front of the theater on the open meadow where the festival was held.

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563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped
527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received
545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly o
their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of h
cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252

541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners and
527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged
563 horse races, i.e., each of the competitors felt he had the best pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistanc his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators, at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together, then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shouted and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, scre ing with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances re ceived the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thum and praised the horse and the cleverness of its rider to the skies. Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track w extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the mid of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luc with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, eve one became critical and the owners who had previously been les fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once
[492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Moha medans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic ho men, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost hori zontally against the horse.

[526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just
at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells.
[273] the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Roun about the fair grounds groups of men and women assembled, esp ly young people. They gathered into groups according to the tr and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of b schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a
533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds am
527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love,
563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at ni

their victims, whose every attitude expressed the very acme of agony. At last, having received its due, the spirit was seen preparing for a new incarnation, as the Wheel of Life revolving had now a fresh rebirth to distribute. This time the protagonist is to enter the body of a pig; and here the artist reached the highest degree of plastic talent. Though it were but to wallow in the mire, the prospect of once more breathing the fresh air, of basking in the kindly rays of the sun, and of living the familiar life of earth, filled the hunted spirit with untold joy, marvellously indicated by the glance thrown over the shoulder, as the porcine snout descended like a mask upon the features.

An old priest was superintending a party of worshippers, who had come to burn gold and silver paper folded to represent money, this being considered suitable to be offered as votive-sacrifices for the dead. These people had lately lost a father, and picturing him as wandering through such an abode of pain, were now doing all they possibly could to come to his assistance. Leading the group was a young man, his son, who doubtless in all matters of daily life showed himself to be far-sighted and intelligent, but who now, with a mind blinded by heathenism, sought to impress upon the torturers the fact that he was in a position to buy off his father's doom by such large sums of mock-coinage as any god might be flattered to receive. The smoke rose, and the spirit-treasure passed out of sight. The gods would doubtless now see to it that part, at least, of the debtor's bill was paid!

Our immediate business was to let the people of Suchow know of our arrival, and very soon, by means of posters, the news was spread, and the words: 'The Christians have come!' were on the lips of all. It was greatly to our advantage that the whole city happened

to be *en fête* to celebrate the seventieth birthday of the Minister of Military Defence. Thousands of people gathered from the surrounding districts, and scores of officials and their families came long journeys, to offer congratulations. Theatrical entertainments were provided for the guests, and great and prolonged feastings were in progress. We gladly saw in this an opportunity to reach a far wider circle than we could otherwise have done, and at once set the whole of our band to work in preparing parcels of books and tracts, done up with strips of scarlet paper, this being a necessary adjunct to every festal presentation. These were then distributed among the guests, who expressed themselves as delighted to receive them, and subsequently carefully carried them away.

The arrangement of the students' work was next planned, with a view to combining a consecutive course of study with a large amount of practical Evangelisation. Promptly at midday the men left home for a two hours' period of street preaching in town, suburb, and near villages, combined with the sale of Gospels. Every shopkeeper was personally visited, and the restaurants, for which Suchow is famous, were approached with an offer to decorate their walls with pretty floral posters, an offer which was in many cases gratefully accepted. The most tactful and experienced men were told off to the Moslem settlement in the eastern suburb, for any man doing this work must be prepared to receive insults without retaliation, and to be able to keep his temper when his books are bought only to be torn to shreds before his eyes. A group of the more genial and simple souls was deputed to the north suburb, which is almost entirely composed of spacious enclosures used by the Mongolian drovers to install their caravans of camels, which bring cotton from

broken hearts, nor can anyone leave China by this road without peculiar pain, and even tears.

'When I leave thy gates, O Kiayükwan,
My tears may never cease to run.'

The most illustrious of all the exiles who have trod this *Via Dolorosa* was the great Sage and Philosopher, Lao-dze, who here turned his back on the land which had refused his teaching, and sought for himself an unrecorded grave in the wilderness beyond.

Among all those tragic inscriptions, from the day of our visit, one message of *Hope* now hangs, printed in crimson letters so large and clear, that every tear-filled eye can see it: '*Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.*'

CHAPTER XVIII

A PRODIGAL SON

The Chinese, together with other ancient peoples, observe the lunar month, and date their calendar by the Agricultural Year; New Year's Day, consequently, falling irregularly between the last week of January and the middle of February, marks also the time for the sowing of the crops. The official calendar, issued by the Peking Board of Rites, is often at variance with local almanacs, so that we found the people of Suchow were much disturbed as to whether the first day of the first moon should be the coming Thursday or Friday. The question was not decided until Wednesday afternoon, when the Town Crier, beating a gong, patrolled the streets announcing in a loud voice, 'To-morrow is New Year's Day!'

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Tu ren

533 527 563 there was little peace in and around the place. Every room of my inn was filled, mostly with young men. By the light of the customary smoldering lamp dozens of them crowded around the coal braziers which the innkeeper had set up, in their thick sheep furs, and sang part songs with melancholy trills and yodels and snickered and laughed and mocked the ones who were no good at it. All this lasted until morning. They were all happy like contented and very well brought up children. It was always long after midnight before the singers would gradually, one after another, fall silent. Then girls and boys would lean sleepily against one another and remain thus until the sun awakened them and they began their fun anew.

563 609 123 But I found it difficult to come closer to the Tu ren. They shyly withdrew from me, avoided me wherever they met me, and many of them obviously disdained me. To them, as to the Tibetans, a stranger was uncanny and seemed to them an extremely dangerous creature who stands in close communion with death and the devil. Many of them had seen only few white men, some, none at all, and never one who wore Western clothes. /253/ On the other hand, much Chinese coolie gossip had reached their ears. They knew very definitely that our medicines are made of human hearts and children's bones. It took days of encouragement on my part and a great deal of baksheesh before I could get any of their legends and songs and persuade some of the men to let me photograph them and take anthropological measurements. [511] It was particularly difficult because the Tu ren are largely well-to-do and intelligent farmers and because the harvests had been good in the preceding years. They said: "We do not understand why you want this, such a proposal has never been made to us and we do not need your money and your presents." The few men I was able to measure were extremely frightened and twitched at every single measurement. More than a dozen ran off at the first touch of the measuring instrument, as excited as though it were a matter of life and death. As for measuring Tu ren women, that remained a pious wish on my part. (They were usually around 1.5 meters tall.) They were all afraid that they would thereby become sterile for life. In a few years, when Europeans become more familiar to them it may be an easy matter to make up for my failure.

157 It is often said that the Mongoloid peoples and especially the inhabitants of China are much more calm, stoical and self-controlled than we Europeans. I discovered the opposite to be the case. The Chinese very easily fly into uncontrollable fits of rage which makes them capable of almost anything. It is also well-known, of course, 000

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529 RECREATIONAL FACILITIES--vacation resorts (e.g., spas, mountain retreats, winter sports facilities, beach resorts, state and national parks); bridge, chess, riding, and rifle clubs and their facilities; athletic and country clubs; amusement parks; enterprises catering to games and sports (e.g., pool rooms, bowling alleys, shooting galleries, gymnasiums, skating rinks); special equipment, organization, operation and specialized personnel; etc. See also:

Urban parks and recreational facilities	36	Hotels and tourist services	486
Facilities catering to entertainment	54	Manufacture and distribution of recreational equipment	549
Recreational structures	345	Social clubs	578

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content at the present day to put up with the prehistoric means of communication which are still the only ones in existence throughout Shensi and Kansu. This absence of proper means of communication is an absolute hindrance to any real progress, and the speedy construction of more railways in China would seem to be of more importance than all the other contemplated reforms thrown together. Road building seems to be past praying for in these days of railways, but it is not at all certain that a portion of the enormous sums spent in railway construction would not be more profitably expended in the construction of a few trunk roads; the latter could at any rate be built by the Chinese themselves without incurring loans. 000

241 485 From Weinan to Lint'ung is a distance of 80 li, the latter being another important wheat and cotton-growing centre. It is not necessary to make these district cities the stages, as villages with inns are numerous all the way from T'ungkuan, and travellers can regulate the length of their marches according to their choice. The following is a list of the usual stopping places, which lie at intervals of 20 to 30 li one from another; T'ungkuan, Huayin Miao, Fushui Chen, Liutzu, Hua Chou, Ch'ihshui Chen, Weinan, Linkou, Lint'ung.

529 Lint'ung lies close under an outlying spur of the Ch'inling Shan, whence issues a hot medicinal spring. Over these springs is built an elaborate rest-house to accommodate the guests who come to take the baths, and it is thus a popular resort for the rank and fashion of Hsian. The establishment, or rather previous constructions, date from the time when Hsian was the capital of China, Lint'ung having been a pleasure resort for the Emperors of those days. The Emperor who designed the Great Wall and destroyed the scholars and their books (about B.C. 200), and whose name is therefore supposed to be execrated by literary men, is buried in the neighbourhood. We revelled in the baths, after having been smothered in dust for ten days.

636 On the following day a long half stage of 30 li brings one to Hsian Fu, now officially known by its old name of Ch'angan Hsien, the capital of the province. It is an immense city, of the Tartar type, comparable only to Peking before the introduction of modern improvements. In size

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453 was the soul of politeness, but only after I rudely asked whether his business was in such a bad way that he could not give me my money at once and weigh out for me the paltry few thousand taels, did the weighing of the silver begin. Piece by piece I tested it for its excellency, many a piece had to be refused, until it had all been weighed out before my own eyes. Then the rattle of the counting boards began again. The long column of figures was added up four times in succession. In the end the silver was put in my bags and after three hours of work it was on my carriage. I sat down on top of it and drove home. Later when I used the money, only two pieces were given back to me because they contained lead. To this day I am proud of this result. It was a loss of only about 40 marks.

527 I left Lanchow fu on December 7, after having witnessed two more large festivals. One of them was the Mohammedan New Year, which is an important event in a province like Kansu where there are so many confessors of the Islam faith; the other was the birthday of the then Empress Dowager. On the latter day all the larger streets of the city were covered with thousands of large square paper lanterns all of the same shape, which were hung in several rows over the street so that one could just barely ride under them on the 53/ small ponies which are used in this country. The Lanchow lanterns are particularly pretty. They are artistically painted and portray different scenes taken from the rich Chinese mythology and legends and popular romances. The figures show the well-known grotesque theatrical attitudes which Chinese artists love and are, of course, painted only in flat colors without any modelling. On these days you also see the better class of Chinese wandering through the streets and studying these paintings. I must refrain from going into detail about the pictures. They are a world in themselves. The treasure of Chinese romances is extremely rich and only in part easily available to us, namely insofar as it is of foreign, that is, Buddhistic origin. For the typically Chinese part the skilful pen is still lacking which might acquaint us with these confusing masses of demi-gods, of souls of the dead, like those of the ancient Greeks in a more easily comprehensible form.

529 On December 8, I reached the little town of Kin (pronounced Tschin) hsien, south of Lanchow, after I had ridden through thick dust and haze and through endless narrow passages three to four meters deep. Not far from the town, near Tschang kia (pronounced: dia) gao, at the foot of a long mountain chain coming from the Koko Nor region and running southeast, there is a favorite excursion

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place for the wealthier class of Lanchow fu. During the season there 529 the Chinese ladies are entertained with theater and festivals. There are /159/ woods on the slopes between the cliffs and a little mountain brook gushes merrily out of a narrow ravine. The Kansu know, as well as we do, where it is pleasant to be.

133 Beyond Kin hsien I was obliged, on the following days, to cross this rocky mountain range, the Hsin lu Shan, the continuation of the Kwan Shan which earlier travelers had pointed out and which is made up of granite and chalk and sandstone rich in coal seams. Loess masses cover the slopes far up; but here, too, the peaks are free of this yellow, ugly covering. But at a height of 2,800 meters I had not yet got beyond the haze and dust which had enveloped the mountains and valleys in a blue atmosphere for one and one-half months now since the end of October when last it rained, or rather snowed. Every day the sky was cloudless; but visibility was so limited that the horizon and all the outlines of the mountains were indistinct. Behind, that is, southwest of these mountains - they form only a narrow chain like theater wings - one comes to the basin of the subprefecture Di dao tschou and into the environs of the Tao Ho, one of the most important tributaries of the Hwang Ho. In this basin, too, there is loess everywhere, but it is not very thick (about 40 centimeters). Below it there are soon to be found red tertiary and mostly horizontal layers of clay of huge proportions. These have molded the hilly and mountainous landscape of today and formed the valley which is several kilometers wide at the city of Di dao.

361 487 Di dao tschou belongs to the good cities of Kansu. It has possibly 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, tobacco manufacturing establishments, many lumber companies connected with the spruce forests of the southern mountains, and is connected with Lanchow by a highway leading over the Kwan Shan. (1) Two important roads lead south from here and to the province of Szechwan, one over Min tschou and the other over Kung tschang fu.

631 563 The city of Di dao is already on the border of China. The Tibetans appear as a new element among the Chinese and Mohammedans. A Tibetan prince lives in the city itself, the so-called kia (pronounced dia) or tiao tu se (2) who has his own subjects. In the district of

1. Part of the mountain range Hsin lu Shan, just described. As we mentioned earlier, the Chinese does not name mountain chains but only mountain peaks.

2. T'u se or t'u sse (not to be confused with tu se or du se,

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53 FINE ARTS--general statements dealing with several aspects of the creation and interpretation of art. For art as a source of entertainment see 54, for esthetic ideals and canons of taste see 517, for art forms associated with ceremonials see 796.

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

S 533 535 177 668

"Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"

(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

A. Introduction

N *563 177 53 N [792] Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in Northwest China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper, although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cultural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monasteries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

B. Tibetan Literature

N *563 538 779 N [792] Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in character. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings. There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

N *[195] The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tangyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

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531 DECORATIVE ART--types of artifacts decorated and not decorated; decorative techniques (e.g., carving, engraving, painting, inlay, embroidery); use of color and relief; designs and patterns (e.g., naturalistic, geometric); decorative symbols and their meanings; elaborated styles; associated beliefs and practices; specialists; etc. See also:

Textiles	28	Tattooing	304
Clothing	29	Architecture	341
Tools, utensils, and appliances	41	Interior decoration	353
Chirography	212	Manufacture of paints and dyes	386
Ornament	301	Esthetics	517
Face and body decoration	302		

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

Northerners are never without it.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

/The Tibetans/

copper or silver. The clay votive tablets are made in molds, and finished and colored by hand. The metal tablets are also made in molds and are finished with hand tools.

Other ritual objects are made by the Lama artists, such as the cups for offerings of butter water, incense and perfume; objects for the altar (such as holy water vases), amulets and charms. The technique for making these ritual objects and the materials used are prescribed, the Buddhist canon containing the rules for making these objects.

The Kumbum monastery in Chinghai is particularly noted for its work in copper and other metals.

Other objects which require skilled artists and craftsmen are the robes and masks used by the Lama dancers in the mystery plays on festival days. Especially embroidered and brocaded robes of bright colors are prepared for the actors. Masks are constructed to fit over the head and rest on the shoulders of the dancers. Some masks are very elaborate and grotesque. The brocaded robes are Chinese in origin, but the masks and headdresses are Tibetan.

Objects of daily use employed by the common people, such as interior fittings and furnishings of houses, windowframes, tables, carpets and food vessels, are often made and decorated by skilled artisans. They all bear a strong influence of Chinese motifs. The rugs in Tibetan houses exhibit patterns which are derived from Chinese prototypes. A favorite color scheme of these rugs is a combination of light blue, warm brown and white. The little tea tables found in Tibetan homes are called chogtse. Those which are not plain are either painted gaily with bunches of flowers on flat panels, or, more rarely, carved with dragons and then painted. Most of the eating utensils, such as bowls, pots, jugs, cups and teapots, carry interesting designs. Shoes are usually skillfully decorated, and so are other works of leather like mule trappings.

D. Music and Dance

Music and dance play an important part in the religious worship, as well as in the lighter amusements of life. The classical music of the temples consists of a solemn though animated style of chanting and of orchestral interludes, played with long copper trumpets, with the rhythm supplemented by a multitude of percussion instruments. The hymns are always sung by memory, but there also exists written forms of them. The notation is in the nature of a graph of the rising and falling voice; large curves convey the basic tunes, while smaller loops represent melodic ornamentation. The words of the songs are articulated with great clarity and are given the right stress while the bodies of the monks sway gently to the rhythm.

was the soul of politeness, but only after I rudely asked whether his business was in such a bad way that he could not give me my money at once and weigh out for me the paltry few thousand taels, did the weighing of the silver begin. Piece by piece I tested it for its excellency, many a piece had to be refused, until it had all been weighed out before my own eyes. Then the rattle of the counting boards began again. The long column of figures was added up four times in succession. In the end the silver was put in my bags and after three hours of work it was on my carriage. I sat down on top of it and drove home. Later when I used the money, only two pieces were given back to me because they contained lead. To this day I am proud of this result. It was a loss of only about 40 marks.

I left Lanchow fu on December 7, after having witnessed two more large festivals. One of them was the Mohammedan New Year, which is an important event in a province like Kansu where there are so many confessors of the Islam faith; the other was the birthday of the then Empress Dowager. On the latter day all the larger streets of the city were covered with thousands of large square paper lanterns all of the same shape, which were hung in several rows over the street so that one could just barely ride under them on the small ponies which are used in this country. The Lanchow lanterns are particularly pretty. They are artistically painted and portray different scenes taken from the rich Chinese mythology and legends and popular romances. The figures show the well-known grotesque theatrical attitudes which Chinese artists love and are, of course, painted only in flat colors without any modelling. On these days you also see the better class of Chinese wandering through the streets and studying these paintings. I must refrain from going into detail about the pictures. They are a world in themselves. The treasure of Chinese romances is extremely rich and only in part easily available to us, namely insofar as it is of foreign, that is, Buddhistic origin. For the typically Chinese part the skilful pen is still lacking which might acquaint us with these confusing masses of demi-gods, of souls of the dead, like those of the ancient Greeks in a more easily comprehensible form.

On December 8, I reached the little town of Kin (pronounced Tschin) hsien, south of Lanchow, after I had ridden through thick dust and haze and through endless narrow passages three to four meters deep. Not far from the town, near Tschang kia (pronounced: dia) gao, at the foot of a long mountain chain coming from the Koko Nor region and running southeast, there is a favorite excursion

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532 REPRESENTATIVE ART--techniques in painting and sculpture (e.g., drawing or painting on flat surfaces, incising in relief, modeling or carving in the round); materials and implements used; subjects (e.g., still life, landscapes, human beings, abstractions); use of color; composition; appreciation of form and perspective; styles (e.g., naturalistic, idealistic, symbolic, abstract); special products (e.g., etchings, bas-reliefs, masks); specialized fields (e.g., portraiture, commercial art, religious sculpture); artists and sculptors; etc. See also:

Commemorative statues	211	Advertising	447
Photography	216	Art supplies industry	849
Art galleries	217	Idols and images	778
Lapidary art	306	Ideas about form and color	822
Paints and pigments	386		

/The Tibetans/

Tibetans. There are a few versions of the fabulous history of Gasar, of which the version told in Kham is most frequently recited. There are several manuscripts of the Gasar legend, but none of them is complete. The Gasar saga is mostly recited orally, by the wandering bards, who can recite long passages from memory, and by the people themselves, as every Tibetan can recite a few verses of the Gasar epos. It is particularly popular among the nomadic Tibetans. The legend seems to have had its origin in the Pon time, prior to the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism.

C. Tibetan Art

Tibetan art is divided into two categories, the religious and the secular. The influence of India can be recognized in the first category, while Chinese influence is dominant in the things pertaining to worldly life, as the cultured society in Tibet modeled its manners upon those of the court of Peking, which for centuries occupied the suzerian position.

The religious art is expressed mostly in works of sculpture and painting. The most popular and unusual of the creations of the Tibetan artists have been the tankas. The tankas are scroll paintings, or occasionally embroidered pictures, which first came to use in about the tenth century. Before that time, painting was mostly confined to frescoes on the walls of temples or monasteries or in caves. These tankas are hung in the temples and at family altars in homes. They are also carried by the Lamas in religious processions. They often portray a deity, group of deities, or scenes from the life of Buddha or the saints. Often they depict stories which the Lamas use to illustrate their sermons.

The tankas are usually painted on canvas, sometimes on paper, rarely on silk. The artists are Lamas, who spend many years in training before they attempt to work independently.

Images are also made for religious purposes. They can be of gold, silver, copper or bronze; or sometimes they are of wood, stone, clay or butter. They are often studded with turquoise, coral and pearls. The artists either sculpture them by hand or make them in molds and finish them by hand.

The votive tablets are another category of religious objects which requires the work of special artists for its production. They are made by the Lamas, after a set pattern from which they are not allowed to deviate. These tablets are sometimes sold to the worshippers or pilgrims, or they may be made by order of wealthy donors and presented to a particular temple. The cruder ones are made of clay, with the figure of the deity or group of deities impressed on the face. More elaborate tablets are polychromed and gilded. A few are made of bronze,

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

/The Tibetans/

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was
opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese
whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance
361 from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
351 which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
342 house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
621 the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
614 bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan
live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
532 stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
772 figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent
a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
511 upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is
torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

which permits of a more solid structure than elsewhere. 361
The collapse of these mud dwelling-houses is frequent ; 346
we ourselves were roused one morning by an ominous 342
thud, and ran out just in time to see Molly, with an injured air and covered with dust, led from the ruins of her stable which had fallen down around her.

Among the temples[1] none is so highly valued by the 346
citizens as the Hall of the Sleeping Buddha. The figure 778
is one hundred and twenty feet in length, about forty 532
feet high, and is firmly believed by the Kanchow populace to be the largest image of Buddha in the world. It is made of earth and plastered with a composition of lime and paper pulp. Entirely devoid of artistic merit, it is merely a colossal figure, reclining with the head resting on the right hand, and enormous, outstretched feet with huge, round toes of regular form. A gallery runs round the upper part of the hall from which a downward view can be obtained. The city also contains a Chorten (relic tomb) about one hundred and fifty feet high, which holds the remains of a noted Living Buddha who died in the locality. The Chorten is considered to symbolise the five elements into which the body is resolved at death—earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

In another temple is a brass horse and rider of great 346
antiquity. This statue is viewed with reverence, as it 778
is believed to have been miraculously conveyed to 532
Kanchow by a great flood of the Black River. Outside 776
this temple is a splendid, bubbling spring of water, called the Ih Chuan, and said to be the first spring of sweet water to the west of the Yellow River. It feeds a tank where sacred goldfish disport themselves, and has been venerated for centuries. Close to our own residence was the beautiful Temple of the Spacious Hills. We often walked there in the evening, when the

[1][at T.J.G. Kanchow -- Analyst]

346 flowery trees and shrubs, roses and peonies, made the
garden fragrant. The temple held a fine set of china
778 figures representing the Pa Hsien. These are the Eight
532 Genii, the men of the hills, who once lived on earth, but
776 now, free from the grosser claims of the flesh, still retain
the capacity for such minor delights as strolling leisurely in beautiful surroundings, or even those of eating and drinking. When in the flesh, although they practised asceticism, it was not to such a degree as to secure complete etherisation. They are not immortal, but enjoy a prolonged and easeful life. The little figures look their best standing on the old lacquered table in the sombre shrine, and the gay gardens provide an appropriate setting to these unaspiring beings.

Above the porch was a fresco which showed—hanging in graceful attitude over a balcony rail—the form of the Kwan in—Goddess of Mercy—with an infant in her lap. The pose, coiffure, and background were so Western that it might have been a fresco in the porch of
177 an Italian Church. This was not the only place in
which we saw pictures which bore a distinct trace of Nestorian tradition and influence, and this is not surprising considering that in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo still found groups of Nestorian Christians, both in Kanchow and in Suchow.

792 Close by the Temple of the Spacious Hills was a quiet
courtyard, where ten Buddhist nuns lived in community. They were all deficient, either physically or mentally, blind, deaf or short-witted. Their feet were unbound and their hair cropped. They were in receipt of a pension, and gave themselves up to reciting long liturgies. Their services were valued at funerals, where they intone prayers for the departed. We often called in and sat for an hour, and they loved to see our Scripture pictures, and listen to the Bible stories.

778 colossal Warrior-Guardians, who, javelin in hand,
offered defiance to any visitor that might question the supremacy of the gods within.' '*What? So you have come too?*' were the words which confronted us, and which seemed even to be audible, so startling was the impression made. Yes, we had come ; and we knew full well it would be a battle to the blood between the forces here represented and those for which we stood.
772 It was, therefore, with a sense of solemnity that we
775 entered[1] to find ourselves at once in 'the Courts of
532 Hell '—for that is the name given to this shrine where
the horrors of the Buddhist Place of Torment are realistically portrayed in clay-modelled figures, crudely coloured, but astonishingly vigorously done. The story begins by the spirit of a man, who having just died, finds himself divested of all fleshly covering, and must now in consequence start on his weary peregrination through the Underworld, where, for each sin committed in the body, the soul must now receive an exact retribution. In the next scene various other discarnate individuals knelt before the presiding Deity, while the doings of each one during their earth-life were weighed in accurately-adjusted scales. Around, more hapless beings underwent different tortures ; some being dipped in a sea of blood, others sawn asunder between two planks, while others again were crushed like grain between upper and nether millstones. The covetous eyes were gouged out ; the slanderous tongue was torn from the roots ; and grappling-hooks fastened into the flesh of the lustful, peeled off the skin in ribbons. Here and there slender bridges, hanging over fearful chasms, were crossed by trembling pilgrims, whose escape from unknown consequences depended on the poise earned by former self-denials, and everywhere the minions of the merciless Judge gloatingly watched the sufferings of

[1][a temple in Suchow -- Analyst]

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CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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their victims, whose every attitude expressed the very acme of agony. At last, having received its due, the spirit was seen preparing for a new incarnation, as the Wheel of Life revolving had now a fresh rebirth to distribute. This time the protagonist is to enter the body of a pig ; and here the artist reached the highest degree of plastic talent. Though it were but to wallow in the mire, the prospect of once more breathing the fresh air, of basking in the kindly rays of the sun, and of living the familiar life of earth, filled the hunted spirit with untold joy, marvellously indicated by the glance thrown over the shoulder, as the porcine snout descended like a mask upon the features.

An old priest was superintending a party of worshippers, who had come to burn gold and silver paper folded to represent money, this being considered suitable to be offered as votive-sacrifices for the dead. These people had lately lost a father, and picturing him as wandering through such an abode of pain, were now doing all they possibly could to come to his assistance. Leading the group was a young man, his son, who doubtless in all matters of daily life showed himself to be far-sighted and intelligent, but who now, with a mind blinded by heathenism, sought to impress upon the torturers the fact that he was in a position to buy off his father's doom by such large sums of mock-coinage as any god might be flattered to receive. The smoke rose, and the spirit-treasure passed out of sight. The gods would doubtless now see to it that part, at least, of the debtor's bill was paid !

Our immediate business was to let the people of Suchow know of our arrival, and very soon, by means of posters, the news was spread, and the words : 'The Christians have come ! ' were on the lips of all. It was greatly to our advantage that the whole city happened

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927

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morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to 494
a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst
indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, 484
we discovered that we were expected at this house; and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper; 'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen) 'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two 361
hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in 166
Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, 346
is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple 177
frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of
Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had 532
strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu. The dome of the tower is said to have originally been covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals 796
in honour of their respective gods, and we were in 776
Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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'The self-appointed guardian of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas is an interesting man, who by his own unaided efforts has enormously improved the place—a Taoist priest, from the Province of Hupeh, he came twenty-eight years ago on a begging pilgrimage to Chienfutung, which in those times was nothing but a barren waste with a trickling brook losing itself in the sand. Wang-tao-shi—for that is his name—soon utilised this water for irrigation; he planted all the trees with his own hands, and sowed enough crops for his maintenance and that of his acolytes. He also erected a large, commodious rest-house, containing a lofty, cool hall surrounded by sleeping-cells, all spotlessly clean; while he himself occupied one small room adjoining a tiny kitchen. In order to repair the caves he has made frequent begging expeditions, and has also from time to time received large sums in exchange for certain old manuscripts, now in the possession of various museums; but he has never enriched himself, all being spent on the upkeep of the temples. The caves have been hollowed out by hand from the almost perpendicular cliff, which they have honeycombed, and each contains some particular representation of Buddha, by whose name it is distinguished; such as, 'The Temple of the Precious Three'; 'The Hall of the Solitary Buddha'; 'The Shrine of Sakimuni.' The walls are all frescoed, and extraordinarily well-preserved owing to the dryness of the climate; and as the façade has broken away in places, many of the upper shrines have now no frontage at all, so that they can be seen from the valley below. The atmosphere is marvellously clear, and they present an exceedingly fine effect. This breaking-away has also had the advantage of letting in the brilliant daylight to the shrines, some of which would be wholly inaccessible if it were not that small doors of communi-

cation have been opened through a long vista of grottoes; one could, therefore, wander on almost interminably. The paintings cover a great period of time, some dating back to the Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 265), others to the Sung (A.D. 960–1280), and many of the best to the Tang period (A.D. 618–905).

A good number have been covered over by more recent stencil-work, the various layers of the colouring being clearly visible where the doors have been cut through. A very usual pattern for covering the walls is made by the use of innumerable small clay medallions, which viewed from a distance seem to present a geometrical design, but which on inspection are found to consist of a draped figure of Buddha sitting in an attitude of contemplation.

Most of the large idols were in raised alcoves, sometimes approached through an ante-chapel, in which were life-sized figures in flowing garments, their heads outlined against gilt haloes, or flame-bundles. The most delightful decorations represented family scenes in Paradisaic Gardens, where dainty ladies leant over lakes, or stood on camel-back bridges, watching the birds circling round the lotus tanks, while happy children ate ambrosial fruits.

Episodes from the life of Buddha recurred in many forms, as also illustrations of the delights awaiting those who attain to the joys of the Buddhist heaven. The ceilings were not arched, as one would expect in cave-dwellings, but were cut out to a square, the sides of which sloped upwards about five feet to form a smaller square. Anyone accustomed to the Chinese measure used for grain will understand that this is the shape of an inverted '*dou.*' We saw several colossal figures nearly a hundred feet high, one of which is enclosed in a roofless hall with head open to the elements, and another

is an unusual representation of the Buddha reclining in the final state of Nirvana. A detailed account, as well as splendid pictures of these wonderful caves, can be seen in Sir Aurel Stein's record[1] of his visit to Tunhwang in 1907, when in company with the old guardian, Wang-tao-shi, he opened up a temple containing a mass of manuscripts of priceless value. These were written not only in the Chinese, Tibetan and Sanskrit languages, but also in Uigur script, which is a derivative of Syriac writing, in Runic Turki, and in a peculiar form of Syriac script as employed in Manichaean writing. The variety and quantity of these manuscripts showed they must have formed part of some ancient monastic library. Specimens of hand-painted silk banners brought from Chienfutung by Sir Aurel Stein may be seen in the British Museum, and many extremely ancient and interesting records of Tunhwang find their place to-day in the King's Library of that building.

On entering one of the larger temples, we were startled by the appearance of a Figure so totally unlike those which surrounded it as immediately to rivet our attention. It was that of a man standing by a tree, the face of which wore an expression so benign, sorrowful, and strikingly human as to cause us to remark to one another that it might have been intended to represent the Lord Jesus Christ. We were therefore particularly interested, on returning to Tunhwang, when we were asked the question by the students if we had noticed that they had given our Jesus a place in their Pantheon.

At the extreme southern end the caves contained more modern work, and the terrifying grotesques of the Chinese temple came into evidence once more. Here we entered a shrine whose deity was surrounded by a banner proclaiming it to be 'The Pitiless One.' On

[1] *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, Sir Aurel Stein.

either side stood an attendant, one of which was a gaunt brown shape of terror sent forth to induce men to commit suicide by taking opium. His was a dread figure indeed, but not to be compared with the second, which represented the female instigator of suicide, by means of cutting the throat. She carried no emblem to make her mission clear, but every line of her insinuating face and bold, compelling eye, suggested the Power of Evil, able to break down the last hesitation in the mind which contemplated this dreadful deed; and Chinese women have since told us that many a bride has cut her throat after a visit to that shrine. The consummate horror of this representation so impressed us, that we can well believe it.

Chienfutung habitually stands solitary, but for the visit of an occasional pilgrim, except during one week of the year, when thousands of worshippers crowd its temples, and the air is heavy with burning incense. Streams of small-footed women risk their necks on the precipitous, crumbling paths leading to the upper galleries, nor will they, in spite of the utmost fatigue, leave one single temple unvisited, lest having done so much, they should fail to conciliate that last, final deity whose malice might be incurred by neglect!

CHAPTER XXV

THE LAKE OF THE CRESCENT MOON

We returned to Tunhwang so enthusiastic about the art treasures of 'The Hall of the Thousand Buddhas' that our visitors urged us to make a second expedition to another beauty spot of the locality, Yüehyachüan—'The Lake of the Crescent Moon.' 'Chienfutung is

533

533 MUSIC--musical form and structure (e.g., scale, pitch, tone, tempo, rhythm); melody; harmony; vocal music (e.g., singing, humming, chanting); instrumental music (e.g., accompaniment, solo playing, orchestras); occasions for music; song styles (e.g., work songs, drinking songs, dance songs, war songs, love songs, lullabies, sacred music, dirges and laments); musical training and appreciation; composition of music; specialization (e.g., composers, minstrels, musicologists, musicians); organization (e.g., choirs, bands, orchestras); etc. See also:

Property in songs	424	Musical texts	539
Palliation of labor with music	461	Musical performances on the stage	545

/The Tibetans/

are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

4. Popular beliefs

When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

5. Recreation

The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

H. The Western Mongols or Torguts

Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike character, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

/The Tibetans/

copper or silver. The clay votive tablets are made in molds, and finished and colored by hand. The metal tablets are also made in molds and are finished with hand tools.

Other ritual objects are made by the Lama artists, such as the cups for offerings of butter water, incense and perfume; objects for the altar (such as holy water vases), amulets and charms. The technique for making these ritual objects and the materials used are prescribed, the Buddhist canon containing the rules for making these objects.

The Kumbum monastery in Chinghai is particularly noted for its work in copper and other metals.

Other objects which require skilled artists and craftsmen are the robes and masks used by the Lama dancers in the mystery plays on festival days. Especially embroidered and brocaded robes of bright colors are prepared for the actors. Masks are constructed to fit over the head and rest on the shoulders of the dancers. Some masks are very elaborate and grotesque. The brocaded robes are Chinese in origin, but the masks and headdresses are Tibetan.

Objects of daily use employed by the common people, such as interior fittings and furnishings of houses, windowframes, tables, carpets and food vessels, are often made and decorated by skilled artisans. They all bear a strong influence of Chinese motifs. The rugs in Tibetan houses exhibit patterns which are derived from Chinese prototypes. A favorite color scheme of these rugs is a combination of light blue, warm brown and white. The little tea tables found in Tibetan homes are called chogtse. Those which are not plain are either painted gaily with bunches of flowers on flat panels, or, more rarely, carved with dragons and then painted. Most of the eating utensils, such as bowls, pots, jugs, cups and teapots, carry interesting designs. Shoes are usually skillfully decorated, and so are other works of leather like mule trappings.

D. Music and Dance

Music and dance play an important part in the religious worship, as well as in the lighter amusements of life. The classical music of the temples consists of a solemn though animated style of chanting and of orchestral interludes, played with long copper trumpets, with the rhythm supplemented by a multitude of percussion instruments. The hymns are always sung by memory, but there also exists written forms of them. The notation is in the nature of a graph of the rising and falling voice; large curves convey the basic tunes, while smaller loops represent melodic ornamentation. The words of the songs are articulated with great clarity and are given the right stress while the bodies of the monks sway gently to the rhythm.

/The Tibetans/

*563 Outside the temples, secular music is to be found in the
533 many folk songs of the common people. The Tibetans are very musical, and they sing on every possible occasion. Most of their songs are sung as they go about their everyday life, or during their festivals.

Some songs are sung individually, some collectively. Gral glu (row songs) are sung only in the New Year Festival or the marriage ceremonies, the singers standing in rows. Sgor bzhas (circle songs) are sung by men and women who grasp one another's hands and stand in a circle walking now to the right, now to the left. Lullaby songs are sung by people standing in a long line, one behind another. Each one places his hands over the shoulder of the person immediately in front of him, and they rock to and fro as in a lullaby.

Most of the folk songs are anonymous, and usually they are circulated only within a small region. Only those which gain strong popular approval spread over a larger area, traveling with pilgrims and caravans. There are many kinds of folk songs, some of them peculiar to a special kind of work and therefore sung almost exclusively by those who engage in that kind of work. (There are special songs for harvesting, for parching corn, for making bricks, for building a house, for making the roof of a house, for loading beasts, for shearing sheep, for washing wool, and so forth.) There are many love and courting songs, and songs describing other sentiments (of sorrow, disappointment, et cetera). Some songs are composed for special social occasions, others for high dignitaries.

Following are three examples of folk songs (translated by
[539] Tucci):

"From the mountain peaks in the east
The silvery moon has peeped out
And the face of that young maiden
Has gradually appeared in my mind."

"Anger and ill humour combined
Have made the feathers of the vulture dishevelled
Intrigue and worldly cares
Have completely worn me out."

"When the cuckoo comes from the country Mon
Then the seasonable essence of the soil also comes
Since I have met my lover
My body and mind have become relaxed."

*563 In dance as in music there is an absolute division between
535 secular and sacred. The former comprises all rustic styles, both the elementary ring dances in the village squares and the

*668 requesting him to send the manuscript in immediately." (Wen-i-pao, No. 2, January 30, 1954, p. 33, Hu Chia-lin: "It should not be just a whirlwind").

Because of the necessity to fit into this sudden rush and dropping of programs, propaganda became a kind of bureaucratic routine. To quote the Communists' own words:

"'Our factory is going to have "check up and evaluation" so you better present a play of "check up and evaluation"!' Some factories
*668 requested the Peking opera actors to dress up in modern costumes
535 to show the movement of 'learning tricks'... In this, in cement
545 factories there is 'the cement workers' dance.' In the material department of the cement factories there is 'the material worker's dance'... Down to every special branch of the factory, there is a particular dance of the branch.... These, however, were about the same. At the beginning, a group of 'laborers' would dance out to the front stage, holding a file or a hammer, or just acting as if they were holding some productive tools. Then they would start the actions of laboring, going through the whole procedure of the department's job. After several changes of positions, finally all the people would hold their hands and jump a while to express their joy after laboring.... In the case of 'the dance of the hero who found the trick (of running a machine)'...a group of people on the stage pretended to be a machine; another man jumped around it, moving a 'lever' here, pushing a 'button' there, and finally 'the machine' started to move, indicating that the hero found the trick to run the machine. Then everybody yelled congratulations and celebrated. During the period when the hero jumped around, nobody in the audience understood what he was doing.... Some laborers reflected: 'We work in the factory with machines; we discuss in the group meetings about machines; when we come to the evening entertainments we are still seeing machines!' The workers are not satisfied with this kind of dance." (Wen-i-pao, No. 13, July 15, 1953, p. 36.)

2. Over-repetition

*668 No doubt, repetition was a trump card in the process. It
• 533 brought the successes of Communist propaganda, but it was not
545 without flaws. Quoting the Communists again:

"Amid enthusiastic applause, the curtain raised. Hundreds of pairs of wide-opened round little eyes looked at the young girl who announced the programs: 'The first song, "We Happily Sing!"' When she announced this, she announced it with a frown. Right after she finished her words, among the audience there was an unanimous - not applause, but a prolonged: "Yeo...". (A Chinese exclamatory remark showing disgusted feeling). Immediately the whole theater turned noisy and the audience of little ones lost interest in the program...

What was wrong?... In a certain concert, the song "We Happily

*668 Sing!" was sung eighteen times, while another song "Let's Sing,
• 533 We Chinese Youth!" was sung twenty-three times!" (Ibid., No. 16,
545 August 30, 1955, p. 32).

Misinterpretation

*668 Other troubles came from misinterpretation of the doctrine.
536 The Communist magazine stated:

"In the January issue of the Worker's Literature published in Sian, Shensi, in 1954, there was a play written for the local opera theaters, 'Sell the grain to the State'. (Author? T'ien Yi-Yung). It described a peasant Wang Shou-ch'eng who did not like to sell 6 his surplus grain to the state, until his thought transformed. Then he sold his grain to the state...

But how did Wang Shou-ch'eng transform? Because his son-in-law Li Hsiao-hsien helped him to figure out the loss and gain in the following way: the price which the state paid was 33,000 a peck, but each peck was 30 catties; though the dishonest merchant, Sun Kuang-ts'ai, promised to pay 36,000 a peck, it was counted by the local big peck of 35 catties. According to the government price, it would be 38,000 each peck. After this calculation...the thought was transformed...."(Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 7, p. 38. The peck in Chinese measurement varies in different places. Usually it weighs 13 1/2 lbs. The pecks mentioned in this paragraph might be a kind of double peck.)

Obviously, this thought transformation was not the sort intended by the Communists. Therefore the Wen-i-pao criticized this play for capitalistic thought which should be discarded. The right kind of writing to promote the sale of grain should be something describing the peasants as willing to sell the grain to "the state" at any price, gain or loss.

*668 The Communist propaganda programs often were innocently, but embarrassingly, twisted and misunderstood by the lower cadres and audiences. Furthermore, in nearly every propaganda campaign, there was a need for the exposure of evils. Even though the formula always gave final victory to the Communists, the exposure part often lingered much longer, and loomed much larger than the Party would like to see.

*668 VII. Conclusion

178 A real test of the effectiveness of Communist propaganda is now underway. In the past, Stalin was deified by the Chinese Communist Party. He was the genius strategist. He was the Great Leader. He was the eternal sun. He was the eternal steel. Now the Party propaganda machine must tear down this idol it created. If Party propaganda were as effective as it was believed to be, faith in Stalin should live in the people's hearts forever. However, if Party propaganda is as effective as it claims, there should be nothing that cannot be obliterated. The situation resembles an

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

that two hundred thousand people had perished in the 731
disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by 491
means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had 741
also been constructed with famine relief funds, and 731
which now provided the means for saving scores of
lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted
by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled 797
for seven days before touching another Mission station
—a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in
those days, unused as we were then to the wider
horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the
little market-town of Anting, to which Mission author-
ities had directed our attention as the possible goal of
our quest ; but as we walked through its streets with
every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that
our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and 583
cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, 292
white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at 533
brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild
snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird
melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by
them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric
intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in
those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose 485
between this man and the others, on the subject of the 563
choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being 783
distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the
mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the
assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem
inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but
manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings
with the travellers on matters of purification connected

conception enables us to get an insight into Chinese folk psychology. 775

The monotonous sing-song and reciting of prayers and invocations lasted three days, and with each word the leading priest who appeared in a yellow gown embroidered with blue dragons, beat upon a "fish head," a hollow wooden globe with a slit in it, while his companions produced an ear-splitting noise with gongs, bells and drums, /244/ which was far inferior to the lamaistic music of the Tibetan monasteries and compared more nearly with caterwauling or with the noise accompanying the Upper Bavarian practice of meting out to offenders of the public morals summary punishment by masked private citizens. Under the supervision of the priests there were more gifts placed on a table in front of the coffin which stood in the open door of the house. Food was also placed on the table, a whole slaughtered pig, a cock, a jug of liquor, loaves of bread filled with vegetables and sweets. Later the priests ordered the tea and liquor to be poured on the ground. 764 [533]

It would lead me too far afield if I were to give a detailed description of the circumstantial ceremony which lasted three days. In the main, funerals are very much alike in the various parts of the Chinese kingdom. One of the souls of the deceased was conjured by the priest into a piece of wood about 1/2 meter long and very narrow and then the coffin was closed. A great many people appeared, acquaintances and strangers, and kowtowed before the coffin while lay musicians with one-string fiddles and small trumpets produced a different kind of racket, if possible even more woeful. The members of the family dressed in white coarse mourning clothes made of sacking and in mourning hats with their bare feet in sandals, knelt on either side of the coffin and each time a kowtow was offered in condolence they acknowledged it by touching their foreheads to the ground. Each person who expressed his sympathy by a kowtow and a small present was handed food and liquor by the relatives of the deceased, and the whole procedure: service to the spirits, kowtows, lay music and the partaking of food, took place in the court in front of the door of my room. All the street beggars, even the convicts from the yamen with their heavy iron chains and stakes and their wide, collar-like wooden kang came into the courtyard, made their kowtow and were thanked by being given food.

Thus, the funeral cost the family much more than they had in cash. I was not at all surprised, therefore, when on the very first

563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped
527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received
545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly on
their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of his
cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252/
541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners and
527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged
563 horse races, i. e., each of the competitors felt he had the best
pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been
ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is
generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was
general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistanced
his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators,
at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together,
then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly
gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips
which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shouted
and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, scream-
ing with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances re-
ceived the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thumbs,
and praised the horse and the cleverness of its rider to the skies.
Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track which
extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the midst
of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luck
with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, every-
one became critical and the owners who had previously been less
fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once
[492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Moham-
medans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic horse-
men, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost hori-
zontally against the horse.
[526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just as
at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells. But
[273] the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Round
about the fair grounds groups of men and women assembled, especial-
ly young people. They gathered into groups according to the tribes
and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of barley
schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a
533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds among
527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love, of
563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at night

there was little peace in and around the place. Every room of my 533
inn was filled, mostly with young men. By the light of the custom- 527
ary smoldering lamp dozens of them crowded around the coal braziers 563
which the innkeeper had set up, in their thick sheep furs, and sang
part songs with melancholy trills and yodels and snickered and laughed
and mocked the ones who were no good at it. All this lasted until
morning. They were all happy like contented and very well brought
up children. It was always long after midnight before the singers
would gradually, one after another, fall silent. Then girls and boys
would lean sleepily against one another and remain thus until the sun
awakened them and they began their fun anew.
But I found it difficult to come closer to the Tu ren. They shyly 563
withdrew from me, avoided me wherever they met me, and many 609
of them obviously disdained me. To them, as to the Tibetans, a 123
stranger was uncanny and seemed to them an extremely dangerous
creature who stands in close communion with death and the devil.
Many of them had seen only few white men, some, none at all,
and never one who wore Western clothes. /253/ On the other hand,
much Chinese coolie gossip had reached their ears. They knew very
definitely that our medicines are made of human hearts and chil-
dren's bones. It took days of encouragement on my part and a great
deal of baksheesh before I could get any of their legends and songs
and persuade some of the men to let me photograph them and take
anthropological measurements. It was particularly difficult because [511]
the Tu ren are largely well-to-do and intelligent farmers and be-
cause the harvests had been good in the preceding years. They said:
"We do not understand why you want this, such a proposal has never
been made to us and we do not need your money and your presents."
The few men I was able to measure were extremely frightened and
twitched at every single measurement. More than a dozen ran off
at the first touch of the measuring instrument, as excited as though
it were a matter of life and death. As for measuring Tu ren women,
that remained a pious wish on my part. (They were usually around
1.5 meters tall.) They were all afraid that they would thereby be-
come sterile for life. In a few years, when Europeans become more
familiar to them it may be an easy matter to make up for my failure.
It is often said that the Mongoloid peoples and especially the 152
inhabitants of China are much more calm, stoical and self-controlled
than we Europeans. I discovered the opposite to be the case. The
Chinese very easily fly into uncontrollable fits of rage which makes
them capable of almost anything. It is also well-known, of course, 000

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534 MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS--idiophones (e.g., clappers, gongs, rattles); membranophones (e.g., drums); cordophones (e.g., zithers, lutes, harps); aerophones (e.g., flutes, pipes, trumpets); special instruments (e.g., bullroarers), complex mechanical instruments (e.g., piano, organ); care and repair of musical instruments; etc. See also:

Drum signaling . . . . 202 Sound recordings 216
Radio . . . . 207 Musical supplies industry 849

/The Tibetans/

N *563 764 [534] are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

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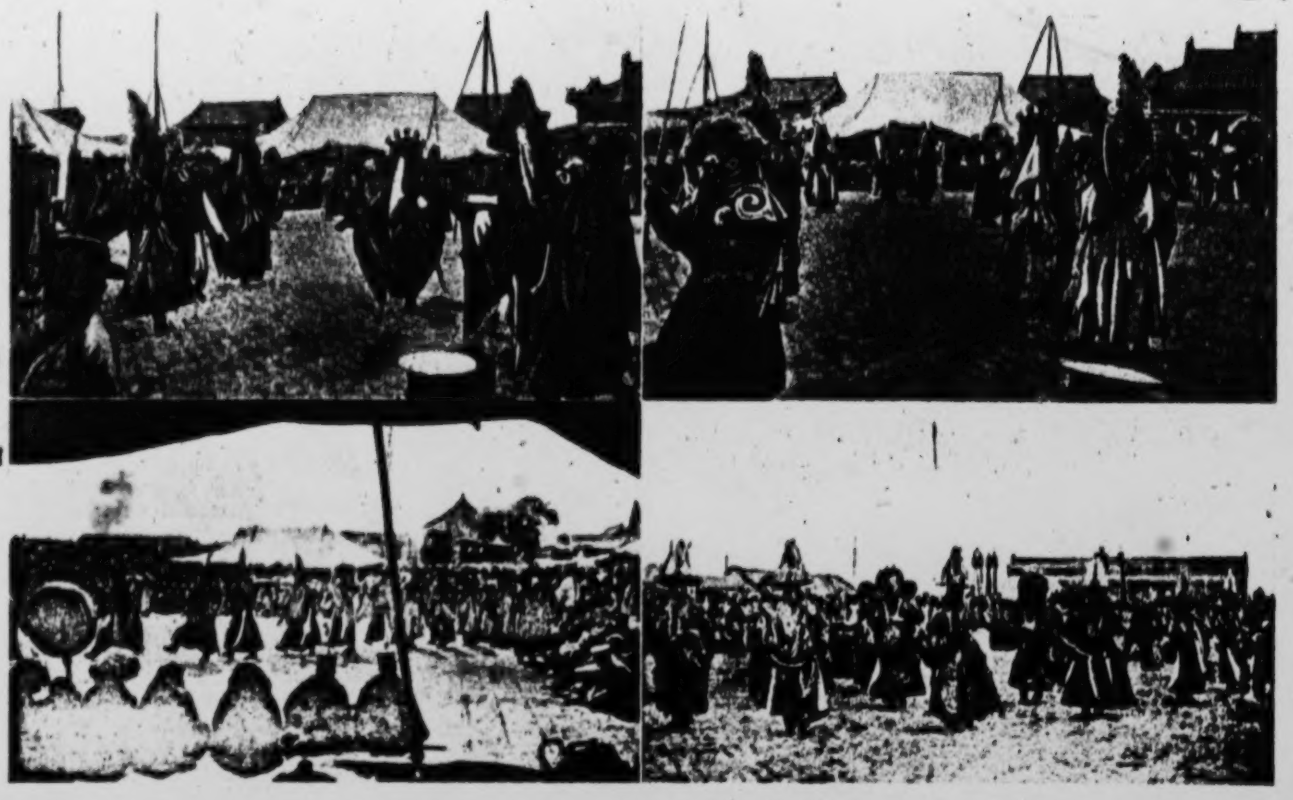
535 796

[p. iii]



THE "DANCE OF THE BLACK HAT"

ace having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there
ould be nothing to attract another raid provided there were 579
o modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver,
pium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go
r. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou 712
as a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain
ehind the town, built by the magistrate and the few
emaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In 534
he centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient
ronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang
ynasty, the only object of value which survives the
eriodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to
h'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west
ails in these parts.

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 487
o 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through
oor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The 133
ess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the 361
hole region gives the impression of turning into desert.
everal miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of 342
aves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts
uilt of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity
f wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for
onstructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably
he people are so used to living in caves that they do not
eel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is
ot to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in
inter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage
hich is always going on in the loess these caves are con-
tantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct
hen it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan
s a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a
ity.

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River 487
nd follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after
hree to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass
4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen 133
hui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously
nough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent
nd descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy
owns. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only
makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It 439
evidently owes its importance to its position as the most
westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like
Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans
going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important
element in the trading community. There was no civil
official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of
soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be
expected in a frontier town.

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we 133
hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, 487
distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li,
T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng
80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated
plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north.
Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have
to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known
Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having
to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly [484]
busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than
any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all 563
Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the
owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could
only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol
population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, 792
which from its appearance might equally well have been
situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are 796
very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the
accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called 535
Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in
Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the
Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It
represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing
of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism,
by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before
the King in the costume shown in the photographs, con-
cealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photo- 796
graphs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the
same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan 782
ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

535

535 DANCING--dance styles (e.g., imitative, pantomimic, symbolic, stylized); technique (e.g., movements of the head, trunk, and limbs); gestures, postures, and their symbolism; solo, pair, and group dancing; choreographic patterns; extemporization and formalization; rhythm; musical accompaniment; occasions for dancing and associated dance forms (e.g., war dances, shamanistic dances, ballroom dancing, tap dancing); participants and spectators; dancing places (e.g., dance halls); dance costumes and paraphernalia; emotional expression in dancing; training in dancing; specialized dancers and dance leaders; choreographic arts allied to dancing (e.g., figure skating); etc. See also:

Gestures . . . 201 Dance performances on the stage . . . 545
Postures . . . 516 Night clubs . . . 547
Skating . . . 526

/The Tibetans/

*563 533 Outside the temples, secular music is to be found in the many folk songs of the common people. The Tibetans are very musical, and they sing on every possible occasion. Most of their songs are sung as they go about their everyday life, or during their festivals.

Some songs are sung individually, some collectively. Gral glu (row songs) are sung only in the New Year Festival or the marriage ceremonies, the singers standing in rows. Sgor bzhas (circle songs) are sung by men and women who grasp one another's hands and stand in a circle walking now to the right, now to the left. Lullaby songs are sung by people standing in a long line, one behind another. Each one places his hands over the shoulder of the person immediately in front of him, and they rock to and fro as in a lullaby.

Most of the folk songs are anonymous, and usually they are circulated only within a small region. Only those which gain strong popular approval spread over a larger area, traveling with pilgrims and caravans. There are many kinds of folk songs, some of them peculiar to a special kind of work and therefore sung almost exclusively by those who engage in that kind of work. (There are special songs for harvesting, for parching corn, for making bricks, for building a house, for making the roof of a house, for loading beasts, for shearing sheep, for washing wool, and so forth.) There are many love and courting songs, and songs describing other sentiments (of sorrow, disappointment, et cetera). Some songs are composed for special social occasions, others for high dignitaries.

Following are three examples of folk songs (translated by [539] Tucci):

"From the mountain peaks in the east
The silvery moon has peeped out
And the face of that young maiden
Has gradually appeared in my mind."

"Anger and ill humour combined
Have made the feathers of the vulture dishevelled
Intrigue and worldly cares
Have completely worn me out."

"When the cuckoo comes from the country Mon
Then the seasonable essence of the soil also comes
Since I have met my lover
My body and mind have become relaxed."

*563 535 In dance as in music there is an absolute division between secular and sacred. The former comprises all rustic styles, both the elementary ring dances in the village squares and the

*563 far more complex and subtle figures of the troupes of profes-
• 535 sional dancers.

*563 It is in the sacred mystery plays (commonly known in the
535 West as "devil dances") that the art of Tibetan dancing reaches
535 its heights. It is part of the regular ceremonial of the church,
536 given at certain seasons of the year. In the large monasteries,
796 hundreds of monks participate in these dances. The smaller monasteries also have their dancing monks and costumes for these mystery plays. The dances usually portray a story, the story always being religious, such as the victory of the heavenly forces over the evil ones. The costumes worn are magnificent, the dresses being made of Chinese silk brocade and embroidery with underskirts banded in red and yellow, the two sacred colors. In addition to the presentation of the heavenly figures, some of the men are dressed as skeletons and demons. At the culmination of the dance, to represent the overthrow of the evil forces, effigies representing them are torn to pieces.

III. Shen-Kan-Ning, the Cradle of Chinese Communist Literature

536 The Shen-Kan-Ning border area with its center at Yenan was
*668 for a period the leading and most advanced region of all Com-
179 munist activities. Even though cultural propaganda was not yet stressed to the same degree as in the period after 1949, most of the patterns of future procedure were already worked out there and then. This pertains in particular to the development of propaganda dramas on a popular level, both for the benefit of the peasants and for the army. The effectiveness of presenting to an unsophisticated audience its own problems in an inflammatory way through the medium of drama was not a discovery of the Chinese Communists. In the framework of the Ting-hsien experiment the same thing had been done in the late 1920's and early 1930's to arouse the political awareness of the Ting-hsien population. Hsiung Fu-hsi (see General Handbook) was the principal author of these popular and frequently impressive plays. As in other cases the Communists were swift in beclouding this ancestry of their propaganda plays, and, when questioned about it, made some disdainful remarks about the bourgeois character of Hsiung and the entire Ting-hsien experiment. In this field too, their political media had to be presented as being of their own creation.

Actually, political dramatics were cultivated in the Kiangsi
*[175] period, but little emphasis was given to them then and in the earlier Yenan days. It was only with the outbreak of the Japanese war and the influx of experienced Chinese writers from the major cities that the movement gained momentum. Prominent

requesting him to send the manuscript in immediately." (Wen-i-pao, No. 2, January 30, 1954, p. 33, Hu Chia-lin: "It should not be just a whirlwind").

Because of the necessity to fit into this sudden rush and dropping of programs, propaganda became a kind of bureaucratic routine. To quote the Communists' own words:

"'Our factory is going to have "check up and evaluation" so you better present a play of "check up and evaluation"!' Some factories requested the Peking opera actors to dress up in modern costumes to show the movement of 'learning tricks'... In this, in cement factories there is 'the cement workers' dance.' In the material department of the cement factories there is 'the material worker's dance'... Down to every special branch of the factory, there is a particular dance of the branch.... These, however, were about the same. At the beginning, a group of 'laborers' would dance out to the front stage, holding a file or a hammer, or just acting as if they were holding some productive tools. Then they would start the actions of laboring, going through the whole procedure of the department's job. After several changes of positions, finally all the people would hold their hands and jump a while to express their joy after laboring.... In the case of 'the dance of the hero who found the trick (of running a machine)'...a group of people on the stage pretended to be a machine; another man jumped around it, moving a 'lever' here, pushing a 'button' there, and finally 'the machine' started to move, indicating that the hero found the trick to run the machine. Then everybody yelled congratulations and celebrated. During the period when the hero jumped around, nobody in the audience understood what he was doing.... Some laborers reflected: 'We work in the factory with machines; we discuss in the group meetings about machines; when we come to the evening entertainments we are still seeing machines!' The workers are not satisfied with this kind of dance." (Wen-i-pao, No. 13, July 15, 1953, p. 36.)

2. Over-repetition

No doubt, repetition was a trump card in the process. It brought the successes of Communist propaganda, but it was not without flaws. Quoting the Communists again:

"Amid enthusiastic applause, the curtain raised. Hundreds of pairs of wide-opened round little eyes looked at the young girl who announced the programs: 'The first song, "We Happily Sing!"' When she announced this, she announced it with a frown. Right after she finished her words, among the audience there was an unanimous - not applause, but a prolonged: "Yeo...". (A Chinese exclamatory remark showing disgusted feeling). Immediately the whole theater turned noisy and the audience of little ones lost interest in the program...

What was wrong?... In a certain concert, the song "We Happily

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536 DRAMA--compositions for dramatic representation; types (e.g., tragedy, comedy, farce); themes (e.g., from myth, history, everyday life); treatment (e.g., realistic, stylized); conventional limitations on dramatic composition; characters and parts; impersonation; acting techniques (e.g., gestures, postures, emotional expression); costumes and paraphernalia; make-up; staging (e.g., scenery, lighting, props, musical accompaniment); acts, scenes, choruses, and interludes; specialists (e.g., playwrights, actors, stagehands, directors); relation of drama to dancing, mythology, magic, and ritual; special types of plays (e.g., puppet shows, shadow plays, musical comedies); special roles (e.g., clowns); etc. See also:

Gestures	201	Humor	522
Patterned expressions of emotion	201	Masks	532
Radio and television	207	Pageants and circuses	541
Cosmetics	302	Stage productions	545
Theater buildings	345	Motion pictures	546
Postures	516	Religious ceremonial	796

/The Tibetans/

far more complex and subtle figures of the troupes of professional dancers.

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536 among those who promoted this movement during the earlier
*668 war years was Ting-ling (see General Handbook), whose dra-
177 matic team was particularly active before army audiences. Further impetus was derived from the foundation of the Lu-hsün Academy of Arts, which also had a drama department. Ts'ao Yü and Ma Chien-ling are two of the more frequently produced authors.

The whole movement was streamlined, however, only in 1942 after Mao Tse-tung's famous speech on the "Problems of Art and Literature" (see General Handbook). The directive given therein to link up artistic activities with popular traditions was followed and, at least in name, the yang-ko movement gave contour and direction to the dramatic arts from then on. The yang-ko, literally "rice sprouting song," was a widespread and popular form of dance, songs—frequently antiphonies—and simple thanksgiving plays in the rural areas. Again the discovery of the usefulness of this tradition for contemporary propaganda purposes was not of Communist priority; it had been used in similar ways in the Ting-hsien experiment.

Very little but the name remained of the popular yang-ko tradition under Communist moulding. Most of their propaganda plays for rural and army consumption, whatever their topics and whatever their form, were called yang-ko. The number of so-called yang-ko pieces composed and produced in Yenan is legion. The most famous of them is, of course, "The White-Haired Girl," the libretto for which was written in early 1945 by members of the Lu-hsün Academy of Arts (see General Handbook).

Other playwrights, particularly Ma Chien-ling, developed the regional style of the traditional opera, the so-called ch'in-ch'iang, into an instrument of Communist propaganda. Ma's first play in this tradition is called "Bloody Enmity," and was written in 1943, the enemy being the Kuomintang and not the Japanese. His second play, entitled "Everybody is Happy," was written in early 1944. Its topic is the conversion of an opium smoker and lazybones into a useful and productive member of the rural masses. This was followed in 1946 by the play called "Save the Peace," which is put into the take-over situation after the Japanese surrender, and in which the conversion of Kuomintang soldiers is the main topic; and in 1947 by the play "The Hate of the Poor People," a civil war play in which the objects of hate are, of course, Chiang Kai-shek, the "feudalistic" gentry and American "imperialism." It is worthy of note that at that early date the Communists came out into the open with their anti-American slogans in a context in which they believed themselves to be, and were, unobserved.

The appeal of casting propaganda plays in the opera style was

536 strong for several reasons. Not only was the entire population
*668 familiar with this style to the point of knowing from memory a
177 large repertory of traditional plays; the splendor of the costumes, falsetto singing and accompanying acrobatics were features in which any audience rejoiced. For that reason not only the local theatre style but also the Peking opera were cannibalized. An Institute of Research on the Peking Opera was founded at Yenan, the function of which was to remould classical operas along Communist propaganda lines. Particularly plays in the tradition of the great novel, Shui-hu (All Men Are Brothers), lend themselves to this type of recasting.

538 The story-teller's tale was also adapted to contemporary
use. Perhaps the most famous of Communist epics in this style
*668 is the story of Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang, which was
177 written at Yenan in 1945 by Li Chi. The author is not a poet, but has won himself a name as a Communist theorist since the 1920's. He makes use in this story of the rather freely modulated and crudely rhymed seven-beat line of the popular ballad for a story in which the landlord, who is a bloodhound as well as a lecher, is finally disposed of by Communist soldiers.

Another author who worked in this genre is T'ien Chien. His "Song of the Carter," written in 1946, tells the story of an oppressed, poor peasant who, after having received indoctrination from Eighth Route Army people, succeeds in organising peasant resistance against landlord oppression, and in the course of this action also gains the allegiance of his sweetheart.

After 1949, the Shen-Kan-Ning region lost its leading place in literature and the arts to the major cities, particularly Peking. The general trend, however, developed during this period and remained influential in all later production (see General Handbook).

797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had cre
ated considerable resentment and suspicion among the authori-
ties and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying pro-
portions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other
provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is
there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize
both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. How-
ever, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of
communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are
usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary sig-
nificance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the
gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people
of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the
New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

771 Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
769 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
[353] tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their
memory always present. Those living now are only the present
custodians of the family name.

[592] "This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
[614] a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

771 "At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
796 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
592 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
782 ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for
days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon,
in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old
rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices,
to the Queen of Heaven,

*668 Sing!" was sung eighteen times, while another song "Let's Sing,
533 We Chinese Youth!" was sung twenty-three times!" (Ibid., No. 16,
545 August 30, 1955, p. 32).

Misinterpretation

*668 Other troubles came from misinterpretation of the doctrine.
• 536 The Communist magazine stated:

"In the January issue of the Worker's Literature published in Sian, Shensi, in 1954, there was a play written for the local opera theaters, 'Sell the grain to the State'. (Author T'ien Yi-Yung). It described a peasant Wang Shou-ch'eng who did not like to sell his surplus grain to the state, until his thought transformed. Then he sold his grain to the state.,.

But how did Wang Shou-ch'eng transform? Because his son-in-law Li Hsiao-hsien helped him to figure out the loss and gain in the following way: the price which the state paid was 33,000 a peck, but each peck was 30 catties; though the dishonest merchant, Sun Kuang-ts'ai, promised to pay 36,000 a peck, it was counted by the local big peck of 35 catties. According to the government price, it would be 38,000 each peck. After this calculation...the thought was transformed...."(Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 7, p. 38. The peck in Chinese measurement varies in different places. Usually it weighs 13 1/2 lbs. The pecks mentioned in this paragraph might be a kind of double peck.)

Obviously, this thought transformation was not the sort intended by the Communists. Therefore the Wen-i-pao criticized this play for capitalistic thought which should be discarded. The right kind of writing to promote the sale of grain should be something describing the peasants as willing to sell the grain to "the state" at any price, gain or loss.

*668 The Communist propaganda programs often were innocently, but embarrassingly, twisted and misunderstood by the lower cadres and audiences. Furthermore, in nearly every propaganda campaign, there was a need for the exposure of evils. Even though the formula always gave final victory to the Communists, the exposure part often lingered much longer, and loomed much larger than the Party would like to see.

*668 VII. Conclusion

178 A real test of the effectiveness of Communist propaganda is now underway. In the past, Stalin was deified by the Chinese Communist Party. He was the genius strategist. He was the Great Leader. He was the eternal sun. He was the eternal steel. Now the Party propaganda machine must tear down this idol it created. If Party propaganda were as effective as it was believed to be, faith in Stalin should live in the people's hearts forever. However, if Party propaganda is as effective as it claims, there should be nothing that cannot be obliterated. The situation resembles an

a carillon of nine bells, hanging over the shrine. Simul- 788
taneously one catches the monotonous tone of a hollow,
wooden drum, shaped like a crab, the beating of which
declares, in triple rhythm, that the ultimate issue of
earth, matter, and even life itself, is VOID.

'Earth is void! All is void! I am void!' This is the message of the drum to every human heart in that city of unnumbered gods.

The most rigorous asceticism rules the lives of many 262
Kanchow women. Not content with being under a 785
vegetarian vow, as is usually understood, they so fear
any subtle indulgence of the appetite, that even onions,
garlic, vinegar and red pepper, the necessary condi-
ments to flavour the insipid dough-string diet, are
eschewed. During the spring months almost each day 796
sees the recurrence of some festival, which draws the
crowds alternately to each temple in the neighbourhood.
Theatrical troops move from fair to fair, repeating their [536]
performances to the never-failing concourse of village
people, whose bullock-carts are parked in a wide semi-
circle facing the stage, and in which the women sit the
whole day long exposed to the heat of the sun. Most of 796
the younger women and girls adorn themselves for the 302
occasion with paint and powder, until the face is con-
verted into an expressionless mask. Their hair is
beautifully dressed and decorated with artificial flowers.
Most of the small children are stamped on the forehead,
nose, and chin with minute geometrical patterns,
traced in red circles.

Just out of earshot of the stage, the food-vendors 796
pitch their stalls, where cooked eatables of all descrip- 265
tions are on sale. Pork fried and stewed in a thick
gravy, is served up in small saucers and eaten with
chopsticks, as also fried meat-dumplings, garnished
with vinegar and red pepper. A large mould of

796 steamed rice containing the fruit of the jujube tree is
265 popular, and dried apricots, macerated in water, are
in demand as a cooling drink. Not far off are long
tables sheltered by an awning, where men will sit for
hours sipping tea and playing cards.

796 Within the temple buildings[1] the idols are dressed up in
782 gay silks, and each family on arrival presents itself at
the various shrines to make obeisance, and burn incense.
Thin sheets of yellow paper, on which are inscribed
petitions to the gods, are lighted at the shrine lamp,
waved in the air, and wafted upwards, the manner and
height of ascent indicating the favour or displeasure of
785 the deities. Some of the older women, who have
796 practised asceticism for a lifetime and are prepared for
any self-abnegation so that they may in the next
incarnation obtain a more auspicious rebirth, perform
elaborate rituals with touching devotion.

796 On such a fête-day all the temple treasures and silken
536 embroideries are on view, as also magnificent peacock-
feather screens and umbrellas. The din of voices from
vendors and visitors is completely overwhelmed when
once the theatrical musicians commence their per-
formance. Cymbals, pipes, and drums sound their
loudest, while above them soars the shrill falsetto voice
of the stage managers, announcing the details of the
performance.

351 The temple grounds are beautifully kept. The
796 fragrant tree-peony opens its blossoms when the peach
and pear trees drop their petals, and all through the
summer months a succession of beautiful flowers
decorates the fancy landscapes of the temple gardens,
miniature lakes and bridges supplying a foreground to
sacred mountains arranged on the same small scale.
796 The whole scene, from the turquoise sky, the snow-clad
mountain ranges and the gorgeous profusion of flowers,

1[of Kanchow on Festival Days--Analyst]

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538 LITERATURE--literary styles; poetry (e.g., epic, lyric); verse forms (e.g., couplets, stanzas); poetic techniques (e.g., meter, rhyme, alliteration); prose forms (e.g., tales, sagas, proverbs, fiction, short stories, essays); narrative plot and structure; literary subjects and themes; characters (e.g., animals, men, gods); treatment (e.g., realism, fantasy, allegory, satire); composition; literary conventions; recitation and narration (e.g., occasions, audiences); specialists (e.g., poets, prose authors, story tellers, ghost writers); etc. This category is reserved for generalized descriptions of literature. For literary texts, and analyses and commentaries related to specific literary works see 539. See also:

Stylistics	198	Riddles	524
News stories and magazine articles	204	Lectures	544
Books and their publication	214	Mythology	773
Esthetic ideals and canons of taste	817	Sacred literature	779
Wit and humor	522	Humanistic studies	814

563 153 779 155 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal social stability of family and community at the expense of personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

563 153 185 (158) If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

563 538 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

563 775 771 (827) The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

563 771 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

/The Tibetans/

*563 mandment," is so called because it was translated from the
538 ancient Indian language. The code extends to one hundred and
779 eight volumes of about a thousand pages each. The Kah-gyur is divisible into three great sections: the Dul-va (Discipline), the Do (sermons), and the Ch'os-non-pa (metaphysics). These three sections are considered to be the antidotes for the three original sins; thus the discipline cleanses from lust, the sermons from ill will, and the wisdom from stupidity.

The Tibetan commentary or Tan-gyur is a great cyclopedic compilation of all sorts of literary works, written mostly by ancient Indian scholars and some learned Tibetans, in the first few centuries after the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. There are two hundred and twenty-five volumes. It is divided into two classes, the rGyud and mDo. The rGyud is mostly on rituals and ceremonies and the mDo on science and literature.

The indigenous works composed in Tibet are for the most part devoted to sacred subjects. The secular books exist, as a rule, in manuscript form, as the printing is in the hands of the monks. The sacred books can be divided into (a) apocryphal and (b) authentic and quasi authentic. The apocryphal works are the most numerous and most popular. Chief among them are the fictitious "revelations" or Terma books. Other common apocryphal works are the manuscripts possessed by the monasteries which gave a more or less legendary account of the history of the monastery.

The authentic books include many religious chronologies and records. Most of these biographies and records are legendary, especially those of the earlier Lamas and Indian monks. Some of the later ones dealing with more modern personages are of a somewhat more historical character, but are also overloaded with legends.

The leading ritualistic manuals of the various sects are of a more or less authentic character and small pocket editions of these prayer books and hymns are very numerous.

*563 By looking outside the monastic circles, little can be found:
538 on the one hand, the elaboration of chronicles and genealogies of noble families, on the other, sacred plays, arbitrarily adapted to the people's psychology, temperament and understanding, by actors always ready to modify their literary origin. Folk songs and epics also originated by the people outside the monasteries. A collection of proverbs and drinking songs can be found in "The Precious Rosary" (rin-ch'en-p'ren-wa). The folk tales of the people (sgruns) are fabulous. The best known of these is that of Gesar. (Waddell suggests a possibility that the name may be derived from Caesar, or from Czar.)

Among the secular works of Tibetan literature, the most popular is the epos of Gesar, the national epic poem of the

/The Tibetans/

*563 Tibetans. There are a few versions of the fabulous history of
• 538 Gasar, of which the version told in Kham is most frequently recited. There are several manuscripts of the Gasar legend, but none of them is complete. The Gasar saga is mostly recited orally, by the wandering bards, who can recite long passages from memory, and by the people themselves, as every Tibetan can recite a few verses of the Gasar epos. It is particularly popular among the nomadic Tibetans. The legend seems to have had its origin in the Pon time, prior to the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism.

*563 C. Tibetan Art

532 Tibetan art is divided into two categories, the religious and the secular. The influence of India can be recognized in the
[177] first category, while Chinese influence is dominant in the things pertaining to worldly life, as the cultured society in Tibet modeled its manners upon those of the court of Peking, which for centuries occupied the suzerian position.

The religious art is expressed mostly in works of sculpture and painting. The most popular and unusual of the creations of the Tibetan artists have been the tankas. The tankas are scroll paintings, or occasionally embroidered pictures, which first came to use in about the tenth century. Before that time, painting was mostly confined to frescoes on the walls of temples or monasteries or in caves. These tankas are hung in the temples and at family altars in homes. They are also carried by the Lamas in religious processions. They often portray a deity, group of deities, or scenes from the life of Buddha or the saints. Often they depict stories which the Lamas use to illustrate their sermons.

The tankas are usually painted on canvas, sometimes on
[992] paper, rarely on silk. The artists are Lamas, who spend many years in training before they attempt to work independently.

Images are also made for religious purposes. They can be of gold, silver, copper or bronze; or sometimes they are of wood, stone, clay or butter. They are often studded with turquoise, coral and pearls. The artists either sculpture them by hand or make them in molds and finish them by hand.

The votive tablets are another category of religious objects which requires the work of special artists for its production.
[992] They are made by the Lamas, after a set pattern from which they are not allowed to deviate. These tablets are sometimes sold to the worshippers or pilgrims, or they may be made by order of wealthy donors and presented to a particular temple. The cruder ones are made of clay, with the figure of the deity or group of deities impressed on the face. More elaborate tablets are polychromed and gilded. A few are made of bronze,

S /Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

533 "Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
535 People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
177 Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
668 Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

N A. Introduction

*563 Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in North-
177 west China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper,
53 although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cul-
N tural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monas-
[792] teries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

N B. Tibetan Literature

*563 Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in charac-
538 ter. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated
779 from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings.
N There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture
[792] was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

N The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations
*[175] from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tan-gyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

This war followed the pattern that had been established for millennia in China. The people from Lanchow fu set out for war without any kind of plan, and hoped for some kind of solution short of open battle, either by means of endless negotiations, orders and counter-orders from the distant throne, or primarily by the presence of an army. 726

The good ting, a man of action, was, of course, immediately discharged, lost his position and his honors because he could not pay for the whole war himself. A few years later I saw the young, vigorous and intelligent man still waiting patiently but not very hopefully in Lanchow fu for a settlement in his favor of the long-drawn-out civil suit against his superiors. But if Ru da lao ye should ever get another post, he will surely never again help an oppressed people! To me the most characteristic aspect of the whole thing was the fact that in Kue de shop-keepers, my host and many farmers spoke in the most exalted terms of Ting Ru as their savior, but no one turned a hair for the dishonored one. Unless one had a great deal of money in Old China, one did not dare be a person of action. One had to keep strictly to wu wei, i.e., not take any action and simply let things happen. 631

The present ting of Kue de turned out to be a very cultivated literary man and an archaeologist. He had a great understanding for the oldest Chinese characters. He had not bought his rank. He had, already in the 'sixties, brilliantly passed his state examinations, and later, too, he was famous for his classical poetry and the number of his classical quotations, so that it seems strange that he never took the higher state examinations and achieved a still higher position. But, of course, he was not a rich man's son.

An hour after my visit in the yamen, the ting called on me at my inn. As a present he brought me a poem more than a square meter in size, which he had composed himself and written with his own hand, partly in Old Chinese symbols. It depicted the dangers of the Ts'ao ti, that is, of Tibet, in the blackest colors imaginable. He predicted that I would never escape if I ventured to go there. It almost seemed to me as though the amban had advised me to go to Kue de only in order to have me talk to this man. The refrain was always: Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate, as though the old mandarin had, with his opium-stained fingers, turned the leaves of Dante's Divine Comedy and as though the haughty Chinaman who disdains anything foreign had copied some of the great poet's most gruesome passages. 538

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539 LITERARY TEXTS--texts, translations, and abstracts of folktales, myths, songs, and other individual literary products; critical analyses and commentaries thereupon; etc.

539 in heaven. And so they made him be ma wenn, that is, he became the stable ape. - Since that time the image of an ape or an ape itself is found in every large horse stable in China, and it keeps away disease. (See ape images that are used to tie on horses, Plate XII of Vol. I.) However, even in heaven the job of stable ape is not held in great esteem, and so he carried on all kinds of knavery. Once again T'ai schang lao din had to capture his son and this time he set him under the mountain Yin Shan, that is, "pressure mountain." The ape was given but one word of comfort: it was said that during the T'ang dynasty a man would pass by and if he wanted to serve him, he would be permitted to come out and travel with him to Hsi t'ien.

Now T'ang sen had come into the vicinity of the Yin Shan. In a deep valley he suddenly heard his name called and the words: Diu ming! diu ming! (Help! I am losing my life!) T'ang sen asked where the call of help came from and already he heard from inside the mountain: "If you climb to the top of the mountain you will see a bowl; if you lift it up, I shall be able to get out." Scarcely had T'ang sen lifted the bowl somewhat when the air was charged with lightning and thunder and the stone ape leapt out. They had gone on together for only a short distance when they met Guan yin p'usa, the goddess of the southern ocean, or, as the Chinese also call her: Kwan yin. She gave the ape who from now on also called himself Sung wu kung, a hat. Scarcely had he put it on when he discovered that he could not take it off. But Guan yin p'usa said to T'ang sen: "If the ape gets angry or wants to run away from you, just say the prayer: Tsing gu r tschu, then he will get a dreadful headache and will quickly come back to you."

They traveled on and came to a rich man who was very sad and at first did not want to take them in. His only daughter was ill; every night she was made mad by an evil spirit. T'ang sen promised to help if the man would take them in, and the stone ape had to catch the spirit. It was "Tschu ba dyi," the devil with the hog's head, in his black clothes. Now since Tschu ba dyi promised to serve T'ang sen, they saved his life. So the three set out and came to the mountain H'uo yüen Shan. On it there are poisonous gases and flames - hence its name - so that they could not pass over it. But near it lived Niu mao wang. This is an evil spirit with the head of a yak, who has a magic fan called Ba diu Shan, and with that only could the gases be dispelled. When the yak-headed spirit Niu mao wang had gone out, the ape quickly took on his shape and went to Niu mao wang's wife

and asked for the magic fan. Scarcely had he got it when he ran with 539 it up the mountain in order to fan away the bad smoke. But the woman had given him a fake fan. So the ape took on the form of a mosquito, flew into the woman's mouth as she was eating and thence into her stomach and from there he pulled at her heart with all his might. He pulled so long that she listened to his voice and told him where the /26/ real fan was. Then she had to open her mouth again so that he could fly out. Hardly was he out (in order to keep her from biting down on him he had cautiously inserted something between her teeth before he flew through her mouth) when he took the fan and hurried back to the H'uo yüen mountain. And while he fanned away, the smoke and the poisonous gases disappeared and they could all cross over. (1)

1. This scene is often depicted on Chinese pictures. The noxious gases are the ien tschi about which my men complained so much, for example on the Türketse pass. They are usually depicted in the form of smoke.

Now they came to Nü jen guo, the land in which there are no men but only women. But the women are very war-like and ride and hunt like men. There they encountered much difficulty with a magic spring. (2) ----Many another strange land did they have to pass through

2. T'ang sen had drunk from the magic spring and thus became pregnant. But because he was not a woman he could not bear the child and became very ill.

before they came to the Lu scha Ho. On this river lived an evil spirit with the head of a horse, whose favorite occupation was to devour humans. He also was overcome and had to travel on with T'ang sen if he wanted his life to be spared.

At last all of them stood on the Tung t'ien Ho which is the river that is called Yangtze Kiang down in China. On its banks they saw a water spirit sitting. They told him that they were traveling to Hsi t'ien, the western heaven, to Hsi fan Wo fo, the Buddha, in order to fetch prayers for the emperor of China. The spirit told them that if they came to Buddha they should also praise his good behavior, for he was a very good spirit and hoped for a reward for his continuous

539 good behavior over a period of a thousand years. (3) So saying he

3. This is an allusion to the usefulness of the Yangtze Kiang as against the devastation caused by the Hwang Ho.

carried them all across over the deep Tung t'ien h'o.

When they finally came to Hsi t'ien, Hsi fan Wo fo (Buddha) gave them his prayers. These were the most efficacious prayers and exorcisms. People who were at the point of death could, by means of them, be brought back to a happy life. So they hurried off, carrying the prayers, back to the T'ang emperor. Too late Wo fo (Buddha) realized that if henceforth everybody stayed alive, there might not be enough food to nourish the people. So he sent a servant after T'ang sen, who was supposed to take the valuable book away from him.

The plucky band again came to the river Tung T'ien Ho. There the river spirit had been expecting them for a long time. He immediately let them sit on his shoulders and began swimming across the river. When they came to the middle he asked them whether they had told the Buddha Hsi fan Wo fo what a good man he was.

"Haya! we forgot all about it!" they cried.

"Hm!" said the spirit and dove under. ----With great effort they reached land; but the prayer books had been carried away by the waves. The very best ones disappeared completely, only a few were they able to rescue. Some of them were pressed down on the stones along the shore and no amount of effort was able to loosen the impression.

To this day, therefore, the Tibetans imitate these imprints of prayers on the stones along the banks of the Yangtze Kiang, and carve them deep into slabs of stone.

When T'ang sen had returned to China, he gave the prayers that had been rescued to his compatriots, the Chinese. The Tibetans were given the covers and wrappings of them. The H'ui h'ui, the Mohammedans, also wanted to have prayers from Buddha. For them the ape made meaningless scratchings on a piece of paper, for of course he could not write, and gave them that.

The presents were used in various ways: The Chinese to this day prays without actually believing in his prayers; the Tibetan prays even when he performs the most unclean action; but the Mohammedans regarded the meaningless scribble of the ape as a real prayer and

honored it to such an extent that they touched it only after they had 539 washed themselves. For this reason the ape asked them whether they /27/ were near-sighted, and in order to make his meaning clear, he put his hands in front of his eyes. But the Mohammedans misunderstood even this, and that is why, to this day, they pass their hand across their faces when they pray. (1)

1. This story of my Tsch'eng who was himself illiterate, is taken from the Schih yu tschin tsuen, a Buddhistic novel which is read a great deal in China and is told orally. T'ang sen is of course supposed to be the well-known Hsüen tsang of history who, in the beginning of the seventh century, traveled over present-day Turkestan and Pamir to India, the home of Buddha. - Compare the Chinese book of 100 volumes Schih yu tschin tsuen (Account of a journey to the west) and taken from this: Th. Pavie in Journ. asiatique, V series, Vol. 9 and 10, 1857, as well as E. W. Thering, Chinese Fiction, in China Review XXII, XXIII.

For over a week I traveled down the valley. At times the little 000 river squeezed into a narrow gorge of rock between the sandstone mountains, and then again it spread out for a little way in front of one of the many parallel chains running always from west-northwest to east-southeast. The lower I came, the higher and more beautiful the deeply-cleft peaks arose out of the valley, and the prettier and more fit for human habitation the unoccupied country round about us became. The days passed extremely regularly. Each morning there was a thin coating of ice on the pools and puddles, in spite of the warmth of August, and around our camps on the brook lay hoar frost which is unusual in the dry mountain climate of Tibet. The morning dawned clear and windless. But it was scarcely light when a little breeze came up. With a rising west-wind isolated fragments of cirrus clouds appeared, as though shy at first, and then suddenly - before nine in the morning - a small cumulus settled down over a peak. Others gathered rapidly. The sky became black and blacker. All at once the stagnant cloud mass pushed over us toward the west. Under a thin, light cirrus covering that came racing from the west, high up, a movement of air from the southwest, cloud-laden, was suddenly discernible. At a mountain-top height the southeast summer monsoon of East Asia prevailed. Often there was a thunderstorm

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541 SPECTACLES -- patriotic celebrations; parades; fireworks displays; military reviews; secular pageants; carnivals, circuses, and rodeos; animal racing and fighting (e.g., horse and dog races, bull baiting, cockfighting); gladiatorial combats; public hangings; organization of spectacles; financing (e.g., by profits, voluntary contributions, subsidies); admissions (e.g., gratis, by ticket); specialists (e.g., organizers, performers); etc. See also:

Breeding of racehorses 232
Animal transport 492
Attendant gambling 525
Clowns 522, 536
Religious spectacles 796

574 escorted!" he repeated over and over again, not even giving me a chance to ask for it. Then, suddenly interrupting himself, he asked us politely but firmly to drink our tea and because we pretended not to hear him, he repeated his request. There was nothing for it but to take up the tea cup and "Tso-aa!" Departure! cried the doormen at the same instant. Throughout China the invitation to drink one's tea is only an invitation to leave, and if a guest reaches for the teapot which must always be placed beside him when he comes for a visit, then everyone knows that it is time to depart. Within less than five minutes /208/ we again found ourselves in the doorway. In spite of our doubtful reception I was blissful, for what more could I wish than a small escort for my further journeys. At that time I still had confidence in the words of the higher Manchu officials, all of whom had received me well and treated me with friendliness, and I still had the best opinion of the amban, especially because he had returned my New Year's gifts with a large, costly dinner which, however, he had had served to me at my inn. But
[437] this is not an unusual custom in China. In larger cities it is also often customary to make out notes to some restaurant for a dinner of four or eight persons. These notes one may give away to someone else without embarrassment, and it sometimes happens that the tenth man into whose hands the promissory note falls really takes advantage of it, even though he may not know the first man who is actually paying for the dinner.

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On the fifth day of the New Year shortly after sunrise the general and all the officers of the city set out to fetch the god of entertainment. A gala sedan chair which bore the written character Si (entertainment) was placed in a temple outside the east gate. In front of this letter, which was more than a meter high, the general and the men accompanying him fell on their knees in the dust of the road and kowtowed three times. Later on, the letter on his sedan chair was brought to the city in solemn procession and then placed in the general's yamen. There it remains throughout the year and is a guarantee that in the coming year there shall be no lack of entertainment and theatrical performances of all kinds in the city.

On the tenth day of the New Year the so-called spring festival was celebrated in Hsining fu. Scarcely was the sun up on that day when all the streets leading to the east gate were crowded with people. The Chinese farmers with their wives and children poured into the city from distant places. All the roofs of the main street were covered with representatives of the fair sex whose faces were

[text continues p. 354]

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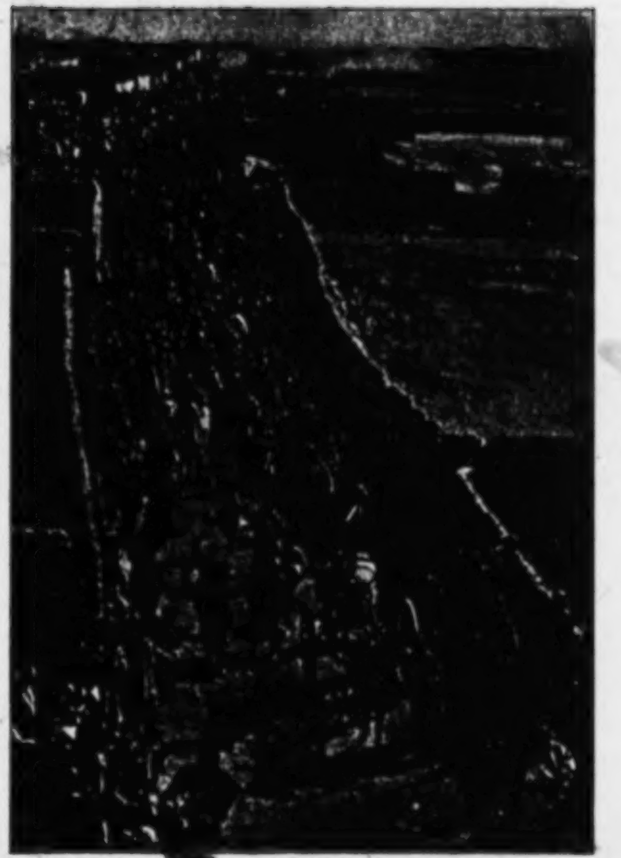
Plate XLV.



(Captions on following page)

/208A/

/The Tibetans/

*563 Outside the temples, secular music is to be found in the
533 many folk songs of the common people. The Tibetans are very musical, and they sing on every possible occasion. Most of their songs are sung as they go about their everyday life, or during their festivals.

Some songs are sung individually, some collectively. Gral glu (row songs) are sung only in the New Year Festival or the marriage ceremonies, the singers standing in rows. Sgor bzhas (circle songs) are sung by men and women who grasp one another's hands and stand in a circle walking now to the right, now to the left. Lullaby songs are sung by people standing in a long line, one behind another. Each one places his hands over the shoulder of the person immediately in front of him, and they rock to and fro as in a lullaby.

Most of the folk songs are anonymous, and usually they are circulated only within a small region. Only those which gain strong popular approval spread over a larger area, traveling with pilgrims and caravans. There are many kinds of folk songs, some of them peculiar to a special kind of work and therefore sung almost exclusively by those who engage in that kind of work. (There are special songs for harvesting, for parching corn, for making bricks, for building a house, for making the roof of a house, for loading beasts, for shearing sheep, for washing wool, and so forth.) There are many love and courting songs, and songs describing other sentiments (of sorrow, disappointment, et cetera). Some songs are composed for special social occasions, others for high dignitaries.

Following are three examples of folk songs (translated by
[539] Tucci):

"From the mountain peaks in the east
The silvery moon has peeped out
And the face of that young maiden
Has gradually appeared in my mind."

"Anger and ill humour combined
Have made the feathers of the vulture dishevelled
Intrigue and worldly cares
Have completely worn me out."

"When the cuckoo comes from the country Mon
Then the seasonable essence of the soil also comes
Since I have met my lover
My body and mind have become relaxed."

*563 In dance as in music there is an absolute division between
535 secular and sacred. The former comprises all rustic styles, both the elementary ring dances in the village squares and the

The situation resembles an
*668 old Chinese story which was translated recently by the Chinese
178 Communists:
539 "There was a man who made shields and spears. 'Buy my shields,' he would say. 'They are very strong. Nothing in the world can penetrate them!'
He also lauded his spears, saying: 'My spears are the sharpest in the world. They are so sharp they can pierce anything!'
One day someone asked him: 'If we use one of your spears to pierce one of your shields, what then?'
The man from the land of Chu could find no answer." (China Reconstructs, December, 1955, p. 25.)

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Kalmyk

summer with the Mongols. The holy man came riding up early in 563
the morning, accompanied by three akkas, and for many hours he 792
read prayers, invocations and exorcisms in the Mongol's yurt. When he departed all the members of the family humbly kissed the hem of his garment and the three akkas followed him with a yak and 28 sheep. - Indeed, summer resorts prove lucrative for the holy men!

In our little group it was also a day of prayer and sacrifice. Lao 782
Sung who had recovered along with the rest of us from his illness up 539
at the Tschürnong redeemed a pledge today. He had bought the sheep which he had promised the gods for his recovery. He built an altar of earth and stones behind the tent and before it he sang his daily invocation:

Lama la stiapsumdschiū
Songrdyi la stiapsumdschiū
Tschu la stiapsumdschiū
Ginden la stiapsumdschiū
Guntschok sum la stiapsumdschiū
Yidam tschüngkordye
Lha tsok kordang dye ba
mam la ptscha tsalo-o
\- - - - - - - - - - - - -
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If he spoke very rapidly he could say the entire prayer in twenty minutes. (2) Thereupon he burned thuja leaves together with cow dung. /339/ Meanwhile the slaughtering of the sheep was undertaken. 782
It was first consecrated according to the Tibetan rite and then killed according to Mohammedan rites. While Lao Sung was still praying, Lao Tscheng brought burning cedar leaves on our serving ladle and exposed the animal to smoke with these; according to his own words,

2. The beginning of the prayer btsoktschito... and the supplication to the sGrolma. Every little lama novice and every layman or "black man" (Tibetan: mi nag) knows this prayer by heart and is supposed to repeat it if possible 21 times a day. The above lines roughly translated are: I implore all the lamas, /339/ I implore all the priests, I implore all the deities, I pray to all that is holy. I beseech the trinity of the gods. I kowtow in the dust before the lord of the tutelary gods, before the assembly of the gods, all the holy ones and their pupils...

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782 he purified the animal. Then the horns and ears were sprinkled with water until the animal shook itself, a sign that the gods accepted it as a sacrifice. Then it was handed over to the Mohammedans. To complete the offering, the Fan tse Me threw clotted scraps of blood into the air with the ladle when the animal was being dismembered. If I had not had any Mohammedans with me, the men from Kue de would have killed the animal according to the Tibetan custom, they would have slowly strangled it with a rope pulled over its nostrils. When the animal was cut up, it did not take long before the sacrificial lamb was converted into blood sausages and sausages for frying.

782 It was dark when the meal was served. A ewer of horse-milk
264 brandy had been bought in the neighboring yurt for the occasion. The sky had become more and more overcast, there was only a little light from the resinous cedar wood, and in numerous tents and yurts in the valley friendly fires beckoned. When we had dined Tsch'eng got up and gave a speech, using many high-flown words and similes, and saying that Sung had now paid his wether and that now no one could accuse him of having infected us with his disease up in the
782 highlands. Then the men sang their melodious songs into the night.
539 They sang melancholy Mongolian songs and light Tibetan couplets:

"Aláchimo! Maiden!
Like a chain of gold stretched across a river from yonder shore,
Like a chain of gold stretched across a river from the hither side,
Like a bridge with golden arches, heaven has united us with cords of gold," (1)

or, a song teasing his beloved:

"Aláchimo! Maiden!
I have a cap of fox fur and a cap of lamb's wool.
If I do not wear the fox fur cap but the lamb's wool cap
I am just as happy.
I have a long sword and I have a short sword.
Whether I wear the long sword or the short sword in my belt,

1. In the dialect of the Koko Nor Tibetans:
Tschü par re sege re
Tso tschü re sege re
Sang song be re se sa tsu tsa re
Li dyen dyi sege tenn da re.

[text continues on p. 569]

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I am equally happy. 782
Once I had a lady love, and now I have a new lady love, 539
I love them both equally well!"

From time to time came an answering long drawn-out trill or a shrill vibration from a reed pipe from some far-off yurt. In between there was the sudden meowing lament of a /340/ wolf from up on the heights. The chorus of dogs in the valley became wild and answered with harsh barks. Nor was the answer to the strong east wind long in coming. At midnight it began to rain and that put an end to our feast to the gods.

But Sung's sacrifice of a sheep was not yet considered adequate. 782
Eight akkas of the Gelugba sect were requested to exorcise all evil 789
and remove it from us through prayer. Before they arrived eight smonlam hkor, cone-shaped figures 10 centimeters high and a yidam (tutelary god), a triangular pyramid, were kneaded out of tsamba dough. Twenty pounds of tsamba were required. Three white solar disks made of butter were stuck to the front of the yidam and the dough for it was colored red so that it looked like bloody meat. The smonlam were white and were finished off by being smeared with butter. When these things were made, a dorma (gtorma) 25 centimeters high was fashioned from dough. It was a slender, three-sided object with notched edges resembling flames and produced by means of a thread (see Fig. 20 and Plate LI).

When the akkas appeared at daybreak, the smonlam hkor with their yidam were placed on a chest to the rear of the tent. The dorma was placed on a rush mat in a corner on the floor. The eight priests read the smonlam prayers all day long, until twelve o'clock at night, to the accompaniment of cymbals and drums, and my Buddhists repeatedly kowtowed and threw barley and spirits over the yidam. On the second day the white tsamba-smonlam were burned upon the altar, together with thuja leaves. The red yidam was divided up among everyone and eaten. The dorma was now carefully lifted up and carried in solemn procession around the corner of the nearest mountain where Sung meanwhile had lit a large fire. When the procession arrived there everyone began to yell wildly and shoot off their guns, and after three vigorous exclamations of "Pfui!" on the part of the priests, Tsch'eng threw the dorma into the blazing fire. Now all the lay people shot their guns into the fire a few times, then everyone quickly ran back to the camp site and the monks were each given a khádar and silver, according to their rank and dignity, because they had rid us of all disease-bringing agents and evil

[text continues on p. 571]

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The great number of stone slabs that were covered 782
all over with Tibetan writing showed that our predecessors had traveled slowly. In the lonely valley were to be seen walls 10 to 20 meters long of mani rdo mgum (mani rdo hbum, i.e., 100,000 mani stones). While their caravan animals were resting, devout monks on their pilgrimage to Lhasa once carved these prayer reliefs, with the crudest implements, but so deep and so painfully neat as though they were afterwards not to be piled one on top of another, but openly displayed for all the world to judge who could do best. Decades of snow and ice have since then continued working on them and the bright colors are almost washed out. (Plate VII)

After my Tsch'eng had seen the prayer stones, he began to look for the Yang tse kiang every day. For the custom of carving these reliefs so laboriously is not common among the Koko Nor Tibetans; they are more often found near the Yangtze River.

We were on the way to the Hsi t'ien, the heaven of the west. For many hours Tsch'eng continued to tell us the story of Tang sen and how it was through him that the mani stones came to the banks of the Yangtze.

The Legend of Tang sen

During the T'ang dynasty in China there lived a petty official by 539
the name of Tsch'eng guan wei, and he had a wife whose name was Yi man t'ang (2). This man had an /24/ elder brother whose name

2. I have written the names as my people pronounced them.

was Yi k'ai Shan and who was a very important official. When the couple were transferred to another place they had to travel by boat, and after they had sailed two or three days the boatman attacked the official Tsch'eng at night, bound him, and threw him overboard. But then the rapacious boatman married the woman. She was carrying a child in her womb and for the sake of it she accepted the robber's proposal. Thus they traveled on and after a month they came to the place where the official Tsch'eng was supposed to have entered his new office. With the help of the murdered man's papers, the murderer now got the job.

Four or five months later the woman gave birth to the child of Tsch'eng, but the husband's murderer was not aware of it. Right after it was born, she bit off the child's big toe, packed the child

into a small box and wrote on it: "Kiang lu sen" (river running along 539
to live) and threw the box into the river.

Farther downstream there was a monastery. The little box drifted to ward it and a priest found it and the child. He reared the boy who, when he was six or seven years old, had to help in the monastery. Once when he was cleaning he said to a clay idol: "Lift up your arm so that I can clean better!" And behold, the image actually lifted up its arm. Another time the old priest was impatient with the boy and beat him. Thereupon all the images fell to pieces and even the temple crashed. The old priest sent the boy out to beg for money in order to rebuild the temple.

About this time the mother heard that there was a miracle child in the monastery. Under the pretext of wishing to pray there, she visited the place and took along 500 pairs of boots as a present for the priests. She personally fitted each priest with a pair. When she had distributed 499 pairs, there was one left over, but there was no priest who came to claim it. Now the monastery had 500 monks. After much questioning Kiang lu sen was finally found. He had timidly kept apart because he had no big toe. Then the mother recognized her son and for a whole day they wept together.

When she said farewell, the mother invited her son to pass by her yamen when next he was sent out to collect money. She also told him that her present husband was the murderer of the lad's father. A few days later young Kiang lu sen stood at her door and his mother gave him 300 ounces of silver. With these he set out and came to Hsi ngan fu which at that time was the capital of the middle kingdom. At that time there happened to be a dreadful drought. Everywhere Kiang lu sen found imperial proclamations posted which said that anyone who wanted to go to Hsi t'ien, the heaven of the west, to fetch from there the true, efficacious prayers would get the highest decoration if he wanted to become an official, or, if he preferred, could have money or anything he wanted. When the young Kiang lu sen heard this, he immediately offered to go to Hsi t'ien if the emperor would rebuild his temple.

After Kian lu sen had been placed in the service of the T'ang emperor, he was called T'ang sen. After he had been on his way from Hsi ngan fu for two or three months, he came to the mountain Yin Shan. Now there is a very curious thing about this mountain. For there is another mountain in the middle kingdom, that is called Hoa gu Shan. There are many apes living on it, and there is also a cave

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539 called Schui lien dun, that is, one that is closed up by a waterfall. And on the top of the mountain there is a very beautiful large magic rock. Long ago the goddess of heaven Wa men niâng niâng once came to it and sat down on the rock for a few minutes and her blood flowed over the stone. Later the god T'ai schang lao din came to the same rock. (1)

1. And added his pollution. /Et pollutionem habuit./

After five hundred years therefore an ape was produced from inside the rock by the action of the sun's heat. He burst his covering and jumped out. Now there was a law among the apes that whichever one of them could get through the waterfall into the cave would be king. Sche hu tse, the ape that had been born from a rock, was not afraid of the water. He entered the cave and became king of the apes. But after a few years he grew tired of that place /Plates V, VI, VII and VIII appear between pp. 24 and 25 in original text/ /25/ and wanted to become a tao yen, that is, a Taoist priest. For a whole month he sought a teacher, and then he came to a monastery in which lived the god T'ai schang lao din. He looked in his magic books and discovered that the stone ape was his son. And so he taught him more magic than he did his other pupils. Now one day when T'ai schang lao din was not at home the ape prattled his knowledge and showed how he could turn himself into a tree, a human or anything he liked and that he could ascend to heaven. He had just turned himself into a pine tree when his master and father returned.

He was very angry over his son's boastfulness and sent him away. The stone ape now went to heaven and came to Wa men niâng niâng's flower garden. There he found several servant women of the goddess who were guarding her peaches. He drove them away and ate the fruit. Wa men niâng niâng asked him who he might be, whereupon he passed himself off as T'ai schang lao din's apprentice. The latter, who was called to help, arrived and caught his unruly son, stuck him into an apothecary's oven and wanted to burn him. He left him there for 49 days, and even gods of heaven are supposed to be destroyed in it during that time. But after 49 days the stone ape was still there, but he had turned into t'iä t'ou t'ung, that is, to one with a head of iron and a back of bronze. When he was finally let out of the oven he went straight up to heaven again. There Wa men niâng niâng ordered him to watch her garden. But after that he had daily brawls

5: Tafel--351 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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Captions for Plate XLV.

527 Celebration of the spring festival in Hsining fu. The clay cow
541 (page 354) was defended by the soldiers against the farmers.
Two masks of lions danced at the head of the procession, behind them two dragons were being carried, and these were followed by soldiers bearing the honorary umbrellas of the hsien.

Plate XLVI

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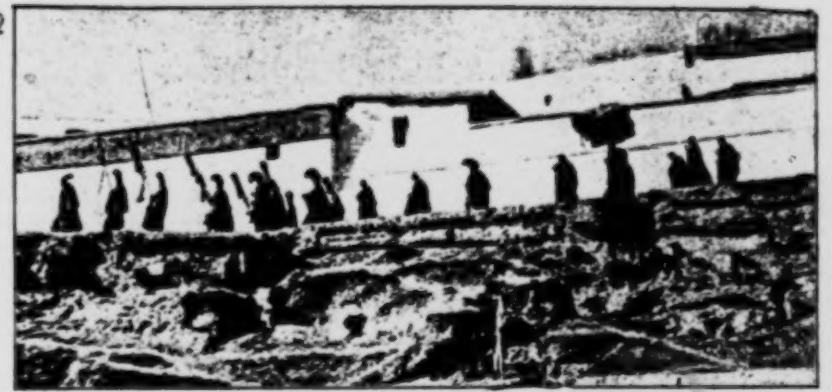
792



The Kambo, the lamasery abbot, of Gum bum goes to pray every day in the Tsogs kang.

527
541

Return of troops from the spring festival in Hsining fu.

The dance of the Tscham in Gum bum. /208B/

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painted white. And the heads of families who stood below in the 527
street offered them sweets and refreshments from time to time. This 541
was not too difficult, for all the houses in Hsining fu are one-storied 788
and low besides. Around eight in the morning the prefect (fu) and the sub-prefect (hsien) solemnly proceeded to a temple outside the east gate where they expressed their veneration for the dragon (1) and the

1. De Groot, Fêtes annuelles d'Emoui (Paris 1886, Vol. I, p. 36): "The dragon is the symbol of rain, of fecundity and also of imperial dignity." - In my journey through Hu peh I saw, at the end of the first Chinese month, dragon processions moving through the fields, in order to bring about a fruitful year.

cow and the goddess of the earth. Then they returned home with equal pomp. In front marched a lion made of colored paper and cloth and a man who danced about with a sun (yang), then followed two dragons with snapping jaws (Plate XLV). Each of the dragons was represented by twelve men who walked in single file. Behind the dragon rode the amban's cavalrymen, producing dreadful sounds on their half-broken and dented trombones, which would have surely caused even Jericho's wall to fall. Twenty horsemen carried huge gaily-colored flags which almost covered horses and riders (Plate XLV). Then came /209/ infantrymen of the general, two by two, carrying German guns, model 71-84, whose sights and muzzles were decorated with new red paper cushions. In the muzzles they had the stoppers which are never lacking on Chinese guns. All the yamen secretaries followed in their best clothes, then halberdiers, yamen servants with imaginary weapons, with coats of mail containing the trident and morning star, after these came the higher town clerks in fur coats and mounted. Finally came the hsien, father and mother of the city, in an open sedan chair carried by eight men. He was dressed in a large cloak of lynx, and sat stiff and immovable like a doll or an idol. Close behind the chief personage there followed only four soldiers, then the crowd pressed up close behind in motley confusion. In similar fashion, except if possible with a larger advance procession, the Hsining fu, the prefect, also marched through the streets. The latter wore a huge sable fur which was so elegant it was almost a spectacle in itself. Only these two civil officials are obliged to appear at this festival. All the officers as well as the dao tai and the amban do not appear at all.

5: Tafel--429 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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Tu ren

563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped
527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received
545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly on their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of his cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252/

541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners and
527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged
563 horse races, i.e., each of the competitors felt he had the best pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistanced his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators, at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together, then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shouted and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, screaming with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances received the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thumbs, and praised the horse and the cleverness of its rider to the skies. Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track which extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the midst of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luck with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, everyone became critical and the owners who had previously been less fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once
[492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Mohammedans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic horsemen, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost horizontally against the horse.

[526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just as at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells. But
[273] the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Round about the fair grounds groups of men and women assembled, especially young people. They gathered into groups according to the tribes and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of barley schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a
533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds among
527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love, of
563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at night

543

543 EXHIBITIONS--international expositions; local and regional fairs; animal-judging contests (e.g., horse and dog shows); handicraft displays; automobile and flower shows; art exhibitions; special exhibits (e.g., by libraries and museums); offering of prizes and awards; organization of exhibitions; mode of finance (e.g., by sale of tickets, sale of articles on display, voluntary contributions); specialized organizers and dealers; etc. See also:

Libraries, art galleries, and museums	217	Markets	443
Zoological and botanical gardens	367	Sales promotion	446
Auctioning	437	Advertising	447

new acquaintance took over our job, and the same 494
evening we proceeded on our way. The coincidence of events which released him at the very moment when we required his services, and also put lucrative work in his hands, so impressed him as to make him exclaim at frequent intervals: 'Ai ya! That was a strange bit of luck! We shall get on all right on *this* journey. Fortune favours these Christians!'

Our direct route lay from south-east to north-west, but some important oases lay direct north and south of the main road, and we were determined to visit these very isolated localities, even though we were warned that in so doing we should add considerably to our fatigue.

Our first détour, then, was to Chikinpu, a little 543
castellated fortress-town, where we were met with the news that every person had gone into the country to attend a famous annual fair and theatrical performance, in a temple five miles distant. Fairs and theatres are the preacher's opportunity, so we said we would go a-fairing too! It was a long stage under the midday sun before we reached the Temple of the Red Hill, where we sat by the roadside until the big carts lumbering behind overtook us. When travelling, our personal luggage was wrapped in a length of waterproof canvas, and on such occasions as this we were able by means of three sticks to transform it into a tiny tent, which provided a shelter in the shadow of which we spread our bedding. The spot was very attractive, for it supplied a bubbling spring, and near by there was a field of celandines on which to rest our sun-scorched eyes. We were now only a few miles from the lower ranges of the Tibetan hills, on which patches of shade were thrown by the passing clouds. To the back of us was a red sandstone cliff, which gave its name of Hung Shan to the temple. Farms were dotted over the landscape, each of which

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was entertaining a large number of visitors for the days of the fair. In the early morning bullock-carts full of women dressed in green, red, blue and purple wended their way across the plain, together with hundreds of small donkeys, ridden by young girls or children, two or three of whom would sit, one behind the other, adroitly guiding the little creature by means of a single rope fastened to its bridle.

000
The preaching-tent, from which we proclaimed our Message, was crowded from early morning until late afternoon, and thousands of books were eagerly bought. We were becoming well known in Kow Wai, and many greeted us as old friends. The grinning face of the wily carter who had taken us to Kinta—Golden Tower—was one of the first to appear! He now completely disregarded the fact that at our last parting he had shamelessly handed us over to the tender mercies of an incompetent youth with only a bullock-cart, caring nothing for the agreement he had solemnly entered on, when once his illicit goods were safely delivered, but advanced with the utmost cordiality and friendliness. 'Why! Miss French and Miss Cable! who would have thought of seeing *you* here? Where do you not go with your tent?' Addressing the crowd he explained, 'These are old friends of mine. They stayed in my home last year. You must listen to their preaching. It is all true,' and with a patronising gesture he produced a copper, saying, 'I would like to buy a book for this small boy, my sister's son.' With a parting nod he added, 'Hope the sales are good?'

The nights *à la belle étoile* were delightful, the only disadvantage being that no undressing was possible, so we drew out our wadded quilts, and lay down covered with a rug, to awake at sunrise and find some ploughmen with bovine eyes gazing wonderingly at us. One

543
Our meals were somewhat of a problem in this happy
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valley.[1] Each party brought its own picnic-basket, and the food-vendors only supplied titbits such as lumps of fat fried pork, apricot tea, and fermented rice-water.
000
Our bag of bread was already finished, and the only food our men could make was flour mixed with oil, pulled out into long strips, nipped into small chunks, and boiled in water, and this meal we shared with them once a day, but still found ourselves craving for some form of bread. We were greatly delighted, therefore, when a little girl appeared with a home-steamed roll in her hand, and said: 'I have no money, but will you give me a gospel in exchange for this?' Finding that we were willing to do so, bread and new-laid eggs were afterwards frequently brought by children.

In spite of considerable forethought we had left Suchow for this long trip with a but poorly furnished store-box. Months before, we had written in several directions for needed supplies, but owing to the disturbed condition of China, all had failed us, and we were thankful to have enough tea in hand to allow ourselves a fresh brew once a day. Of the certainty of our daily ration we had no question, but beyond this many luxuries were supplied through the kindness of casual acquaintances. The old guardian at the Temple of the Red Hill, after we had sat and talked awhile with him, brought us back through his garden, and cut the best of his vegetables for us, while 'Lydia' also came down with a present of rice steamed with jujube fruit. On one occasion a resourceful student went out foraging for food and brought us back a dozen new-laid pheasants' eggs.

311
To the direct north lay a place called Hwahaitz, an extensive oasis covered with large farms. Since our

000 1 [Near Chikinpu at a fair—Analyst]

5: Tafel--417 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
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764
day after the death of his father, the son asked me for a small loan and for an advance on my rent.

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Then, just after the coffin had been carried out of the yard gate amid a large display of fireworks, the twenty-five soldiers of the amban who had left twelve days before for the Koko Nor in order to pursue the Tibetan robbers, arrived and drove my stolen horses and yaks into my courtyard. Even the old bitch I had bought two days before the attack was returned to me. But of my equipment only a few broken saddles and a battered tea kettle and half an ice skate were returned, the rest of the things had found other homes. The soldiers refused to tell me who the robbers had been. All they said was that the culprits were "wild Tibetans from the south." They said that three days before the attack on me a band of about 30 or 40 robbers had attacked and robbed a Tibetan tribe of Koko Nor and stolen 150 horses, but that the tribe pursued and defeated them and the robbers lost their entire booty as well as three men. "You ran into this robber band, sir; they spied on you for two days before they attacked. But your /245/ defense made such an impression on them that they later released the stolen animals. We found your ponies about 10 kilometers from the place where you were attacked, and they were quietly grazing in a valley. We also found three dead men there, unclothed and frozen stiff."

On that same evening the amban sent me a message saying that it was evident the robbers were not men of his tribe, that this winter an unusual number of robbers had come to the lake from the south, and that therefore he could not pursue the matter further.

It is no small matter to keep eight yaks in a large Chinese city. And everyone who knows China will understand that I was not a little frightened when the animals were driven into my dwelling. Many of the citizens had never seen these clumsy black ruminants and so they besieged my inn all day long. It was out of the question for me to keep the animals in the city and when I wanted to sell them the butchers offered me one tael apiece (three marks) because they believed that I would have to get rid of the animals at any price. I therefore hired a man to drive the animals a good day's journey south of Hsining fu and pasture them there in the mountains. The ponies, however, I did not allow out of my sight and took them all with me on my next excursions.

361
I first went to a large fair that is given every year during the
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first ten days of the second Chinese month in the vicinity of Wei yüan bu.

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545 MUSICAL AND THEATRICAL PRODUCTIONS--public concerts; operatic productions; performances by dance troupes (e.g., ballets); burlesque and vaudeville; production of musical comedies and plays; stock companies, amateur musicals and theatricals; metropolitan show business (e.g., selection of a play, backers, producers, casting, try-outs, staging, rehearsals, promotion, advance sales, first nights, reviews, runs, motion picture rights, royalties, returns on investment, road companies); promotion of other musical and dramatic productions; etc. See also:

Fine arts . . . . 53 Theatrical supplies industry. 549

*668 requesting him to send the manuscript in immediately." (Wen-i-pao, No. 2, January 30, 1954, p. 33, Hu Chia-lin: "It should not be just a whirlwind").

Because of the necessity to fit into this sudden rush and dropping of programs, propaganda became a kind of bureaucratic routine. To quote the Communists' own words:

"'Our factory is going to have "check up and evaluation" so you better present a play of "check up and evaluation"!' Some factories *668 requested the Peking opera actors to dress up in modern costumes 535 to show the movement of 'learning tricks'... In this, in cement 545 factories there is 'the cement workers' dance.' In the material department of the cement factories there is 'the material worker's dance'... Down to every special branch of the factory, there is a particular dance of the branch.... These, however, were about the same. At the beginning, a group of 'laborers' would dance out to the front stage, holding a file or a hammer, or just acting as if they were holding some productive tools. Then they would start the actions of laboring, going through the whole procedure of the department's job. After several changes of positions, finally all the people would hold their hands and jump a while to express their joy after laboring.... In the case of 'the dance of the hero who found the trick (of running a machine)'...a group of people on the stage pretended to be a machine; another man jumped around it, moving a 'lever' here, pushing a 'button' there, and finally 'the machine' started to move, indicating that the hero found the trick to run the machine. Then everybody yelled congratulations and celebrated. During the period when the hero jumped around, nobody in the audience understood what he was doing.... Some laborers reflected: 'We work in the factory with machines; we discuss in the group meetings about machines; when we come to the evening entertainments we are still seeing machines!' The workers are not satisfied with this kind of dance." (Wen-i-pao, No. 13, July 15, 1953, p. 36.)

2. Over-repetition

*668 No doubt, repetition was a trump card in the process. It 533 brought the successes of Communist propaganda, but it was not 545 without flaws. Quoting the Communists again:

"Amid enthusiastic applause, the curtain raised. Hundreds of pairs of wide-opened round little eyes looked at the young girl who announced the programs: 'The first song, "We Happily Sing!"' When she announced this, she announced it with a frown. Right after she finished her words, among the audience there was an unanimous - not applause, but a prolonged: "Yeo...". (A Chinese exclamatory remark showing disgusted feeling). Immediately the whole theater turned noisy and the audience of little ones lost interest in the program...

What was wrong?... In a certain concert, the song "We Happily

*668 Sing!" was sung eighteen times, while another song "Let's Sing, 533 We Chinese Youth!" was sung twenty-three times!" (Ibid., No. 16, 545 August 30, 1955, p. 32).

Misinterpretation

*668 Other troubles came from misinterpretation of the doctrine. 536 The Communist magazine stated:

"In the January issue of the Worker's Literature published in Sian, Shensi, in 1954, there was a play written for the local opera theaters, 'Sell the grain to the State'. (Author T'ien Yi-Yung). It described a peasant Wang Shou-ch'eng who did not like to sell his surplus grain to the state, until his thought transformed. Then he sold his grain to the state...

But how did Wang Shou-ch'eng transform? Because his son-in-law Li Hsiao-hsien helped him to figure out the loss and gain in the following way: the price which the state paid was 33,000 a peck, but each peck was 30 catties; though the dishonest merchant, Sun Kuang-ts'ai, promised to pay 36,000 a peck, it was counted by the local big peck of 35 catties. According to the government price, it would be 38,000 each peck. After this calculation...the thought was transformed...."(Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 7, p. 38. The peck in Chinese measurement varies in different places. Usually it weighs 13 1/2 lbs. The pecks mentioned in this paragraph might be a kind of double peck.)

Obviously, this thought transformation was not the sort intended by the Communists. Therefore the Wen-i-pao criticized this play for capitalistic thought which should be discarded. The right kind of writing to promote the sale of grain should be something describing the peasants as willing to sell the grain to "the state" at any price, gain or loss.

*668 The Communist propaganda programs often were innocently, but embarrassingly, twisted and misunderstood by the lower cadres and audiences. Furthermore, in nearly every propaganda campaign, there was a need for the exposure of evils. Even though the formula always gave final victory to the Communists, the exposure part often lingered much longer, and loomed much larger than the Party would like to see.

*668 VII. Conclusion

178 A real test of the effectiveness of Communist propaganda is now underway. In the past, Stalin was deified by the Chinese Communist Party. He was the genius strategist. He was the Great Leader. He was the eternal sun. He was the eternal steel. Now the Party propaganda machine must tear down this idol it created. If Party propaganda were as effective as it was believed to be, faith in Stalin should live in the people's hearts forever. However, if Party propaganda is as effective as it claims, there should be nothing that cannot be obliterated. The situation resembles an

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Tu ren

eaten throughout West China. 000

flour, the heads of slaughtered pigs which, according to ancient 527
custom, are set up by the community in front of the picture of the 563
god in the main temple of the fair ground. But there are crowds of people on the square where the eating shops and the booths for the sale of all kinds of bright-colored materials and ribbons have been erected, and where the liquor sellers and the men who rent tobacco pipes are to be found, and especially on the meadow which is several acres large where the gamblers assemble. (Plate LVI). For ten days 563
from early in the morning until late in the afternoon a Chinese 527
theater group performs on a Chinese stage. The Tu ren community 545
makes possible these performances through local assessments and through half-voluntary contributions of the wealthier populace, as is the case with Chinese festivities, and the individual spectator need not pay admission. The part of the theater where the audience gathers is not marked off specially from the rest of the fair grounds. People can come and go as they please, can set up a tent to protect themselves from the sun, or bring chairs and tables. The wives of [556]
the more well-to-do, especially the Chinese women who attend the festival view the performance from their private carriages whose large sun roofs cut off the view even more than the largest hats of ladies on European race tracks. The stage is built of tiles with an arched roof, closed on three sides and - exactly as in China proper - is next to the main temple, as though it were a part of it. The stage [782]
faces the entrance to the temple, for the Eastern Asiatic is of the opinion that theatrical performances are particularly meritorious and pleasing to the gods, and that therefore the stage must be placed so that the gods can watch the performance. For in Tibet today theatrical performances are a part of the cult - as we saw in the last chapter - and this is the way it was in former times in China. Today, however, the connection is somewhat external. The Chinese theater has for a long time also presented secular plays, pranks and love dramas, and is by no means satisfied as are present-day Tibetan plays, merely with the presentation of horrible images of the gods which, according to the priests, will punish mankind unless they are appeased with gifts and assessments of all kinds.

A Tibetan incarnation, an old cozy-looking holy man with a nice pot-belly, who came from a monastery not far from Wei yüan ou, seemed to think there was no harm in sitting for days on end in front of the theater on the open meadow where the festival was held.

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Tu ren

563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped 527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received 545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly on their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of his cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252/

541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners and 527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged 563 horse races, i.e., each of the competitors felt he had the best pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistanced his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators, at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together, then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shouted and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, screaming with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances received the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thumbs, and praised the horse and the cleverness of its rider to the skies. Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track which extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the midst of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luck with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, everyone became critical and the owners who had previously been less fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once [492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Mohammedans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic horsemen, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost horizontally against the horse.

[526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just as at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells. But [273] the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Round about the fair grounds groups of men and women assembled, especially young people. They gathered into groups according to the tribes and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of barley schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a 533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds among 527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love, of 563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at night

546

546 MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY--production, distribution, and exhibition of motion pictures; script writing; casting; locations and sets; filming; special equipment and techniques (e.g., technicolor, sound); products (e.g., film plays, animated cartoons, educational and documentary films); system of distribution (e.g., chains, block booking, runs); motion picture theaters and their operation; specialists (e.g., producers, script writers, actors, cameramen, distributors, operators); economic organization of the industry; regulation; etc. See also:

Fine arts	53	Cameras	416
Photography	215	Visual aids in education	876
Sound recording	216		

S
207 at least one monitoring station in each pastoral and agricultural
668 district in Sinkiang.
177 These sets are designed to monitor local stations but are not
S powerful enough to receive foreign broadcasts. Reconditioning
[674] a radio set to suit "illegal" purposes is one of the major crimes
(Hsin-Hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, 8, 258-9).

Extension of broadcasting and diffusion services is being con-
N stantly stepped up. By 1962, it is planned to have every village
[207] and cooperative listen to Peking. But even these plans exclude
*[668] the "remote areas" which means that the border areas of Chinghai,
[177] Sinkiang and Kansu will not be reached.

N VI. Movies and Lantern Slides

• 546 In 1950, the Communists trained more than 1,800 people in
*668 Peking to operate movie projectors. At that time they planned
177 to establish 700 mobile movie teams. The Communists also reported that by 1951 there were at least 9,943 lantern slide projectors in the country, serving 8,000,000 in 1950 and about 200,000,000 in 1951. Simultaneously the production of lantern slide projectors and slides was expanded. In 1952, there were sixteen factories specializing in manufacturing lantern slide projectors and fifteen organizations to produce slides.

In Sian, Shensi, a city of about 600,000 people, there were four movie theaters. Before the Communists took over, the public usually would have a choice of four different pictures. A recent advertisement of these theaters shows the following monotonous pattern:

Liberation Theater	Northwest Theater	A-fang Palace Theater
3:15, 6:45, 9:15	2:45, 6:15, 8:45	2:15, 5:45, 8:15

People's Light Theater
2:00, 5:30, 8:00

We solemnly dedicate our show to
a translated Soviet Feature, the
Glorious winner of the Stalin Prize
SVERDLOV

This picture concretely illustrated the firmness, courage, and wisdom of Sverdlov. In the dark years under the Czar, he organized the progressive workers to struggle for the establishment of Lenin's Party, and lit up the revolutionary fire which destroyed all. Released by the Northwest Branch of the China Movie Managing Co. (Sian, Ch'ün-chung Jih-pao, 1952, July 2, advertisement.)

Sverdlov, Yakov Mikhailovich, 1885-1919, an outstanding revolutionary and one of the major organizers and leaders of the Bolshevik Party, a close friend of Stalin and Lenin, with whom he worked in early revolutionary movements. He spent several years in exile with Stalin. Lenin called him chief organiser of Party and Soviet power.

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551 PERSONAL NAMES--proper names of individuals (e.g., number and variety, meanings, circumstances of use); sex and status differences, special name usages (e.g., nicknames, aliases, teknonymy); name taboos and avoidances; etc. See also:

Incorporeal property	424	Kinship terms	601
Naming	553	Names as souls	774
Titles	554		

795 front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in
this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic
563 Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard
the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

784 The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal
in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their
religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many
abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The
Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but
• 551 not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to
have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge
191 of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and
scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold
keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited
from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and
563 Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they
consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Govern-
582 ment schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but
the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and
783 internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The
veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other
291 parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two
or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The
356 superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to
housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of
living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept
mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty
346 and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques
are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most
others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church.
634 Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are
Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with
the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs
through a sort of local government.

*563 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village
621 units would not have been so important in the local administrative
631 system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by
farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper,
*563 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which
361 are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market
632 towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here
443 as they do in other parts of the country.

*563 In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem
farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The
621 first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble
the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families con-
stitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu-
[443] liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a
[632] village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town.
Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the
village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery
can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up.
The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a
new settlement.

*563 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways.
621 One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the
771 ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past.
At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year,
and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring
certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such
a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for
[794] the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned
with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the proces-
sion, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or
Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such
religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for
additional services are often held in times of drought or other
community disasters.

*563 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity.
545 Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The
621 entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun.
In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very
*563 much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the
621 mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities.
769 Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the
[764] Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the
graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper
money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not
necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally
and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had cre
ated considerable resentment and suspicion among the authori-
ties and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying pro-
portions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other
provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is
there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize
both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. How-
ever, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of
communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are
usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary sig-
nificance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the
gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people
of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the
New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

771 Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
769 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
[353] tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their
memory always present. Those living now are only the present
custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
[592] er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
[614] a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

771 "At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
796 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
592 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
782 ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for
days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon,
in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old
rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices,
to the Queen of Heaven.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long
line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which
was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place,
and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow.
An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where
life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers
marched in and out, and much official business was done, for
this was an important military center and the officer in command
held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the
place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly
resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to
be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to
walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert
stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where,
twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[525] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[276] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a
fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves
in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of bliz-
zard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were
dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by
[574] the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the
three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed them-
selves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the
properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their
belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating
stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
489 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sun-
rise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling
by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of know-
712 ledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

(1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primarily concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them (allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and in return their old noble families were established. Beside their Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao, Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mohammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lanchow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

553

553 NAMING--bestowal of names in infancy; name givers and namesakes; naming ceremonies; exchange of names; reciprocal relationships created by naming or name exchange; assumption of new names (e.g., occasions, ceremonial); posthumous assumption of names; reasons for name changing; bestowal and assumption of honorific names and titles; etc. See also:

Personal names . . . . 551 Godparents and godchildren 608
Titles . . . . 554 Ceremonies during infancy 852

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/The Tibetans/

are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama. With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

"Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity." Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bundle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend.

THE FAMILY

1. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

/The Tibetans/

3. Social values and customs

a. Virtue

Early social values and customs of the Tibetans were derived from their religious code and legal concepts. Their leading forefathers formulated a set of virtues for the laity, which bound them together as a people, and it is said that these virtues are still the basic moral code of the Tibetans.

The sixteen early Tibetan virtues are: "To have faith in 'The Chief Rare Ones' (Kön-chok); to perform religious observances and to study; to honor one's parents; to respect the virtuous; to honor elders as well as those of high birth; to pay heed to relatives and friends; to be useful to one's country; to be honest; to realize the proper use of food and wealth; to follow the examples of those who are good; to show gratitude to benefactors and to return their kindness; to use correct weights and measures; to be free from jealousy and to be at harmony with all; not to listen to the words of women; to be gentle in speech and acquire skill in conversation; to bear sufferings and distress with patience and meekness." (Bell 1928:II.)

b. Etiquette

In Tibetan etiquette, the presentation of a katag may not be made except in the presence of others. The katag is a small rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is considered the most respectful. The katag of thin raw silk is used at common social occasions, or presented to a living Buddha or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin with designs of a Buddha on it. This type is used solely for an audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or presented to a Buddha image to show reverence.

When one visits relatives or has an audience with a Living Buddha or high official, the katag is presented first. The recipient will give one in exchange, but perhaps not until the return visit. The manner of presenting the katag varies with rank. For one of higher rank, such as an elder, t'u-kung or Living Buddha, the giver presents the katag with both hands. The receiver may not receive it personally, however, so the giver places it under the dignitary's chair and backs out. Two persons of equal rank simply hand the katags to each other. A person of high rank grants a katag to a less exalted person, he ties it around his neck. If there are other gifts, they may be placed on the top of a katag.

Strict etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor approaches a tent, he should call loudly to his host (for protection from the dogs). The host appears to greet the guest, and allows the guest to walk before him into the tent. Host or hostess lays a sheepskin or felt on the ground for a seat. The left side of the tent is the honored side. Hostess and women guests occupy the

Those students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustādh (honorary title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like "ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school teacher).

Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (ḥānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmetulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bäk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest China and their enormous monk population of course colored the whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was customary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.: C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan ṅags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural by-products. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational system as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Education became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the Communist Central People's Government were the same men who had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-appointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the Northwest, but not in a basic change in the composition.

The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Communists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops, who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ninghsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and Sinkiang.

Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes: the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties, such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions. They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since 1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant, Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

alities and classes to participate in the governments; and third, to establish people's democratic United Front of democratic nationalities under the leadership of the people's provincial governments and various branches of the CCP committees." (JMJP Oct. 1, 1950).

In response, the people's council of Sinkiang passed a resolution urging the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship based on a union of all democratic classes and all nationalities, built around the alliance of workers and farmers. This was to be achieved by the establishment and consolidation of the united front, by the annihilation of reactionary elements, by the re-education and reform of former government functionaries and by the absorption of progressive elements into the government.

The extent to which the Chinese Communists succeeded in implementing their policy of a United Front in Northwest China may be seen in (1), the alignment of the top ranking officials and the parties, (2) the mobilisation of the people, and (3) the building of an army of trained men - the cadres - to serve as instruments of Communist policy.

A. Top Echelon Officials

The men in power in the northwestern provinces at the time of the Communist takeover belonged to an assortment of political factions and held to a hodge-podge of views and interests. There were the Communists, many of whom had held official positions in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, who were immediately summoned to take charge. There were the members of the Democratic League, which had thrown in their lot with the Communists and which maintained branch offices in Sian and Lanchou. The Nationalist officials in China Proper who defected formed themselves into the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and they were joined by the Nationalist officials in the Northwest. Among the national minorities, there were those who held responsible positions under the Nationalists and who, as prominent men among the national minorities, were carefully preserved by the Communists. Another group of native leaders who rose to power were the former participants of the Ili revolt.

The administrative structure formed from these varied political groups was a cunning piece of assembly. The non-Communist figures had to be given conspicuous display in order to give the impression of a coalition government, but their line had to be stiffened by Communist officials so that it would answer to the dictates of Peking. Each of the top-ranking officials held three or more concurrent positions in one or more places.

Political: in the Central People's Government, in the regional Military and Administrative Council (later the Administrative Council), in the provincial or the municipal governments.

Military: In the People's Revolutionary Military Council, the Northwest Military District, or the provincial sub-districts.
Party: In the Central Committee of the CCP, in the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau, and in the provincial committees.
Mass organizations: In the national committee and in regional committees.

The positions held were either vertical, from Peking down to the provincial level, or horizontal, in more than one collateral agencies. The system of interlocking political positions may be seen in the cases of the following men, chosen at random as illustrations. The positions they held were as of 1952:

Hsi Chung-hsün: In Peking, he was a member of the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, and a member of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. In the Northwest, he was vice-chairman of the Military Administrative Council, director of the Commission of Land Reform, deputy director of the Commission on Culture and Education, and political commissar of the Northwest Military District. In the Party, he was an alternate member of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau.

Ma Wen-jui is primarily concerned with party work. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he is a member of the council, he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and member of the Commission on Political and Legal Affairs. In the party, he was concurrently director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee and director of the Committee on Women's Work.

Saifuddin Azizi, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic League, was also a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and a member of its Political and Legal Commission and its Nationality Affairs Commission, which have offices in Sian. In Sinkiang he was vice-chairman of the Provincial People's Government and fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the CCP. In Peking, he was a member of the Central Peoples Government Council, a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He was also reportedly commander of the 5th Army in Sinkiang.

Among the non-Communists, the men who had climbed the highest in the Communist hierarchy were the members of the Democratic League. One of these was Han Chao-e who, in Peking, was a member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League, a member of the Central Committee of the China Farmers' and Workers' Democratic Party, and a member of the People's Supervisory Commission in the Central People's Government. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission.

depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

N *563 614 [421] The clan as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates. The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

N *563 648 [651] Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknowledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

N *563 792 Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no political control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

N *563 554 556 Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the N [579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with N [574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

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A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)

Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

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554 STATUS, ROLE, AND PRESTIGE--relative prevalence of ascribed and achievable statuses; statuses adapted to particular personality types; general comments on the social ranking of statuses and roles; types of roles and achievable statuses which bring the largest rewards in prestige; individuals typifying the foregoing (e.g., celebrities, national heroes); symbolic tokens of the achievement of prestige (e.g., medals, titles, insignia, praise songs, special privileges); general statements on the various avenues of mobility (e.g., technological skill, wealth, shrewdness, valor, piety, wisdom); etc. See also:

Social stratification 56
Relation between individual roles and culturally defined statuses 156
Ethos 181
Occupational specialization 463
Ethical ideals 577
Military virtues and prestige 703

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Northwest China AF13 •
Sinkiang AI

[For information on the cadres - groups of especially-trained communist party officials employed in cooperatives and collectivization programs to train others in party programs - see category 668.]

Land Reform Commission. In the Shensi Provincial People's Government, he was vice chairman and director of the People's Supervisory Commission.

In the case of Yang Ming-hsüan, one can see the tie-in between the Democratic League and the Chinese Communists. Before the rise to power of the Chinese Communists on the mainland, he was a vice chairman of the Communist-controlled Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Regional Government which had its headquarters at Yenan. Later, he became chairman of the Northwest branch of the China Democratic League, with headquarters at Sian and thus helped to prepare the way for the take-over by the Communists in 1949. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was a member, he was director of the Cultural and Educational Commission and a member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

It would be tedious to list the concurrent posts held by other key figures in the Northwest. Table 1. shows the number of responsible positions (director, chairman, secretary, member of councils and committees, military command and head of mass organization and minority party branches) held by a few of the members of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in Peking and in the Northwest provinces in 1952.

B. Parties

Having integrated the leaders of non-Communist political bodies into the government, the next step was to reorganize them and to utilize them as arms of the Communist Party. The Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, headed by Saifuddin, was reorganized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League (not to be confused with the China Democratic League). It brought over 17,000 trained cadres, veterans of the Ili revolt, to the Communist cause. The official announcement of the reorganization, in 1950, stated that the Sinkiang League was to be guided by the CCP and would base its work on the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It was to be established in parts of Sinkiang as part of the democratic United Front.

In December, 1953, the Northwest branch committee of the China Democratic League held a conference at Sian, to hear Yang Ming-hsüan, chairman of the branch committee, and other League leaders report on the work of organization, propaganda, and education. Yang exhorted the members of the league to unite and educate the intellectual masses to take part in building the economy, national defense, and culture of the Northwest. Responding to the resolution of its parent body in the spring of 1953, the Northwest branch committee called upon its membership to concentrate its efforts in mobilizing and organizing the students and teachers in

Northwest Federation of Trade Unions: The chairman is Chia T'o-fu, a member of the Financial and Economic Commission in the Central People's Government and vice chairman of the Financial and Economic Commission in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An influential figure is Chao Chan-hui, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and a member of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

Federation of Democratic Women: The dominating personality in the Northwest is Chang Tsu-fang, onetime director of the federation in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and after 1949 a member of the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, she was a member of three commissions. Ma Wen-jui, chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Organizational Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP, was also director of the Commission of Women's Work. Thus, intimately and inescapably entwined with Communist activities, the Northwest Federation of Democratic Women saw a tremendous expansion of its membership. In Sinkiang, by the summer of 1951, it had branches in 47 of the 78 counties and in five of the ten administrative districts, and 190,000 women members took part in the propaganda campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

Federation of Literary and Art Workers: By September, 1950, 7,000 literary and art workers in the Northwest were mobilized to take part in propaganda activities, and 30,000 writers and artists joined the Reformation Congress of Literary and Artistic Workers in the Northwest to establish the United Front.

New Democratic Youth League (renamed the Communist Youth League in 1955): This is an auxiliary of the Communist Party the function of which was to mobilize the youth. In the Northwest it was guided by Lo I, a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League and of the China Democratic Youth Federation, and a member of at least two commissions in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An example of the expansion of the New Democratic Youth League in the Northwest may be seen in Sinkiang, where, by spring of 1953, there were 1,015 branches with over 20,000 elite youth members. Half of the labor models in the Urumchi Saw Mill in 1952 were New Democratic Youth League members, and it was reported that the New Democratic Youth League members "have become efficient assistants of the (Communist) Party in carrying out patriotic movements in factories and villages." (NCNA May 4, 1953).

Sino-Soviet Friendship Association: By the end of 1951, there were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations in 157 of the 274 counties in the four Northwest provinces. Over

Ninghsia Province; 1952-54, chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia. His name, however, disappeared from the lime light after the Ninghsia People's Government was abolished and Ninghsia merged into Kansu in 1954.

Hsing was a career soldier. His long years of fighting a guerilla war against the Japanese had made him a man of distinction. His association with the Communists, however, did not begin until he broke away from Sun Tien-ying, under whom he had fought as a guerrilla leader for many years. When Sun's guerrilla forces were re-organized into the Nationalist Fifth Army, Hsing began to shift his political leaning toward the Communists. Hsing's red star began to shine when he was first selected as deputy speaker of the Border Assembly for Hopei-Charhar area. He was responsible for the training of a large number of cadres in Ninghsia.

Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o: Buddhist, government official

Born in 1884 in Chinghai Province. At age of twelve entered one of the colleges in Drepung Temple in Tibet to study Buddhism; 1916, given the degree Geshe (after completing the five classics in Buddhism, namely, Sutras and Commentaries, Prajnparamita or book on philosophical matters, Madhyama or book on the Middle Doctrine, Vinaya or book on moral discipline and Vasubhandu's work); since then edited and commented on the Kanjur for twelve years. In 1937, he went to Nanking by way of India and gave lectures on Tibetan culture at the National Central University, Tsinghua University, Sun Yat-sen University, Peking University and Wu-han University. 1939, sent to Tibet by the Nationalist Government on a good-will mission. Since 1946 has been a reserve member of the Kuomintang Central Supervisory Committee and from 1947 to 1949, vice-chairman of the Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs in the National Government. In January 1950, appointed member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently deputy-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai. Since January 1953, member of the Administrative Council of the Northwest, member of the Political and Legal Commission, vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai, director of the Cultural and Educational Commission in the provincial government, and acting chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association.

The fact that he achieved his degree of Ke-hsi had made Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o a man of high esteem. He devoted twelve years to editing and commentating the Kanjur, the complete works of Tibetan Buddhism, and his bold approach in editing the textual errors in the scriptures has made him an authority on Buddhism, although he did incur the displeasure of the Dalai Lama.

Before the Communists took over Tibet in 1951, his effort in bringing about a peaceful "liberation" of Tibet had won him a tribute from Communist authorities.

Huang Cheng-ch'ing: Tibetan army officer

A Tibetan of Sik'ang Province, born 1903 and graduated from the Kansu Political Training Institute; teacher of the Five Tribes College in Lanchou; member of the Supervisory Committee of the Lanchou Branch of the Kuomintang; 1927-1928, commander of the tribal troops of the 7th Field Army of the Second Army Group of the People's Revolutionary Army; 1934, garrison commander of Labrang, Kansu; 1944, leader of the Labrang Delegation to Chungking; 1950, member of the Military and Political Council of the Northwest and concurrently vice director of the Department of Animal Husbandry in that council; 1953, one of the vice-chairmen of the Northwest Administrative Council. In 1955, he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of Kansu.

Huang is the oldest of three brothers. His second brother, Huang Cheng-pen, was the Grand Assistant of the Labrang Temple, one of the six famous Lamaist temples in the country, and was in charge of all the affairs of that temple and others under its jurisdiction. His third brother, Huang Cheng-ming, is the Living Buddha of Ah-mang-ts'ang, Chia-mu-yang the Fifth. The three brothers were the actual rulers of Labrang in charge of the military, political and religious affairs within that region. Thus Huang's high position in the Northwest under the Communist administration is understandable, another example of the Communist policy in that area of using local minorities leaders.

Ho Wei-te

Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu Province, a position he retained in the election of 1953-54.

Kan, Ssu-ch'i: Army officer and government official

Native of Hunan, graduate of Hunan Middle School, political commissar in the 18th Division of the Sixth Army under Hsiao K'e; 1934, deputy political commissar in the Second Front Army under Ho Lung; chief of staff and political director in the 120th Division under Ho Lung; political commissar in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Defense Forces; 1945, elected alternate member in the Central Committee of the CCP; 1950, member of the NW MAC, member of the Land Reform Commission and director of the Department of Public Security in the NW MAC. 1951, political commissar in the Chinese Volunteer

arrived in Sian in November 1868. From 1867 to 1872, for six years, Tso fought with the Mohammedans, and finally in February, 1871, the headquarters of the Mohammedans, Chin-chi-pao, was taken by Tso's troops and their leader, Ma Hua-lung, was executed. In August 1872, Tso finally arrived in Lanchou, Kansu. By November 1873, the whole province of Kansu was liberated from the Mohammedans, and Tso was made the associate grand secretary. In 1874 he was promoted to full grand secretary. In 1875 the trouble in Sinkiang broke out, and Tso was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of that area. After all the preparations were made, Tso began moving his troops westward to Sinkiang, and by 1877, both the northern and southern regions of T'ien-shan were recovered. In 1878, the whole region of Sinkiang was restored and Tso was awarded by promotion to second class marquis (hou) and his lieutenant, Liu Chin-t'ang, was made a baron. In 1880, when Tseng Chi-tse was sent to Russia by the Manchu government for the second negotiation of the return of Ili which the Russians occupied during the Turkestan uprising, Tso was ordered to move his troops to stand by for any eventuality. But in August 1880, Tso was suddenly summoned back to Peking. He arrived at the capital in February 1881, and was appointed to serve in the Grand Council and the Tsungli yamen. In 1881 he was appointed governor-general of Kiangnan and Kiangsi. In 1883, he quelled a minor uprising in southern Shantung. By August 1884, the conflict with France began and the coast of Fukien became seriously involved, so Tso was once again appointed high commissioner of that province, and in December 1884 he arrived in Foochow. In the spring of 1885, negotiations with the French were resumed and by June 9, 1885, a treaty was signed by Li Hung-chang with the French representative. In September 1885, Tso died in Foochow. He was granted all posthumous honors and was canonized as Wen-hsiang.

The achievements of Tso Tsung-t'ang in the Northwest can be summarized briefly in the following points; First, his military achievements had consolidated the political control of the Manchu Dynasty in the north. The pacification of the Nien revolts in Chihli and Shantung, the suppression of the Moslem uprising in Shensi and Kansu and the defeat of the Sinkiang rebels, chiefly Pai Yen-hu and Yakub Beg, all contributed heavily to the restoration of Ching power in the Northwest.

Secondly, his diplomatic triumph in dealing with both Russians and British in Sinkiang had secured that territory under the Chinese administration. During the civil war in Sinkiang, the Russians occupied Ili and the British supported Yakub Beg in the south. At one time when the northern region of T'ien-shan was recovered by Tso-s troops, British diplomats

of Shanghai and engaged in the anti-Japan activities during the Shanghai incident when the Japanese troops invaded Shanghai. He also organized his own Moslems after the Sian incident when the Japanese aspirations in China became very clear. When the war was over, he was responsible for the organization of the Lanchou chapter of the Democratic League. Being an educated leader in a minority group has helped him reach his high position in the Communist government.

Yang Ming-hsuan: Member of the Democratic League

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. 1937-45, vice-chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government and chairman of the Northwest Branch Committee of the China Democratic League; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC: 1950, member of the People's Government of Shensi Province; 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, director of the Commission on Culture and Education of that council and member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs; 1953-54, appointed one of the vice-chairmen and secretary general of the Northwest Administrative Council, and chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education; since 1951, member of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League and member of its Standing Committee. In 1955, he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Yang Ming-hsuan belongs to that group of men who, claiming to be non-Communists and members of third parties, have served the Communists well. It may be noted that he was, even before the Communists came to power, a vice-chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region People's Government. Later, after 1950, he was director of the Commission on Culture and Education, with the task of bringing the students and teachers in line. In 1951, the Democratic League announced that it would devote its efforts to rallying and mobilizing the students and teachers, and Yang Ming-hsuan, as head of the Northwest headquarters of the China Democratic League, turned the attention of the league members toward organizing the students and teachers. But Yang's services to the Communists went further. He sought also to use his influence in bringing other political factions into line with Communist policies. When the Northwest Work Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee was formed with Chang Chih-chung as head, Yang was among the Communist officials who spoke, saying that the duty of the minority parties was to follow the lead of the Communist Party.

tion comes to an end, and the fertile plain gives way to a sandy waste. Eventually, after some twenty-seven to thirty hours of actual drifting down stream from Chungwei, exclusive of halts, we reached the walled fort of Hung Ch'eng, which is, so to speak, the port of Ninghsia, lying on the right bank at the point where the Great Wall and the main trail from T'aiyuan *via* Suitê to Ninghsia strike the Yellow River. Behind it the land rises in sandy uninhabited downs, the beginning of the Ordos desert. The river is here about three-quarters of a mile wide and is crossed by a ferry. Ninghsia lies 40 li inland on the opposite side.

As our ponies had not yet turned up on their overland journey from Chungwei we found ourselves stranded on the river bank opposite Hung Ch'eng, until the Ninghsia authorities, learning of our arrival, sent some animals down to meet us. The trail to Ninghsia leads across a strip of waste land five li in extent stretching along the river, and then runs for the rest of the way through irrigated fields, mostly under rice, traversing several large irrigation channels. There is probably more rice (though of an inferior kind) grown on the Yellow River plains between Ninghsia and Chungwei than anywhere else in China north of the Ch'inling Shan; but also this was the only region in Kansu where we were troubled by mosquitoes, the elevation being under 4006 feet. We spent a few days in Ninghsia, being hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General and other officials. It is a large town, and a political and commercial centre of some importance, but the interior is very dilapidated and poor-looking. It is the centre of trade with the Mongols of the Ordos and the Alashan (the latter really the name of a Mongol state rather than a mountain range), chiefly in wool and sheep and goat skins; a particularly fine lamb-skin, called *t'anyang p'i* is a noted local product, as well as felts and carpets. An old Ninghsia rug is of considerable value anywhere. The local Mahomedan General, M[illegible] hsiang, who is also a son of Military Governor of North-Eastern Kansu, is one of the leading Mahomedans of the Province, and represents a fine soldierly type of Chinese Moslem. He served under T'ung Fu-hsiang in Peking in 1900 and commanded the Dowager Empress' escort on the retreat to Hsian. The Manchus had no more loyal servants

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are under the tschi li tschou of Tsinchow, were sacked by the long-haired ones and have since then not regained their former prosperity. Corresponding to the well-kept appearance of the dwellings of Tsinchow was a beautifully cultivated temple hill, Taischan, on which, among ancient trees, stands the Taoist and Buddhist pantheon, and which is also used as an entertainment park on festival days. In the Tschung tsch'eng, the center of the city, I visited a very pretty mosque which is over 400 years old. In the da (large) tsch'eng which is also enclosed by a wall, are the yamen of the dao tai, the tschi li tschou and a major; in the walled hsi (west) kwan are the large commercial concerns; while in dung (east) kwan are the extensive buildings of the apostolic vice-regency of South Kwan, in which I was warmly welcomed by Bishop Ter Laak. These Belgian missionaries said that the Tsinchow district has a great many earthquakes. Count von Széchenyi knew about these, too, and in the history of China there are several major catastrophes mentioned which struck the region of Kung tschang fu and Tsinchow. Besides, in this region I noted many and large landslides. Here mountain sides of loess a kilometer square slide off on their clayey substratum along with all their fields and villages.

One morning in the main street of Tsinchow I met a good old acquaintance, the scholar Li, who was with us in Tibet in 1904. As he spoke of his present position, a satisfied smile broke out over his entire, broad face. Originally tailor by trade, then shoemaker, painter, beginning with his 38th year student, then secretary and maker of calendars, in between small merchant, finally schoolteacher for children of 10, then our scholar, he was now, in keeping with the needs of modern times, professor of French at the newly-built college in Tsinchow, and a very respected man who moved only with the greatest dignity and very slowly crossed the street, "practicing quiescence." Meanwhile he had made a map of the entire Tschou bailiwick, having been commissioned to do so by his superiors, and whereas at that time when we left Lanchow fu with him for Tibet, he knew only 10 Latin words, he could now already "count in French." He had 50 pupils of the ages between 20 and 35. His teaching position earned him 20 taels a month with which he also supported his family which he had left in Lanchow fu. He was now a small lao ye, a gentleman official, and on the street he was greeted on all sides with veneration.

Of the new era which had begun for China one was little aware in Tsinchow, except for the school, its classes for foreign languages

556

556 ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH--extent to which prestige can be gained through amassing wealth; means used to accumulate wealth or degree of skill involved; principal objects of wealth (e.g., money, cattle, slaves, land); relative importance of sheer accumulation, of display, of generosity in distribution; prominence of wealth accumulation as a mobility mechanism; desirable statuses achievable thereby; symbolic tokens of success; specific techniques (e.g., conspicuous consumption, potlatching, endowing a college, buying a title); etc. See also:

Property . . . . 42 Individual enterprise 472
Potlatches . . . . 431 Wealth in relation to social classes 565
Saving and investment . . . . 454 Hospitality 574

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

N The clan
*563 as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record
614 of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates.
[421] The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents
limit the choice of possible spouses.
N
*563 Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknow-
ledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years
648 ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government
[651] as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and,
though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's
household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical pur-
poses Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only
are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are
N even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)
*563 Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no poli-
792 tical control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesi-
astical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader,
N i.e., every Tibetan.
*563 Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic
life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and
554 the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encamp-
• 556 ment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as
a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of
N influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
[579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth
rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading.
With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with
N gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with
[574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's
influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success.
The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself
valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-
made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S
563 A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)
121 Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better
175 understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear con-
cepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary
population have been advanced to this time. However, the following
hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs
(or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a
predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle
Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic
peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the
[651] people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial
burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the
region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
[167] corruption in officialdom, the bandifry, the armies and the dis-
asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
[463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich
merchants who have authority in political and economic matters,
but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are
small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and
struggle for a living.
*563 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and
131 matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred
to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed
part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According
to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area
within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It
is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have
made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the
north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
[441] gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled
[439] north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade.
There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here gen-
erations ago.
*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine fur-
nishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yel-
low earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer-
[369] chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home
with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses.
But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular
doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.
*563 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more
262 flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
• [556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits,
fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the
poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted veg-
etables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads
and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn
with the fur side inside.

/The Tibetans/

*563 or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has
264 his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to an-
other home for dinner.
*563 Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a
574 feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The for-
mal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and
262 ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then
184 given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet
• 556 cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar
and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There
are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for
seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped
potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be sub-
stituted for the soup in hot weather.
[252] Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a
sheep's head boiled in salted water.
*563 c. Clothing
291 Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A
man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the
[556] ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with
sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red
or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense
with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and
shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather,
the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling.
Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in
cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they
habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule
thoroughly dirty.
No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots
[556] trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go
barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in win-
ter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.
[793] The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The
robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not
even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear
sleeves.
*563 Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a
302 round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate.
The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way
[184] of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in
Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to
make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is
made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft
red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the
whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hair-
dress which is commonly seen.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

423 and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there
were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported
that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was
so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but
was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that
mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's
attitude toward land must have been different from that of the
people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure
their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption
is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would
easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever
the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood.
• [556] Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a
person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there
are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might
mean nothing.
*563 Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This
578 complication influenced not only political and social affairs but
also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in
the province of Chinghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking
Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the
Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and
the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from
China Proper, chung-yüan. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-
speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrim-
ination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political,
economic, and military positions and they were the predominant
group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only
the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had
undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese
toward the Moslems.
*563 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou,
181 Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in
Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They
183 praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the
829 characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communi-
[674] ties stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as
long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left
his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so
with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be
lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a
worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his
wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore
the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or
*563 robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express
181 their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and
526 bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

eaten throughout West China.

flour, the heads of slaughtered pigs which, according to ancient custom, are set up by the community in front of the picture of the god in the main temple of the fair ground. But there are crowds of people on the square where the eating shops and the booths for the sale of all kinds of bright-colored materials and ribbons have been erected, and where the liquor sellers and the men who rent tobacco pipes are to be found, and especially on the meadow which is several acres large where the gamblers assemble. (Plate LVI). For ten days from early in the morning until late in the afternoon a Chinese theater group performs on a Chinese stage. The Tu ren community makes possible these performances through local assessments and through half-voluntary contributions of the wealthier populace, as is the case with Chinese festivities, and the individual spectator need not pay admission. The part of the theater where the audience gathers is not marked off specially from the rest of the fair grounds. People can come and go as they please, can set up a tent to protect themselves from the sun, or bring chairs and tables. The wives of the more well-to-do, especially the Chinese women who attend the festival view the performance from their private carriages whose large sun roofs cut off the view even more than the largest hats of ladies on European race tracks. The stage is built of tiles with an arched roof, closed on three sides and - exactly as in China proper - is next to the main temple, as though it were a part of it. The stage faces the entrance to the temple, for the Eastern Asiatic is of the opinion that theatrical performances are particularly meritorious and pleasing to the gods, and that therefore the stage must be placed so that the gods can watch the performance. For in Tibet today theatrical performances are a part of the cult - as we saw in the last chapter - and this is the way it was in former times in China. Today, however, the connection is somewhat external. The Chinese theater has for a long time also presented secular plays, pranks and love dramas, and is by no means satisfied as are present-day Tibetan plays, merely with the presentation of horrible images of the gods which, according to the priests, will punish mankind unless they are appeased with gifts and assessments of all kinds.

A Tibetan incarnation, an old cozy-looking holy man with a nice pot-belly, who came from a monastery not far from Wei yüan ou, seemed to think there was no harm in sitting for days on end in front of the theater on the open meadow where the festival was held.

558

558 DOWNWARD MOBILITY--possibility and incidence of serious loss of prestige; extent to which such loss involves actual descent to less desirable statuses or merely a less favorable estimate of role enactment in the same statuses; major factors in downward mobility (e.g., loss of wealth, misalliance, cowardice, impiety, crime); special examples (e.g., losing face, losing caste); etc. See also:

Breaches of etiquette and ethics	57	Crime and sin	674
Social control	626	Poverty	736

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

562

562 SEX STATUS--rights, privileges, powers, duties, and disabilities of each sex (e.g., legal, domestic, economic, political, ceremonial); special exceptions for each sex; general statements bearing upon the status inferiority or superiority of women; special elaborations (e.g., chivalry, notions of the uncleanness of women); explanations of sex differences; etc. See also:

Marriage	58	Cloistering of women	837
Status and activities of children	85	Transvestitism	838
Division of labor by sex	462	Menstrual isolation	841
Franchise	641		

/Salars/

Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isolation of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect," among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

Because the Moslems in China have throughout history persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women, for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home neighborhood.

Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

S 563 631 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-
S u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

S [668] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[565] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[177]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N *563 In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the
184 great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

N *563 The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
621 or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within
[592] the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most
[622] frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

N *563 Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man, his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and
592 their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by YÜ Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
[562] sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[422] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
000 herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 avoid increased assessments.
593 The relationships between husband and wife have no religious
[182] basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she
[562] has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain
[584] property rights, which give them a more secure position in the
household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan
woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

*563 The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Fre-
592 quent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood neces-
sitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are prac-
tically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it
[591] is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start
living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry
against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is
dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not
get along with his eldest brother.

*563 Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships
595 between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are con-
593 cerned with and derive a living from a common property. They
all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan
*563 system but they do have some regulations influencing their rela-
582 tionships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry
[614] their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on
either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow
of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow
of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage
*563 with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance
619 to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obliga-
tions from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived
from belonging to this social and political grouping.

*563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

582 The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually
584 take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either
may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by
themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal
chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power
and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family.
This is usually done through the parents.

*563 Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's
584 father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind,
he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If
[787] her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given
to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After
the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding
the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/The Tibetans/

right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door. After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter. The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

/The Tibetans/

are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama. With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

"Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity." Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bundle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend.

lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students thus treated have been reported.

Another factor which influenced education was the austerity movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment, facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office. This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shensi, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, without contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minority groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

2. Higher education

Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense. The second includes political training institutes. The third includes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

/Chinese Moslems/

acter Hui signifying "to return."

The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towardsthem. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners. Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall, were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason, in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and submissiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open discontent. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime.

hsien (Plate XXXVI) turned out to be an admirable cheat in drinking. He constantly drank to the health of others, but, cautious man and diplomat that he was, he never touched a drop himself. It was interesting to watch the sophisticated way in which this Hupeh Chinese practiced his art. Once when I invited him to an affair I was giving in a temple (1) he bribed my servants not to fill his cup

1. In the temple in honor of the notorious Tung fu hsiang, which the grateful city built in 1899 in his honor, for its liberation from the Dungan, and in which incense was burned for him even during his lifetime. The temple was the most beautiful in the city, for it was still new. But since Hsining condones the widespread Chinese custom of donating an entirely new temple rather than providing annual sums for repairs, this new building will probably stand in ruins in another few decades, just like the other temples of the city.

but only to simulate the act of pouring whiskey into the little porcelain bowls out of which the Chinese drink.

Since I was the only person who took photographs in Hsining I was also kept busy at this time taking pictures of the officials, their wives and daughters. Day after day I was asked to do this. In the process the wives were treated like commodities, albeit precious ones. In my presence husbands and fathers never addressed their wives and daughters, nor was I, of course, permitted to address the women in the presence of their husbands. Among the Hsining and Dankar Chinese it is even regarded as improper if the man speaks to his brothers' wives. The brother-in-law must treat their sisters-in-law like air, even when the family property is shared and they all live together in one household. (2) On the other hand, it is

2. Even in the oldest classical moral teachings it is said that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law must not touch each other. If the brother-in-law must give his sister-in-law something, as for instance money, he places it on the floor or the table in front of her.

customary, especially among Mohammedans, that if a brother dies, the next eldest of the family takes over the widow as his wife; he "inherits" her as it were, for she has cost the family cold cash.

remarkably open and honest nature which quickly drew me closer to him. He wanted, of course, to do business with me, but he did not, like all the rest, waste a lot of time charging the highest prices which one then had to force down to the proper amount with a lot of haggling. I bought sheep, yaks and horses from him and then he told me a great deal about his life, about the many, many disputes with the Horkurma Tibetans up at the source waters of the Hwang Ho. Once they drove away 100 camels belonging to the Barun, and gave them up again only for a high ransom although they could not even use them in their swamps. He sighed over the life of the nomad, over the great nuisance of having to change camp-sites, of endlessly having to pack and unpack household goods, and said he envied the farmer who could call a stationary house his own. He complained of their poor customs, of the fact that within their families, in decided contrast to those of the Chinese, they always differentiate very strictly between "mine" and "thine," that their women have too many rights and that this causes endless quarrels, that trading was difficult because the women had too little vision and would often not permit the most favorable cattle sale. "The women take pride only in having large herds, they never consider how quickly an epidemic can snatch away the animals, or robbers carry them off." At the time of my visit, people were busy shearing the sheep. The thick winter wool was cut off and half pulled out with iron shears a foot long. (1)

1. A picul (100 catties or 65 kilograms) of the rather coarse wool of Mongolian sheep cost 4 taels in Barun. Two and one-half tael were charged for the transport from Tsaidam to Dankar, so that on the Chinese border a picul costs the merchants to 6 1/2 taels=20 marks. While I was in Barun a mounted courier arrived from Dankar with a document saying that the agents of the Yang Hang (the Tientsin firms) had set the price per picul at 9 taels for this year and could not give a cash more. The resultant increase of 2 1/2 taels for the small wool-buyer was considered much too little. The wool business of Tsaidam was thereby supposed to have become practically profitless. The year before, 11-12 taels was paid per picul by the Yang Hang in Dankar.

The yak cattle are also sheared in July, that is to say, their belly hair, which is used for making Tibetan tent walls and for ropes, is plucked out by the owners. The

the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this.

From the Dsun yurts where we first met people again, we took an easterly course and after two more travel-days we came to Barun kurä. In the belt of meadowland which we followed there stood yurts in groups of three and four of first Dsun- and then Barun- Mongols. Like the old Jew who sold ribbons in the market of my home town, I extolled my wares in the tents. I exchanged butter, barley and sheep for my hardware and my silver. The people were always friendly to us. We slept and ate in their dwellings. At first they seemed sullen, but they warmed up after closer contact and they laughed and sang with Han and Tsch'eng. Most of the men spoke Tibetan as well as Mongolian. I became acquainted with their happy-go-lucky way of living. Their liquor plays a great part in their lives, and they make it from mare's milk. The men travel from one tent to another, drink and sing, while the women have the duty of taking care of the work and of the herd animals. But although the women are obliged to shoulder the burden of the household, and increase the fortunes of the family, they are by no means the slaves of the men. One old man who wanted to sell me a few sheep on my visit from yurt to yurt was given such a severe lecture by his wife who did not agree to the sale, the lecture even being punctuated by a raised stick, that my companions were forever cured of their initial great enthusiasm for Mongol women. The Mongol woman, it is true, enjoys great freedom compared to the Chinese woman. The women of the Dam Mongols have an astonishing amount of authority for Asiatic women!

The Tsaidam Mongols (Chinese: Dam men gu) do not have high moral standards. As in many other parts of Tibet, the son, when he has reached his majority, gets the family property even though the father is still living and the parents get a certain share set aside for them. This is a very old custom. It was said to have arisen during the times when people still set out on wars of conquest. The men capable of bearing arms, who set out to war and who were able actively to protect their families, were also /349/ the owners of the family property. Now, however, the young Dam Mongols try to shirk their responsibilities as much as possible. Today they are little more than warriors and, besides, they give their old parents barely enough to live on. I often saw two old people behind a protective wall that was full of holes and squatting on a dung heap like beggars while their son lived beside them in a fine yurt.

Marriages of the Dam Mongols seem to be entered upon as casually as they are dissolved. After a couple has lived together for a while

and a few oil lamps in the main street. A dao tai li had made himself very unpopular with the population two years before because he wanted to force them to sweep the streets and because he numbered the houses. He aroused superstitious fear in doing so and it almost came to open rebellion.

Following the broad fertile valley of the Hsi Ho, one travels from Tsinchow at first for a few hours between rice fields and persimmon trees beneath which poppies are grown - Tsinchow was, before the war on opium, /327/ the center of opium-growing. In the afternoon we crossed over in a ferry to the northern shore of the Wei Ho (1,120 meters above sea level). Only a poor foot-path follows the course of the Wei River, and this serves the small amount of local traffic. The main road, a mule track leads over Tsing schui hsien with about 3,000 inhabitants (1) and 15 li from there to the east I

1. A day's journey farther to the north is the important and busy spot of Tschwang kia tschwan under the jurisdiction of the Tsing schui mandarin, in which only Hui hui live and in which the chief ahun of the entire region has his residence.

In the Tsing schui district I saw for the last time a veiled Chinese woman. The custom that a young woman wears a black face veil in the first years of her marriage if she shows herself in public, is as frequent in the district of Tsinchow as in that of Hsining fu.

came out of the loess-covered clay mountains of the Tsinchow basin into granite and entered a tangled and lonely wooded mountain range which is connected with the Liu pan Shan and the mountain of Kung dung Shan (40 li southwest of Ping liang fu) to which pilgrimages are made. We soon lost our way completely in the ravines, had a wet bivouac in the woods and did not get to the large mule track and across the highest point on it, the Da kwan Shan pass (2,250 meters), for two days. From this high point we looked south across long, equally high ridges to the peaks, already snow-capped, of the Tsin lung range, while in the east we already saw the low-lying loess of the lower Wei Valley basin. I was now only a few hours from the commercial city of Lung tschou which is still 980 meters high, and soon one admires from below the mountain wall which extends in almost meridional direction from Tsin ling Shan to the Lo Shan, Niu tou Shan and Ala Shan and separates the present-day province of

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563 ETHNIC STRATIFICATION--alien and immigrant subgroups; racial and national minorities; cultural differences between and characteristics of ethnic and minority groups; social and political status of ethnic subgroups; race prejudice and discrimination; assimilation and irredentism; extent of intermarriage; race crossing and amalgamation; racial hybrids and their status; etc. See also:

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GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

I. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghis (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Usbeks (chin. Wu-tsu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kasakhs, Kirghiz, Usbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghis, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (karis system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

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development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered but also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

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with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system. Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eartern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

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N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
S
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.
S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.
S The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
563 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
361 the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
[622] in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
S
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

The Salars:

In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia, another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family, and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

/Salars/

Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isolation of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect," among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

Because the Moslems in China have throughout history persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women, for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home neighborhood.

Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second important economic resource. While sheep, cows, mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Bäks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bäk), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty, (who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves was at times considerable. As an illustration one might remember that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

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[For information on the various ethnic groups in Northwest China, see category 116, the following pages: map following p. 140, 152-158, 177-180, 192-195, 199-211, 223-229, 235-238, 243, 258-275, 291-296, 301-302, 304-309, 316, 319-320, 358-359, 391-396, 421-424, 429, 432-434, 459-460, 475-476, 480-482, 484-485, 499-502, 504-505, 508-510, 516-517, 521, 524, 541, 543-544, 569-570, 574, 584-588, 630 and 689.]

deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a trans-logical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

S N
563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
779 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
155 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is
S N rather justified.

563 If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individ-
153 ual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
185 certainly should not forget that there has been still room for
[158] romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over
S N the universe.

563 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
538 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous
S N greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

563 The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
775 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
771 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become
[827] a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat),
S N is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

563 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
771 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in developing a final and real unity among Russians.

Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Communist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group consciousness.

As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it can be stated that because of their geographical separation (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might ease the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, sotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

In order to check Tsarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

B. Population Problems

1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

Of the many problems in regard to the population of Northwest China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese, together with its international complications, is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, west of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

2. The Uighur Autonomy

Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

"Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang, the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

I. Introduc...

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

(1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
(2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1)	New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000 people
2)	Kazakhs	300,000 "
3)	Kirghiz	70,000 "
4)	Taranchi	43,000 "
5)	Uzbeks	8,000 "
6)	Tatars	5,000 "
		3,426,000

It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1)	Chinese	about 210,000 people
2)	Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1)	Olöts	15,000 people
2)	Torguts	18,000 "
3)	Khoshuts	21,000 "
4)	Chahar	8,000 "

THE FAMILY

I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

Northerners are never without it.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han-Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

of the next lower level; deputies to the people's congresses of municipalities not divided into districts, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns are directly elected by the voters. The minority groups shall have guaranteed quotas in these congresses. Minority nationals in administrative areas shall have an appropriate number of deputies to the people's congresses of their administrative areas.

Thus, the people theoretically have political authority and the people's congresses are the organs for practicing this authority. These congresses on the lower levels are elected directly by the voters, while those on the higher levels are elected by the people's congresses of the next lowest level. For instance, the voters elect the people's congresses of the various towns. Then the People's Congresses of the towns elect deputies to the people's congresses of the counties, and so on. The provincial People's Congresses are elected for four years, while the other local congresses are elected for two years.

b. functions of congress

As listed by law the functions of the people's congresses are numerous. In brief, the congresses are to defend the rights of the people and also to assure the support of the people. They approve local budgets and financial accounts; draw up plans for local economic and cultural development; elect and recall the people's councils at their own level; elect the deputies to the people's congresses at the next highest level; listen to and examine the working reports of the people's councils at their own level; and revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders issued by these people's councils.

These functions and powers could make the local people's congresses into real "watch dogs" for the people, but for several hidden handicaps. One of these is to be found in this same Organic Law, Article 6, which states that a people's congress can "revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the people's congresses at the next lower level." In this way power is retained by the upper level.

2. Role of people's councils

The people's councils have a dual role: they are responsible to the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, and they are responsible to the governments above their own levels. Although they are supposed to be the people's instruments of self-government, they are also agencies of the central government and must obey the State Council. Theoretically, this double responsibility could put the local governments in an embarrassing dilemma, were the local congresses to differ with the central government on policy. In practice, however, it is not possible, because of the tight party control at every level and since the representatives are hand-picked by the party.

a. composition

In addition to the council members, a local People's Council

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CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

schools.

In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.

Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan People's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

During the war against Japan, with the migration of the coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest enjoyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

Under the school system of the National Government, children started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocational schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

college level:

Hsining Normal College, Hsining, Chinghai
Northwest Normal College, Lin-hsia, Kansu
Su-chou Normal College, Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu
Sui-ning Normal College, Huang-ch'ü-ch'iao, Ninghsia
A T'ien-shan Normal College was being planned for Sinkiang.

The vocational schools that existed in 1946 were:

Ning-hsia Vocational School, Ninghsia City, Ninghsia
Chinghai Vocational School, Nieh-yuan, Chinghai
Labrang Young Lama Vocational School, Hsia-ho, Kansu
Yü-shu Vocational School, Yü-shu, Chinghai

The Mongols in Ninghsia had two primary schools which served the purpose of vocational schools, both at Ting-yuan-ying for the Edsingol Banner. (Ministry of Information, Border Education, 1948).

B. Education in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area

The Communists in the Shen-Kan-Ning border area had their own educational system. This is described by Edgar Snow as follows:

"It should be explained that under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political—even the littlest children learning their first characters in the shape of simple revolutionary slogans, and then working forward into stories of conflict between the Reds and the Kuomintang, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, with plenty of heroics about the Young Communists and the Red Army, and promises of an earthly paradise of the Soviet future.

"Under institutional education the Reds already claimed to have established about two hundred primary schools, and they had one normal school for primary teachers, one agricultural school, a textile school, a trade-union school of five grades, and a Party school, with some four hundred students. Courses in all these lasted only about six months.

"Greatest emphasis naturally was on military education, and here very much had been achieved in two years, despite all the handicaps of the little beleaguered State. There were the Red Army Academy, and the cavalry and infantry schools, already described. There was a radio school, and a medical school, which was really for training nurses. There was an engineering school, where the students actually got the rudimentary training of apprentices. Like the whole Soviet organization itself, everything was very provisional and designed primarily as a kind of

000 almost every phase of their lives.

*668 The functions of the people's councils, reveal the contradictory
631 character of the Communist system of local government. The
182 Councils are responsible for carrying out decisions of the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, but they also have to carry out all decisions and orders from higher level government organs. The people's councils are the servants of the people, but they also are entrusted with stopping the execution of inappropriate decisions of people's congresses at the next lowest level. This power is especially significant since the higher people's councils must decide what decisions are inappropriate.

c. bureaus, offices and commissions

*668 The Organic Law for local governments states that the provin-
647 cial people's councils may establish the following bureaus, offices,
635 or commissions according to local needs:
631

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;
(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Industry;
(9) Commerce;
(10) Transportation and Communications;
(11) Agriculture and Forestry;
(12) Water Conservancy;
(13) Labor;
(14) Culture;
(15) Education;
(16) Public Health;
(17) Physical Culture;
(18) Administrative Office.

[563] In areas where there are minority groups, the councils may also add a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

So far, no material is available concerning the actual strueture of the northwestern provinces under the new law. However, it is known that the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs have been abolished.

*668 Under the new law, the municipal people's council may estab-
647 lish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions:
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631

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Safety;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;

the cooperatives handled 2.65 per cent and 93.77 per cent was handled privately. But in 1954, private trade was reduced to 43.02 per cent, state trade increased to 41.55 per cent and that of cooperatives increased to 15.43 per cent, the total being 2,372,936 yüan. In the first five months of 1955, the private trade comprised only 23.42 per cent of the total of 871,234 yüan, and the state and cooperatives handled 74.36 per cent. Although all this is the situation in one single rural community, it can be assumed that it is typical.

The mobile trading units are especially designed for the control of trade in the so-called national minority regions where the people are mostly nomads. They travel from one place to another, to provide the herdsmen with the supplies they want and to buy up their products. According to a semi-official statement concerning the trade in the national minority regions (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79), the Communists aim to achieve two things in this connection. One is to raise the standard of living of the minority peoples by giving them better terms of trade. For instance, the exchange ratios between wool (the main export) and tea and cloth (the main imports) in Hsi-ning from 1950 to 1954 were as follows:

Table X: Exchange Ratios between Wool, Cloth and Tea in Hsi-ning

Year	Price of Wool per 100 catties (yüan)	Exchange Ratio with respect to: 1. cloth (No. pieces per 100 catties/wool)	2. tea
1950	745,700	2.29	11.61
1951	1,042,700	3.09	19.61
1952	1,230,758	3.71	28.13
1953	1,278,825	4.18	34.44
1954	1,258,000	4.18	31.45

Source: Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 3., p. 146.

The other aim is to drive foreign goods out of the national minority regions and replace them with goods made in China. If the Communists really mean what they said, this would lead to a sharp conflict between Chinese and Soviet goods, especially in Sinkiang, where Soviet goods have long been very popular. However, no detailed information on this matter is now available.

C. Evaluation and Prospects

According to Communist propaganda, trade control in the Northwest has been very successful. For instance, they boasted that the per capita purchase of commodities in Liu-lin-chu, Yao-hsien, Shensi, has increased from 345,000 yüan in 1953 to

from T'ungkuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

can be covered in three long marches. The road, a broad tree-lined cart track, lies up the valley plain of the Wei River, with the great barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan on the left hand and the river on the right. The plain is one vast wheat-field, dotted with peculiar walled farms, each a formidable little fortress in itself; they are relics of the great Mahomedan rebellion and form a characteristic feature of the landscape in most parts of Shensi and Kansu. Nowadays the Mahomedans of Shensi are a negligible quantity, the majority having withdrawn westwards into Kansu, where they form an exceedingly important and powerful element in the population.

Forty li from T'ungkuan the district city of Huayin Hsien is reached, the inns lying in the suburb of Huayin Miao, five li east of the walled town. This latter village is the starting-point for the sacred mountain, the Hua Shan, a portion of the Ch'inling range. Seventy li further on the empty city of Hua Chou is passed, and 50 li beyond that Weinan Hsien, the centre of a particularly rich agricultural district, is reached.

The traffic on the roads of this fertile and populous plain is very great, and it is one of the absurdities of modern China that no railway should yet connect Hsian, the metropolis of the North West, with the coast. Railway construction on the plains of Central Shensi means little more than laying the rails on the necessary embankment and building a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River. And while these rich and populous plains in the centre of China are innocent of every vestige of railway construction, a line has been built at great difficulty and expense through the mountains north of Peking past Kalgan to end in the air beyond Tatung in Northern Shensi. The Hsian line is a section of the Belgian Lung Hai railway referred to above, which has for the moment come to a stop at Kuanyint'ang in Honan. Failing railways the construction of a few good trunk roads fit for motor traffic would be of enormous advantage to the province and could be undertaken, as far as the plains of Central Shensi are concerned, at comparatively small cost. There can scarcely be another civilized country in the world which would be

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

vegetable wax, cotton, hemp, hides, bristles, edible wood fungus, tobacco, indigo, paper, cane sugar, straw braid, etc., of which the most important is the wood oil[1], crushed out of the seeds of an apple-like fruit ripe in the autumn. Coal, iron, copper, gold, silver, antimony, and asbestos, and perhaps other minerals, exist in the neighbourhood. As a result the basin of the upper Han is one of the most prosperous regions in the whole of China and the population one of the wealthiest. Rice is usually cheaper even than in Szechuan. But in spite of its prosperity the region is isolated and backward as regards foreign improvements, and will probably undergo a very rapid development when tapped by a railway. It is one of the anomalies of modern China that this rich well-populated region and also the productive wheat and cotton-growing prairies of the Wei River valley should still be without railway communication, though neither are really difficult to get at.

The population of Hsingan is somewhat rough, not over friendly to foreigners, and strongly tainted with secret society influence, and compares unfavourably with that of Hanchung and the towns further up the valley, which have been populated by the more kindly Szechuanese. There is a considerable Mahomedan community of immigrants from Kansu, who as elsewhere keep very much to themselves.

The Han River is of course the main artery of communication. To Hankow downstream takes one to three weeks according to the state of the water, and the return journey upstream one to two months. Steam navigation on the upper Han seems to be out of the question owing to the shallows, shifting channels, and rapids. The worst rapids, some of which are very dangerous, lie between Yang Hsien (at the lower end of the Hanchung plain) and Hsingan.

There is good pheasant, partridge, and wild-fowl shooting to be had round Hsingan, and immediately to the south lies a very wild and sparsely-inhabited mountain region on the borders of Shensi, Hupei, and Szechuan, which is said to harbour all kinds of big game, such as deer, goat, pig, bear, leopard, and even the tiger.

[1] Wood oil is nowadays one of the most important articles of the China export trade; the trees flourish on bare stony mountain sides incapable of other cultivation, and are worth studying from the point of view of afforestation generally.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

palatially lodged in the house of a former provincial governor.

There are at least three roads from Hsihsiang to Hanchung, *via* Yang Hsien, Ch'engku Hsien, and Kulupa respectively. We followed the latter, a three days' march. The path runs up the Muma Ho for some 15 li, where the hills close in on the river and bring the valley to an end, and then runs through the hills and along the river to the village of Matsung T'an, 50 li from Hsihsiang and, owing to a small rapid, the head of navigation for small boats on the Muma Ho, up to this point a placid stream. A little further on the trail leaves the main stream, which here flows down from the south, and turns up a small sandy tributary to the south-west, then turns west through low wooded hills intersected by rice fields, and then runs north-west up a small valley to reach the village of Shaho K'an, 25 li from Matsung T'an. This village lies, as its name implies, in a pleasant region of low sandy hills covered with small woods and intersected by rice fields much resembling Szechuan. For some reason or other it is largely a Mahomedan community with two mosques. In the woods one will often see heaps of old timber, carefully stacked, for the growth of a vegetable fungus called *mu erh* (wood ears), which is a much esteemed delicacy and forms quite an important article of commerce in the Han valley.

The next stage is from Shaho K'an to Kulupa, a distance of 70 li. The path runs up the narrow valley of the stream, occasionally cutting across the low wooded hills, for 30 li to the village of Sunchia P'ing, where the hills open out and encircle a little rice plain. The district of Ch'engku is here entered. The country is a maze of little wooded hills intersected by gullies growing rice, and its chief feature is the sand. The hills are of soft disintegrating sandstone, the stream is a trickle of water in a sandy bed, and the path a firm sand embankment between stream and rice fields. It is evidently an old sandstone plateau cut up into hills and gullies by the action of water, like so much of Szechuan. North of the Ch'inling Shan such a country would be a desert; here with the more abundant rainfall and its resultant vegetation, it is a garden. From Sunchia P'ing the trail continues westwards for a time up the stream, and then, as

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character Hui signifying "to return".

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N H. The Salars

795 563 [197] [142] The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

N 795 [361] The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to
N [669] [793] the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

N [177] [212] Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N A. Sites of Religious Traditions

346 778 The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

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TABLE I.

CONCURRENT POSTS HELD BY OFFICIALS IN THE NORTHWEST IN 1952

(All Communists, unless specified otherwise)	GOVERNMENT					MILITARY		PARTY		MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND MINORITY PARTIES	
	CENTRAL		NORTHWEST								
	ADMINISTRATIVE	LEGAL AND JUDICIAL	MAC	LEGAL AND JUDICIAL	PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL	CENTRAL	NORTHWEST	CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CCP	NW AND SINKIANG BUREAUS	CENTRAL	NORTHWEST
Chang Chia-fu		1	2	1							
Chang Chih-chung (KMT-RC)	1		3			2				3	1
Chang Chung-hsün		1	1			1	1	1			
Chang Pang-ying			1		2				2		
Chang Tzu-fang (woman)			4							1	
Chia T'o-fu			4		1				1		
Han Chao-o (DL)	1		3		1					2	
Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o (Tibetan-NC)			3		2						
Hsi Chung-hsün	2		3						1	1	
Ma Hsi-wu		1	2	1							
Ma Ming-fang			2		1				1	1	1
Ma Hung-pin (CM-NC)			4		2						
Ma Wen-jui			3						3		
P'eng Te-huai	2		3			2	1	1	1	1	
Saifuddin (Uighur)	3		3		1				1	1	1
Wang Feng			4						1		
Wang Shih-t'ai			4				1				
Wang Tsu-i	1		5						2		
Wu Hung-pin (CCM-DL)			1		2					3	1
Yang Ming-hsuan (DL)			3							1	1

ABBREVIATIONS CM Chinese Moslem DL Democratic League NC Non-Communist
KMT-RC Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee

*668 violate rules and regulations are stressed as they were in the monarchal days.

[626] Social pressure is also great. With the whole population organized under the Communists' tight control, the entire society can be mobilized to work against crime and political conspiracies. This has been well demonstrated by the various "anti" movements and the study groups.

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B. Current Problems of Administration

Because of the tight governmental control of news and the distance which separates northwest China from the outside world, very little information has been obtained about resistance activities in the area. However, judging by the meager information offered by the Communists themselves, their rule over the northwest has not been very smooth. The Communists seldom, if ever, reveal their troubles while they are current, but they do uncover some facts when the resistance has been suppressed. By careful screening, one may piece together the picture of subversive activities in the area. Sometimes they were on an alarming scale. To help clarify this general background, some excerpts from the Chinese Communists' own reports and a few indirect quotations are presented as examples.

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1. "During the past year, (i.e. 1950)...we have destroyed more than 69,600 bandits in the northwest. Right now there are still more than 5,400 active bandits. The largest group is the one under the leadership of Osman and Husein who are hiding in the deep mountains along the border line between the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. There are about two to three thousand men in this group. The rest of the bandits are in small groups linked with various underground spies and the rural counter-revolutionary forces. The condition is still very complicated..." (Jen-min ch'u-pan-she: Cheng-fu kung-tso pao-jao, 1950, p. 418, Report on the book of the Government.)

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2. "...the misunderstanding...between the various nationalities has not yet been thoroughly dissolved. Consciously or unconsciously,...the Pan-Chinese idea still exists in our Chinese cadres' mind. Besides, we still have some serious shortcomings and mistakes in our nationality work. When the remnants of the bandits and spies fanned up the feelings of the people, it led to the disputes that occurred among the nationality groups in certain areas after the liberation. In the area of Lin-hsia (in Kansu), the military conflict between the Moslems and the Chinese caused more than one thousand deaths and the dislocation of more than 30,000 people who were forced to leave their homes. The loss in production was even more serious.

"In Ta-t'ung county of Chinghai, the T'ung-hsin-ch'eng of Ninghsia, in the area of P'ing-liang of Kansu, there have been

*668 In the Wu-chung Autonomous Chou, in Kansu, Hui and Han
563 groups live together. Today there are 277 agricultural producer
474 co-ops, eighty nine for the Hui and 124 for the Han. More than
476 3,200 mutual aid teams have been developedp 1,200 are perma-
nent. Future policy stresses increased agricultural production
185 by cooperativization. In a speech delivered by Ma Teng-ai to the National People's Congress however, key emphasis was placed on the correct implementation of solidifying the poor and middle class peasants and following the principle of allowing the peasants of various nationalities to enter the co-ops voluntarily. Such a desire to enter must result from the mutual benefit they feel they would receive. When agricultural producer co-ops are to be formed, namely, consolidating the various permanent mutual aid teams and pooling land, farm implements, etc. special attention is to be given the customs, habits, and religious beliefs of the different nationalities. For instance, if the Hui and Han members of the same cooperative do not want to use the same well, different wells are to be drilled, and used separately. I hogs are raised in a cooperative, they may be attended by the Han members themselves and they are not considered an auxiliary occupation of the cooperative. The Chinese Communists, in dealing with the nationality problem in the Northwest, so far have tread very lightly whenever they wished to promote cooperativization. They have proceeded very slowly, using subtle methods of persuasion to urge the various nationalities to enlist their labor power in the mutual aid and produce co-ops.

Communist administrators complain bitterly of counter-
*668 revolutionary activities in Kansu. In a speech by Su Chen-yung,
669 Vice Director of Public Security Bureau, he states: "Counter-
578 revolutionaries have unceasingly wages destructive activities
474 against the Socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With a view to impeding the work of the peasants joining the cooperatives, and to sabotaging agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants, and Taoist leaders to cheat some backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings." (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, p. 43.)

Su Chen-yung then gives as examples the disruption of progress in establishing agricultural cooperatives, the killing of Communist cadres, the burning of supply and marketing cooperatives storehouses, etc. Such admission by Communist officials of overt violence indicates that the Chinese Communists still are encountering peasant resistance, although nearly seven years have passed since their occupation of the region.

*668 C. Conclusion
241 The Chinese Communists have attempted to control closely
474
185

*668 and coordinate all rural activities toward the fulfillment of Chi-
241 nese Communist agrarian policy: complete cooperativization of
474 agriculture and the assurance of a steady flow of food and raw
185 materials through fixed purchase of produce. (The problem of
agricultural taxes in the Northwest has not been mentioned so far.
[651] The Communists have not reported any reduction of agricultural taxes, or what the average tax rates in the Northwest are.) They have a system of cooperatives at the basic production levels. Though cooperativization has taken place slowly because of the peculiar conditions of many areas in the last six years, it is expected that once some nucleus of control has been established in the rural areas in the form of permanent mutual aid cooperatives and producer cooperatives, rapid cooperativization will take place, to embrace, ultimately, all rural inhabitants.

*668 In the national minority area, the Chinese Communists have
563 proceeded slowly, so far, in their attempts to organize agricultural and pastoral activities. The problem of different national minority groups has been one of the principal stumbling blocks in
[474] the creation of lower level co-ops, and will undoubtedly pose a barrier to rapid cooperativization.

*668 Secondly, the State has been able to provide only a small
241 supply of farm implements and credit. Shortages in China and
654 the difficulties of transportation undoubtedly account for this.
It is questionable whether these shortages can be overcome in
452 the next few years, but when they are, new farm tools and sufficient credit should account for significant output increases.

*668 Thirdly, one of the principal ways the Communists have
attempted to increase output in the Northwest has been through
241 extensive farming rather than through intensive means. They
433 have done this by using vast amounts of labor, particularly military, to reclaim desert wastes, build irrigation works, and construct state farms to manage the reclaimed area. Evidence of this is most striking in Sinkiang and Kansu. Although Chinghai and Shensi with their hills and valleys limit extensive farming procedures, cultivation has been extended wherever possible. Because of the shortage of fertilizer and tools the Chinese Communists have been unable to promote intensive farming on a scale that would raise output per acre significantly. Instead, they have had to resort to expanding cultivation, that is, extensive farming, to obtain the desired increases.

*668 Finally, it is clearly evident that in all parts of the Northwest,
241 with the exception of Chinghai, there has been a general neglect
in promoting livestock production and instead an all-out effort to
231 increase the planting and extension of cultivation of wheat, cotton,
433 and oil seed bearing crops. This program differs radically from policy measures suggested by Western agronomists, i.e., J.L. Buck and T.H. Shen who advocated the restoration of fertility to

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of the North West and must consume a great deal of grain. 136
Strangely enough the Chinese peasants, often poor to the
verge of starvation, seldom touch them,[1] partly because of 262
the cost of powder and shot, and partly perhaps because of 136
the curious prejudice the Chinese cultivator has to eating
anything wild, for fear lest it should make him "wild in the 825
heart." The ordinary Chinese appear much to prefer a
skinny old chicken to a nice plump pheasant because the
former is not wild. While we were routing out pheasants
on these hills we put up four deer, apparently a large kind
of roe, which showed very little alarm and kept on re-
appearing at intervals for the rest of the afternoon.

The T'ing, usually translated "sub-prefecture" and now 634
abolished, appears formerly to have been always the centre 563
of a sort of military district located in mountainous country
for the purpose of holding aboriginal tribesmen of some
kind in check. Thus one will find many T'ing on the
western confines of Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kansu facing
the Tibetans; in the Miaotzu country of Kueichou and
adjacent provinces; on the borders of Lololand in Szechuan;
on the Burma-Yunnan frontier; and in Northern Shensi on
the Mongolian border; but not in provinces like Anhui,
Kiangsu, Shantung, etc., which have never contained a
non-Chinese population. There are quite a number of T'ing
in the Nan Shan of Shensi. But every vestige of an aboriginal
non-Chinese population seems to have disappeared, if it ever
existed. I have a vague recollection that some European scholar
has evolved a theory that the non-Chinese tribes now living
in Southern China originated in the mountains of Southern
Shensi. Incidentally it may be noted that the former T'ing
are usually marked in foreign maps of China as more import-
ant places than the Hsien. But with the exception of a few
larger places such as Tachienlu and T'engyueh, nine out of ten
of the T'ing are miserable little walled villages in the moun-
tains, nowadays ranking as the poorest of third class Hsien.

Leaving Fop'ing the track climbs up the range im- 487
mediately to the north by zigzags to reach the pass about
a thousand feet above the valley, whence there is a fine 133
view over a wilderness of mountains all around. To the N.
and N.W. lies T'aipai Shan, a bare rocky ridge still carrying
a good deal of snow in May. This pass (about 7000 feet) is

1 [pheasants - ANALYST]

Han valley like the main road does. The trail runs S.W. down this valley through fields of wheat and maize past several villages, such as Huangniu P'u, Hunghua P'u, and Ts'aoliang Yi, in any of which a halt can be made. The Tung Ho is here, in summer, already a fair-sized mountain torrent, only just fordable, and is joined by several tributary torrents from the wooded mountains on either side. Between Ts'aoliang Yi and Feng Hsien, a distance of 70 li, the river runs mostly through winding gorges, with the path, a good mule-trail, ledged in the cliff over the water.

Feng Hsien, a third class district city, consists of one long street with a certain amount of life in it owing to the traffic on the high road. It lies hidden by poplars in a pretty cultivated valley. The confines of Kansu are not far off and there seem to be a good many Kansu Mahomedans in the district. There is plenty of loess in the Tung valley round Feng Hsien, though it is on the southern side of the Ch'inling watershed. There is not, so far as I know, any loess in the Han basin, but it may be noticed in the valleys of the headwater streams of the Chialing Chiang both here and above Li Hsien in Kansu, and doubtless in other places too. The presence of this loess south of the watershed range, which further east forms a barrier to and is the southern limit of this formation, seems to require a good deal of explaining; if the loess was deposited by water the fact that the relative height of the watershed above the ground north of it is so much lower in the west than in the east, may perhaps account for it.

We met a good deal of traffic on this road, in contrast to the empty trails of Northern Shensi, consisting of strings of coolies and pack-mules carrying tea, umbrellas, iron, etc., from Szechuan and the Han valley to Hsian and the towns of the Wei basin; when we got into Szechuan the contrast was still more marked, and the traffic was practically an endless procession of carrying coolies going both ways; and this in spite of the fact that Northern Szechuan abounds in brigands too, but apparently of a less formidable character than those of Northern Shensi.

At Feng Hsien the trail leaves the Tung River, which flows S.W. into Kansu, and turns up the mountain side to the south, reaching the pass, the Feng Ling (6300 feet) after

favourably with many of the young magistrates in Shensi, promoted to their posts straight from the schools or the army through revolutionary influence, and without administrative experience of any kind.

P'ingliang, lying near the head of the Ching Ho valley at an altitude of over 4000 feet, is an important place, an agricultural market town in a wheat-growing region, and the administrative centre of Eastern Kansu. Being the seat of a Taoyin and a General, we had as usual a festive time during our short stay. The town, like most Kansu cities, is half empty, but the east suburb, the Mahomedan quarter, is busy and full of well-stocked shops. It was there that we first noticed the white caps of the Kansu Mahomedans, of whom we were to see so much during the next few months. The prosperity of the suburb compared to the city and their presence there were connected by the fact that until recently no Mahomedan was permitted to reside inside the walls of an official city in Kansu (one of the suppressive measures taken against them after the great rebellion); with the arrival of the republic, however, and its watchword of equality for the five races (Chinese, Mahomedans, Manchus, Tibetans, and Mongols), this disability was allowed to lapse. Frequent reference to the Mahomedans of the North West will be made in the following chapters, but the subject of Islam in China is an obscure and contentious one, and it should be noted that the statements here made are not the product of scientific enquiries, but merely the results of conversations with Chinese, mostly of the official classes, who, though sometimes Moslems themselves, were only acquainted with the superficial facts and popular traditions relating to the Mahomedans and their religion.

I estimate the Mahomedans of Kansu to constitute from a quarter to a third of the total population. They are freely scattered throughout the districts of the province as merchants, especially dealers in horses, but they are settled on the land more especially in two regions, in the South and the North respectively, roughly separated by the Great West Road. In the South they form a kind of Mahomedan wedge between the Chinese and the Tibetans of the Kokonor, centring round Hochou and Hsunhua on the Yellow River; in the North they extend from P'ingliang through Kuyuan,

and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia.

and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia. The Chinese consider those in the Southern area, who are of more recent Turki origin, to be the more dangerous and fanatical today. In a secluded valley near P'ingliang resides a sort of Mahomedan saint, who has great influence not only in Kansu but also in Yunnan, and who undoubtedly commands the services of thousands, or perhaps tens of thousands, of armed Mahomedans; he is not one of the regular Moslem leaders, who are referred to in later chapters; and there seems to be some sort of mystery about him, which it was not our business to enquire into.

The next stage from P'ingliang is one of 90 li to Wat'ing, a walled fort and posting stage at the foot of the Liupan pass. The road runs up the valley, which beyond a half-way village with inns contracts to a gorge, scrub-covered mountains of shale and sandstone taking the place of the cultivated loess hills. Pheasants were thick here, and so tame that one had to throw stones at them to make them fly. Wat'ing is rather an important point as the roads to Lanchou and Ninghsia here bifurcate (the latter *via* Kuyuan). We were met here by the magistrate of Kuyuan and also by a representative of the family of the late General T'ung Fu-hsiang, whose ancestral seat is in the neighbourhood. I have been told on more than one occasion by Chinese that T'ung Fu-hsiang was not a Mahomedan at all, but a Chinese General commanding Moslem troops; perhaps he was considered a Chinese because he fought against the Mahomedans in the great rebellion. The following is a sketch of the career of this celebrated individual, who came into contact with foreigners by leading his Mahomedan troops to the attacks on the Legations in Peking in 1900.

T'ung Fu-hsiang was a native of Kuyuan in Eastern Kansu. In the big rebellion of 1864–1873 he figured prominently as a military chief on the Chinese side under General Tso, and it was he who captured the rebel stronghold of Chinchi on the Yellow River near Ninghsia, an event which was the turning-point in the campaign. This was the foundation of his fortunes, as he was enriched with the confiscated estates of rebels, and from that time on counted as one of the most prominent and influential leaders in Kansu. Subsequently he fought in Central Asia against

Yakub Beg. In 1895 he had risen to be commander-in-chief of the Kansu forces and despatched troops to aid in the suppression of the Mahomedan rebellion near Sining in that year. In 1900 he commanded an army of Kansu braves in the attacks on the Legations, and subsequently arranged for the safety of the Imperial Court during its flight to Hsian Fu. Being proscribed by the Foreign Powers after the collapse of the Boxer movement he was cashiered and sent back to Kansu in disgrace, where he resided on his large estates in some state till his death about ten years ago. His rôle was loyalty to the Manchus through thick and thin, and his example in this respect has been followed more recently by the other Mahomedan leaders, who were ready to remain faithful to the cause of the fallen dynasty even after the abdication in 1912. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs then, and had T'ung Fu-hsiang still been alive, the Mahomedan North West would perhaps have refused to accept the Republic, with disastrous results to the neighbouring provinces.

From Wat'ing the road runs up a ravine to the west, reaching the foot of the Liupan Shan after 15 li, whence it ascends by a series of zigzags to the summit of the pass, a grassy ridge about 9000 feet high. There were many big carts making the ascent, a most arduous business effected by relays of animals. Here again, as often on our journeys, we had reason to congratulate ourselves on having a caravan of good pack mules instead of carts. The Liupan Shan is a prominent range of mountains rising far above the loess, which crosses Kansu from N.W. to S.E.; it is probably a continuation of the chief range of the Nan Shan, which is crossed by the main road west of Lanchou at the Wushao Ling (10,000 feet) and through which the Yellow River breaks its way in a series of precipitous gorges between Lanchou and Chungwei. From the pass there is a steep drop of about a thousand feet, and the road then descends through a dreary barren valley to Lungtê Hsien, a most miserable little city almost entirely in ruins, 50 li from Wat'ing. The loess country west of the Liupan Shan is much more barren and desiccated than on the P'ingliang side, and round Lungtê the poor-looking wheat crops were only just showing above ground towards the end of May.

missionaries holding these strange beliefs should be the only vehicle for the propagation of Christianity amongst the Kokonor tribesmen does not seem to be fair either to Christianity or to the tribesmen.

Having outlined the history of recent events in Shensi since the Revolution in a preceding chapter, with the Ko Lao Hui in the leading rôle, it may be of interest to recount the history of the same period in Kansu, assigning the principal part to the Mahomedans.

Kansu only played a small part in the Revolution of 1911; and, as was to be expected in so backward and isolated a province, there was little sympathy with the republican cause. The troops in the province at that time consisted still of the old style *Hsün Fang Tui* who were in the course of being modernised into the new regular army known as *Lu Chün*, and of Mahomedan soldiers peculiar to the province called *Hsi Chün*. After the Revolution the *Hsün Fang Tui* and the *Lu Chün* melted away together with the provincial government, and the attitude of the province towards things in general was governed by the action of the Mahomedan leaders and the Mahomedan troops, who, true to their recent traditions, remained loyal to the Manchu throne. Ma An-liang, the famous leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, who thus found himself at the head of the province, together with Sheng Yün, ex-Viceroy of the North West and one of the Manchu die-hards, despatched Moslem troops across the border into Shensi to fight the revolutionary forces of the Ko Lao Hui, but were eventually induced by the wise statesmanship of Yuan Shih-k'ai to withdraw them and accept the republic in name. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs at that time, and had the Manchus been able to rally themselves to the Mahomedans of the North West, the settlement of 1912 might have been much delayed.

The result of the Revolution was therefore to give the Mahomedans what they had failed to obtain by rebellion in the past, namely complete autonomy and control of the province under General Ma An-liang, who moved into Lanchou from his residence near Hochou. There was a republican Tutu at the same time, but he seems to have been a mere figure-head. General Ma's management of the

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affairs of the province during those critical times appears to have been admirable, and Kansu was spared many of the troubles which were afflicting the rest of China during that period. Early in 1914, however, Yuan Shih-k'ai, who was then engaged in centralising his power by replacing the republican Tutus by his own nominees, sent one of his Northern Generals to Lanchou as Governor, accompanied by a bodyguard of a couple of thousand good Northern soldiers. To avoid friction the latter travelled up to Kansu as Commissioner for the Kokonor, his appointment as Governor only being announced by telegraph when he was within a few days of the capital. For some months there was a period of great tension between the Mahomedans and the new Governor, but the latter was a true Northern soldier, strong and reliable, and the Mahomedans, under wise leadership, eventually accepted the situation, and General Ma retired again to Hochou.

In the summer of 1914 the southern portion of the province suffered greatly from the incursion made by the so-called White Wolf rebels, who, after ravaging parts of Anhui, Honan and Shensi, made a sudden raid into Kansu by the Ch'inchou road, being attracted probably by the stocks of opium in those parts. A year after their passage we could trace their route by ruined towns and villages and burnt out yamens. After looting the rich cities of Ch'inchou and Fuchiang and other towns in that neighbourhood, they struck west through the mountains to Minchou and T'aochou on the Kokonor border. At Old T'aochou they encountered the Mahomedans for the first time and met with a fierce resistance from the Moslem population of that district. This so infuriated the rebels that when, by sheer weight of numbers, they eventually captured the city they massacred the inhabitants and literally razed the town to the ground. At the time of our visit a year later the four walls of the city enclosed a mass of ruins, not a single house being left intact. The destruction of T'aochou proved, however, the turning-point in the career of that terrible horde. So far they had ranged, pillaging, murdering, and burning, right across China practically unchecked. But here they had been severely handled by the Mahomedans, who were not accustomed to take that kind of thing lying

down; and in that wild and out of the way country there soon arose a shortage of supplies for so many thousands. Northwards towards Lanchou the way was barred by the Moslem troops of Ma An-liang, and southwards towards the rich province of Szechuan the intervening country was wilder and even more desolate; and so the rebels started back the way they had come, through towns and villages already laid waste. The mountain tracks were bad, the stages long, and food and fodder scarce. The bridge across the T'ao at Minchou had been destroyed, and many were drowned in the fierce waters of this Tibetan torrent. At Fuchiang and other places on the road the local people wreaked a terrible revenge for what they had suffered, and many hundreds of rebels hiding in the cornfields and scrub were beaten to death with sticks and agricultural implements. Many straggled back through Shensi with their silver and opium to their homes in Honan, but this was really the end of the White Wolf rebels whom 30,000 picked troops of China's modern army had completely failed to destroy in the central provinces six months previously.

With the disappearance of the White Wolf rebels and the surrender of the nominal government by the Mahomedans to Yuan Shih-k'ai's Governor, peace returned to the province. During the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916 there was a renewal of unrest, especially after Shensi had joined the rebels, and influence was brought to bear on the Governor from various quarters, urging him to resign or secede from Peking. But a declaration of independence was successfully staved off until Yuan Shih-k'ai's death relieved the situation, perhaps largely owing to the attitude of Ma An-liang, who prepared his troops for action, and let the republicans know that if anyone was to succeed the Governor it would be himself, and that he and his Mahomedans would stick by Yuan to the last.

The shadow of another Mahomedan rebellion is always over the Chinese in Kansu, who stand in great fear of the Moslems and have passed through some anxious times during recent years. But the general opinion we heard expressed was that there was no need for alarm as long as the Mahomedans continue to be guided by the wise and statesmanlike leadership of their present chiefs.

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Many villages are passed on this stage, the largest being Ssushihli P'u and Chaochiakengtzu, 40 and 50 li out respectively. Ningyuan (new name Wushan Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in the irrigated valley of the Wei River producing heavy crops of corn and hemp.

From Ningyuan to Fuchiang is a long stage called 100 li. The road continues down the valley, crossing a loess ridge just before getting to the large market village of Lomen Chen, 30 li out. The valley on this stretch of the road is very fertile, thickly populated, and well timbered. Fuchiang is quite a wealthy town, and this part of Kansu is probably the richest in the province, with the exception perhaps of the Ninghsia plains. It used to be a centre for the opium trade, now more or less extinct. The poppy was formerly cultivated extensively in all the irrigated areas in Kansu, and the product was considered the best native-grown opium in China and was in great demand in Peking, Tientsin, and North China generally.

At Fuchiang the road leaves the Wei valley and ascending a gorge in the loess hills, crosses a steep little pass and descends to the large village of Kuantzu Chen, 40 li out. From here it continues down this valley, that of a tributary of the Wei, passes through a stony gorge, and emerges at the village of Liushihli P'u, 60 li from Fuchiang, whence there is a good road through cultivated fields down the valley for the remaining 60 li to Ch'in Chou. The latter, now known as T'ienshui Hsien, consists of no less than five cities built one alongside the other, and is one of the largest and most important towns in the province. A considerable trade is carried on with Shensi and Szechuan, the exports consisting of the regular products of Kansu, such as wool, hides, deer's horns, furs, musk, rhubarb, mountain medicines, tobacco, and opium, and the imports of silk, tea, piece goods, etc. The Szechuanese element in the population is considerable, and the proximity of that province is in many ways noticeable. It is not a Mahomedan centre, but there is a small community of Moslem merchants engaged as usual in the horse and cattle trade and in the export of hides to Hankow. Two roads lead from here into Shensi, one *via* Hui Hsien to Hanchung, and the other *via* Ch'ingshui to Fenghsiang; two roads also lead into Szechuan, one *via*

trough below the surrounding level of the valley. Just beyond Hsitachai the path leaves the T'ao River, along which another track runs direct to Choni, and turns up a side valley to the north to reach a semi-Tibetan hamlet called Shanch'a, 80 li from Min Chou, where we passed the night in the house of the headman. Pheasants were abundant in this picturesque and well-wooded valley.

At Shanch'a the path turns up a side ravine leading after an hour's march to an easy pass, whence there is a descent for another hour into a bare valley, followed by a rise over a second low pass, and a descent to New T'ao Chou in another bare open valley, a march of 40 li in all. New T'ao Chou (now called Lintan Hsien) is the official town, as opposed to Old T'ao Chou, distant 60 li, the commercial town, and is an empty shell of a city of no importance. About half the few buildings inside the walls had been destroyed by the White Wolf rebels the year previously. We were accommodated in a temple which the magistrate had fitted up temporarily as his yamen. The city lies in a bare open valley some 20 li or so north of the T'ao River in a region of treeless hills of loess, red clay, and red sandstone. This somewhat dreary belt of bare red hills intervenes practically all along this border between the loess of Kansu proper and the pine forests and grass lands of the Kokonor country, and corresponds roughly to a similar Mahomedan wedge between Chinese and Tibetans. The red hills round New T'ao Chou are cultivated and dotted with villages, mostly Mahomedan. The Moslems extend from here along the border to their real strongholds round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and thence north of the Yellow River to beyond Hsining. We were travelling round the two T'ao Chous during the season of summer thunderstorms (early July), and usually experienced several daily, some very severe and rather alarming in this elevated region. On one occasion hurrying into a Mahomedan farmhouse for shelter we found the inhabitants at prayer as though in a mosque; this custom of using private houses for prayer is, I was told, confined to the followers of the "New Sect," which is very extended and influential in Kansu. Our sudden intrusion was not resented in the least, and on this, as on every other occasion when I met Mahomedans in Kansu, we were

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PLATE XXVII

TIBETAN VILLAGERS AND MAHOMEDAN SOLDIERS

TIBETAN VILLAGERS AND MAHOMEDAN SOLDIERS

[FACING P. 134]

treated with every courtesy. The Mahomedans of Kansu still consider themselves to a certain extent as foreigners sojourning in a strange land, and greet travellers from the west as fellow-wanderers.

From New T'ao *Chou to Choni*, a march of 30 li, the track runs south-west over a low pass in the red clay hills, crosses a valley trending south, ascends another low pass, and descends through a grassy ravine to the T'ao River. Choni, the residence of a T'ussu, or native chief, ruling several Tibetan tribes in the neighbourhood, is a picturesque little place, a walled village built round the chief's residence on the banks of the T'ao, and overlooked by a lamasery containing some 500 monks. We were received by the usual cannon shots (an old-fashioned Chinese custom still surviving in most parts of Kansu which is terrifying to one's pony unless accustomed to it) and really sumptuously lodged in the chief's residence. The Choni T'ussu is by far the most important native chief in Kansu and exercises jurisdiction over an extensive territory. Some of his tribes, especially those living to the south of the Min Shan, are turbulent and not easy to control. The chief is under the authority of the Governor at Lanchou, but unlike his colleagues in Szechuan west of Tachienlu, he retains his power unimpaired over his Tibetans. On the east his jurisdiction is bounded by Chinese territory; on the west it fades away amongst the lawless nomads of the grasslands. His authority, like that of most native chiefs in China, extends rather over tribes and families than fixed territory, and its limits are therefore vague.

The T'ao River is here the dividing line between Tibetans and Chinese (Mahomedans), the forest-clad mountains to the south being inhabited by the former, and red hills to the north by the latter. There is good big game shooting to be had in these forests, wapiti, sheep, goral, serow, bear, etc. The elevation of the valley seems to be about 8000 feet at Choni.

Leaving Choni the road runs up the beautiful T'ao valley for about ten li, and then turns north-west up a small ravine leading to an easy pass. From here it runs along the top of the mountain for a few li, descends into a valley, crosses another low pass, and drops down to Old T'ao Chou, 45 li from Choni.

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Old T'ao Chou lies in a valley about ten li north of the T'ao River at an elevation of about 9000 feet in the same region of bare red hills with cultivated valleys as the New City. At the time of our visit its chief feature was the fact that the four walls enclosed nothing but a mass of ruins, the town having been completely burnt out by the White Wolf rebels the year before; we saw many a ruined city in Kansu in the course of our travels—indeed in that province ruins are the rule rather than the exception—but nothing so utterly and completely destroyed as Old T'ao Chou. Outside the city, however, there was a suburb which did not seem to have suffered much, and here we were well lodged in a large Tibetan inn. T'ao Chou is the Kansu counterpart of Tachienlu and Sŭngp'an in Szechuan, a centre for the exchange of the products of China and Tibet, where barley meal, piece goods, tea, tobacco, and Chinese wares such as saddlery, boots, guns, felt, etc., are exchanged for wool, skins, furs, gold dust, medicines, deer's horns, Tibetan incense, and other produce of the highlands, a lucrative trade here largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. There are, however, certain marked differences in the conditions ruling at T'ao Chou and Tachienlu. For instance in the latter place trade during recent years has been greatly interfered with by the hostilities which have been carried on intermittently between Chinese and Tibetans during the past few years, whereas at T'ao Chou the traffic has been uninterrupted; secondly at Tachienlu the lamas and native tribesmen have been completely cowed by the Chinese and are not allowed to carry arms, whereas at T'ao Chou the wild-looking nomads swagger about the streets armed to the teeth, and have so far only been bested by the Chinese in commercial transactions.

A road leads from T'ao Chou through the grass country of the independent Golok to Jyekundo and Central Tibet. Though this route is little known, it is said to pass through good grass country most of the way, and is perhaps the easiest road from China into Tibet. Another road leads south to Sungp'an in Szechuan, passing over the Min Shan by a peculiar looking square gap in this rocky barrier range, called the "Shih Men" (Stone Gate), but it is little used [illegible] traverses the territory of one of the most lawless tribes

is the same land of nomads and lamas, whether Tibetan or Mongol. In past centuries the Chinese were ever engaged, with varying success, in defending their fertile plains and valleys against the incursions of Tartar hordes from these tablelands; now the nomads are impotent outside their own territories, reduced in numbers and virility perhaps by the lama religion, and these vast empty spaces serve as buffers protecting China from the rest of Asia. Undoubtedly her wisest policy is to leave the scattered inhabitants to manage their own affairs as hitherto under her vague suzerainty.

The trail runs north-west across these grass-lands, passing continually from one shallow valley to another; at first these valleys slope S.E. towards the T'ao River, but after 20 li or so they slope N.W. towards the Ho Chou River. The pasturage is excellent and there are many nomad encampments; the latter are only to be approached with care, as they are guarded by huge Tibetan mastiffs, I should think easily the most formidable breed of dog in the world, and the nomads themselves are not friendly to strangers. Indeed the Amdo Tibetan of the Kokonor grass country is about the last kind of individual one would choose to meet alone on a dark night, and a wilder or more picturesque looking lot of ruffians it would be difficult to imagine. They always go heavily armed, and are robbers by nature. Once properly introduced to them, however, one can count on friendly treatment, and we had nothing to complain of in this respect. After six or seven hour's march from the village where we had passed the night the trail descended from the plateau into an open and partly cultivated valley with the temples and barrack-like buildings of the monastery of Heitso Ssu at the end of it, a most striking sight in this land of tent-living nomads.

Heitso Ssu (the Chinese name) is a large and wealthy monastery, containing, we were told, some thousand lamas. It is quite a little town in itself, with, as is usually the case on this border, a small Chinese village or bazaar of one street, run mostly by Mahomedans, attached to it. It lies at the junction of two small valleys below the level of the grass country, and the neighbouring slopes are well cultivated with barley and peas and dotted with Tibetan farms. We were badly housed in a kind of inn in the Chinese bazaar,

which is separated from the lamasery by a stream, and as the lamas did not appear particularly friendly, and we were only passing through, we left them alone. This was really the only place on all our long journeys where we were not well received. Heitso is called 120 li from T'ao Chou. To the south are forest-clad hills and to the north and north-west are high rocky mountains patched with snow. My amateur map led me to take these to be the divide between the sources of the T'ao and Tahsia rivers and the upper Yellow River, and therefore probably the true boundary between Kansu and Kokonor territory in this direction. The boundaries of Western Kansu are extremely vague, owing to the practice of the native chiefs exercising jurisdiction over tribes and families of nomads rather than fixed areas.

The Amdo Tibetans we met round Heitso and on our road from T'ao Chou to Labrang, whether nomads or agriculturists, were just like the tribesmen who come into Tachienlu in Szechuan from the uplands of Kham, except that the latter have been partly disarmed while the Kansu Tibetans all carry swords thrust crosswise through their belts and often the long Tibetan gun with prong attachment in addition. Their dress is of the simplest description, consisting usually of a sheepskin robe worn winter and summer with the wool inside, often no trousers, and long leather boots. The hilts and sheathes of their swords and knives are often handsomely inlaid with silver and decorated with turquoise and coral, and probably come from Kham. The head dress of the women is peculiar, the hair being braided into a number of small plaits, which hang down below the waist and are bound together at their extremities by a piece of cloth ornamented with silver and stones. On the grass-lands they live by cattle-raising and robbing, becoming more and more lawless as one proceeds west, till the Golok and similar tribes are reached living round the upper Yellow River and thence southwards towards the Szechuan marches, who are entirely masterless and acknowledge the authority of neither China nor Tibet. As a result their territory is about the least known portion of Asia.

The Chinese call the Amdo Tibetans Hsifan, a wide term meaning Western Barbarians applied to all the non-Chinese tribesmen from Sungp'an to Hsining. Some

European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

with the goods of the Mahomedan merchants of Ho Chou.

We passed the night at Ch'ingshui, where we met a military officer sent up to escort us down into China Proper who calmly informed us with little apparent interest that China and Japan were at war. This news afterwards turned out to be a local echo of the crisis existing between the two countries two months previously, and the incident shows that even today momentous events on the coast have comparatively little interest for the inhabitants of the far interior. Below Ch'ingshui the path continues through winding gorges with the foaming torrent hemmed in by forest-clad mountains for 20 li to the likin barrier of T'ung-men Kuan, where the gorges debouch on to an open cultivated valley. This is one of the numerous "Gates" leading into and out of China Proper on her western and northern frontiers. There is a bit of an old wall to be seen, perhaps a portion of the Kokonor loop of the Great Wall. From here to Ho Chou, a distance of 60 li, a good highway runs down the fertile valley past numerous Mahomedan villages. We did not see the valley at its best, because it poured with rain during the whole march, and the clay soil was turned into a slippery morass; at one place, crossing a nullah by a narrow causeway, one of our mule litters containing a cook was overturned into the ditch, and remained literally upside down with the eight legs of the two mules pointing skywards for some time, till they were hauled out in that position, no damage being done.

Ho Chou (new name T'aoho Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in a most delightful valley plain, from five to six thousand feet above the sea, sheltered by high mountains, and as fertile as a garden. The mountains to the west and south-west (T'aitzu Shan) are very bold and rocky, and carried a good deal of snow at the time of our visit (middle of July). Ho Chou itself consists of a small Chinese town with large and busy Mahomedan suburbs, containing many fine mosques and seminaries. It is the centre of Mahomedan power and influence in the province, and General Ma An-liang, who actually lives a day's journey or so away near the Yellow River, has a fine residence in the suburb. The Chinese magistrate in the city seems to have little to do

with the Mahomedan population of the district. At the time of our visit there was also a Chinese General with a few hundred old-fashioned Chinese troops in the city, the Mahomedan troops, of whom there are many thousands in the neighbourhood, being quartered in the surrounding Mahomedan districts. We spent a day in Ho Chou, which I thought a delightful place, feasting and receiving callers.

The Chinese differentiate between two kinds of Mahomedans in Kansu, the Sala, the descendants of a Turkish tribe which came from the neighbourhood of Samarcand some five or six hundred years ago and settled on the upper Yellow River round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and the original Mahomedan population of the province, which also came from Turkestan, but at a much earlier period. The former are really Chinese Turks, while the latter are probably so mixed with early Chinese colonists who adopted Islam as to merit the title of Mahomedan Chinese. The Chinese look upon all the Moslems as being of a different race to themselves, and they are assigned one of the five colours of the republican flag, which symbolises the union of the five Mongoloid races of the former Chinese Empire. They are locally known as Hui Hui, or Hsiao Chiao Jen; the origin of the former name is still occupying the attention of scholars, and has been explained in various far-fetched and unsatisfactory ways; the latter means People of the Lesser Religion. The Mahomedan religion itself is known as Ch'ing Chen Chiao (Pure and True Religion). The Sala, who are considered by the Chinese to be the more fanatical and dangerous, show their comparatively recent Turkish origin in their long narrow faces, large eyes, and strong beards, and a Turkish dialect of some kind still survives amongst them.

There are two large sects amongst the Mahomedans of Kansu, those who follow the Lao Chiao (Old Religion) and those who follow the Hsin Chiao (New Religion), which I have heard compared by the Chinese to the Catholic and Protestant Churches of Christianity. These two sects are bitterly hostile to one another, and generally speaking the Mahomedans are always quarrelling amongst themselves about religious matters. But, in spite of these apparent internal dissensions, they present on the whole a united

similarly on the grass lands north of Peking a *Hsi K'ou Ma* (pony from the Western Passes, i.e. Kansu) is a drug in the market; and both are useless on the stone paved paths south of the Ch'inling Shan, where the diminutive stallions of Szechuan, Yunnan, and Kueichou alone are employed. Small horses from Turkestan are also often seen in Kansu, but they are not as satisfactory to use as the native ponies. A *sine qua non* of all travelling ponies is that they should be able to *tsou*, which means the smooth amble or pace of four to five miles an hour always used by the travelling horseman in Eastern Asia; a pony that cannot *tsou* is practically worthless as a mount in Chinese eyes, and the reason will be apparent to anyone who has tried to do a long journey on a pony which has no pace between a slow walk and a slow trot.

From Hsining to Lanchou there are two roads, a cart track *via* P'ingfan in eight stages, and a mule road down the Hsining River in six stages; we followed the latter. The first day's march is one of 75 li down the valley, which is most of the way a mile or so wide and bounded by bare dreary hills of loess and red sandstone patched with a white alkaline efflorescence, to the village of Changch'i Chai. Twenty-five li out at the hamlet of Hsiaohsia K'ou the hills close in to form a short defile, and the road crosses the river by a good bridge. Much of the valley is an arid waste like the hills, as the river runs part of the way in a trough at a lower level, thus rendering irrigation impossible. The next stage is one of 80 li to the village of Kao Miaotzu. The trail runs down the valley, fertile where irrigation can be practised; it passes through a rocky defile 15 li out and reaches the small district city of Nienpo 50 li out. Occasional glimpses are caught of the high range to the south separating the Hsining River from the Yellow River. There is a curious mixture of races in this neighbourhood, including some people locally called *T'u Jen*, who were described to us as "tame" aborigines, and some Mahomedans who are said to speak a Mongolian dialect. There is plenty of subject matter for the ethnologist's study in Western Kansu, as in Western Szechuan and Yunnan.

From Kao Miaotzu the road continues down the cultivated valley for 20 li to the village of Laoya. Here the

Chinch'i, where we were able to examine some of the wonderful irrigation works which render these huge plains, otherwise desert, so fertile. There are similar works on the other bank near the village of Tapa. Their destruction would turn one of the richest plains in North China into a desert. In the North West irrigation is the key to agricultural prosperity, and though the ancient Chinese have done so much in this region, modern engineers could probably accomplish wonders in turning immense areas of what is still desert into fertile lands. Especially lower down, where the river makes its great bend round the Ordos, there would seem to be great openings for modern irrigation works.

Chinch'i Hsien, formerly known as Chinch'i P'u or Ningling T'ing, is a Mahomedan centre, and was the chief rebel stronghold in the great rebellion. The Mahomedans are still very powerful in this region, where their settlements extend south through Haich'eng and Kuyuan to P'ingliang in Eastern Kansu. T'ung Fu-hsiang's family own large estates in the neighbourhood, which they appear to have acquired after the capture of Chinch'i in 1871 by the latter. This event was the beginning of the end of the rebellion in Kansu, which led to the eventual defeat of Yakub Beg and the recovery of Chinese Turkestan; had the Kansu Mahomedans held out, the reconquest of Central Asia would have been rendered impossible, and the fall of Chinch'i constitutes therefore an event of the first importance in Chinese history.

Shortly before reaching the neighbourhood of Chinch'i we noticed, much to our amazement, a small stern-wheel steamer tied up to the right bank. An examination through glasses showed her to be a mere rusty skeleton, and our boatmen said she had lain there for years. From subsequent enquiries in Ninghsia we learned that this vessel represented an attempt, made just before the revolution, by the Kansu Viceroy with the assistance of a Belgian gentleman to establish steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. A small river steamer was purchased, transported in sections at great expense overland and put together at Paot'ou. She seems to have made one trip up river, reaching with great difficulty the spot where she is now, and where she is likely

lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It evidently owes its importance to its position as the most westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important element in the trading community. There was no civil official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be expected in a frontier town.

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li, T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng 80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north. Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, which from its appearance might equally well have been situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism, by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before the King in the costume shown in the photographs, concealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photographs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

CHAPTER X

FROM T'AOCHOU ACROSS THE GRASS-LANDS TO LABRANG MONASTERY, AND THENCE *VIA* HOCHOU BACK TO LANCHOU FU

Difficulties of travel west of T'aochou—Tibetan houses—Grass-lands of the Kokonor border—Tibetan nomads—Heitsō Monastery—Tibetans of Amdo—Labrang—Reception by Lamas—Hochou—Mahomedans in Kansu—Mahomedans and Christian missionaries—Return to Lanchou.

The journey from Old T'ao Chou to Labrang monastery is usually made in four days, the distance being called 250 li. The track is little used and a local guide is essential, inasmuch as once on the grass-lands faint trails lead in all directions; a Tibetan interpreter is also useful, since few or no Chinese are met with *en route*. The Choni chief had very kindly deputed one of his own headmen to accompany us, since his jurisdiction extended some way towards Labrang, and the services of this man, as interpreter, guide, and sponsor were invaluable and cleared away all difficulties. We were also accompanied by half a dozen of the chief's Tibetan soldiers and as many Mahomedan braves, the latter being useful owing to the peculiar influence exercised at present by the Mahomedan leaders over the Tibetans; indeed it is commonly said locally that Labrang, formerly so bitterly hostile to the Chinese and strangers generally, is now entirely under the thumb of General Ma An-liang. It should be noted that the Kansu borderland differs at present from the same country in Western Szechuan in that the latter has been largely taken over by the Chinese, whereas the former has not. While in Szechuan, therefore, it may only be necessary to make arrangements with the Chinese officials for travel on the border, in Kansu it is necessary to arrange matters with the local native chiefs and the Mahomedans; otherwise travel west of T'ao Chou and Labrang is by no means safe. From Labrang to Ho Chou there is a mule trail much frequented by Mahomedan merchants, and no special arrangements are necessary.

Leaving T'ao Chou the trail runs north-west over a low 487
pass in the red clay hills, traverses a cultivated valley
trending south, and ascends by easy gradients to another 133
pass, whence there is a particularly fine view over the Min Shan to the south of the T'ao River. Beyond this point Chinese cease to be seen. From this pass the track descends steeply to another stream flowing south and then continues north-west up a flat shallow valley bounded by bare grassy
hills. In this valley and its neighbourhood there are several [364]
Tibetan villages, in one of which, about 50 li from T'ao Chou, we passed the night; its name has escaped me, if I ever heard it. These villages are under the control of the Choni chief, and preparations had been made to receive us in the headman's house. The Tibetans are usually considered to live under the hardest and most filthy conditions, which is certainly so in the case of these Amdowa where they are
nomads on the grass-lands. But the houses of the headmen 342
of the agricultural Tibetan villages, both here and elsewhere where we rested in them, showed an astonishingly high standard of comfort and were superior to any Chinese house I have seen. These houses are solidly built of wood and stone of two stories, and the rooms of the one in which we were lodged here were spotlessly clean and panelled with stained wood.

An hour's march beyond this village the trail emerged 487
from the valley after topping an easy pass, where marmots 133
were very abundant, sitting up in front of their holes and dodging in as one approached them. This pass is here the boundary of the real grass-lands, and apparently the border
of the Choni chief's territory in this direction. Beyond it 233
all cultivation ceases, there are no more houses, and one enters a region of shallow valleys and low mountains (elevation about 11,000 feet) dotted with large herds of yak, sheep, and ponies grazing round the black rectangular tents of the Tibetan nomads, here, as elsewhere, called Drokba.
These grassy steppes, always referred to by the Chinese 133
as *Ts'ao Ti*, bound China everywhere on the north and 563
west, and always one ascends to them through a region of broken mountains, whether it be from Szechuan or Kansu up to the highlands of the Tibetan plateau, or from Chihli or Shansi up to the highlands of Mongolia; and always it

front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Government schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church. Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

the P'ingfan River a few li south of Hung Ch'engtzu, a small walled town and the end of the second stage from Lanchou.

From Hung Ch'engtzu to the district city of P'ingfan is a pleasant march of 70 li up the fertile valley, past several villages, including the township of Nan Tatung about half-way. A mile before getting in the old Manchu garrison town of Chuang-lang T'ing is passed, imposing in appearance with its well-built walls, but nowadays an empty shell. The remnants of these old Manchu garrisons in Western Kansu are now, as elsewhere, in extreme poverty. But their existence at any rate gives the province the distinction of being, so far as I know, the only one of the eighteen provinces which contains a resident population of the five races, symbolised by the new five coloured national flag, which go to make up the Republic, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, and Mahomedans. The Union of Races represented by this flag has hardly become a reality yet; and is perhaps not likely to materialise until the Chinese cease fighting the Tibetans and grant them autonomy as a self-governing dominion of the Chinese commonwealth on the lines of the relationship between Canada or Australia and the rest of the British Empire. P'ingfan is a prosperous little place, the centre of a rich irrigated valley, and is of some importance as the junction of roads to Lanchou, Hsining, Liangchou, and Ninghsia, the four largest towns of Western Kansu.

From P'ingfan the road continues up the valley with the ruins of the Great Wall on the right hand, the scenery becoming wilder and cultivation and habitations less as one proceeds. Thirty li out the mountains close in on the valley to form a gorge, and shortly afterwards the river is forded to reach the village and former posting stage of Wusheng Yi, 40 li from P'ingfan. Beyond this place the valley becomes flat and open and assumes a plateau-like character, with patches of cultivation here and there. Another 40 li brings one to the village and ruined fort of Ch'ak'ou Yi, the end of a stage of 80 li. General desolation and ruins are the features of this part of Kansu, intensified to us perhaps by the fact that we rode during the afternoon through a succession of bitterly cold hailstorms, the elevation being close on 9000 feet. The remains of the Great Wall, the ruins of farms, villages, and forts, the abandoned fields in the marshy valley,

accompanied us that in crossing it we passed again from the Kokonor territory into Kansu.

From the pass the track drops steeply into a rough stony ravine, the stream in which is followed in a south-easterly direction for the remaining 70 li to Yungan Ch'eng. For the first half of the way the track is very bad, lying down the bed of a stream which is apt to rise in wet weather and render the road impassable; further on the going improves, the gorge opening out on to a flat grassy valley, and the last hour's march is over prairie, spoilt for riding, however, by the countless holes of a small rat-like rodent; in places the ground is alive with these little animals, dodging in and out of their holes like miniature marmots. The bed of the stream flowing down from the pass is apparently rich in gold, and Mahomedan gold washers were at work at various points when we passed. They live in tiny tents and appear to pass a very hard life for small returns. The industry is under the patronage of the leading Mahomedan Generals. We followed the washing in several spots and always saw a few grains of gold dust produced; nuggets are, we were told, occasionally found. We had descended this stream almost from its source, so that in this case the gold-bearing rocks from which the gold has been washed cannot be far off. Very large profits can be made in ordinary times by buying this gold on the Kokonor and selling it in Shanghai.

Just before reaching Yungan we passed some Mongol tents, identical in appearance with the felt yurts to be seen in the grass country north of Kalgan, and it seemed strange to come across these people here, whom one associates with summer trips to the north of Peking. The Kokonor territory is the meeting-point of the Tibetan and Mongol races, and here, as elsewhere, the black rectangular tents of the former may be seen almost side by side with the round grey tents of the latter. It appears that the Mongols, who originally occupied the country far to the south, are gradually retreating northwards before the encroachments of the more virile Tibetans. Unlike the Tibetans, who are in these parts all robbers by nature, the Mongols are peaceful and inoffensive herdsmen, who give the Chinese authorities no trouble. They are organized into Banners under their own Princes,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

nominally responsible to the Chinese officials at Hsining. Mongol tribes are found living in the bend of the Yellow River, near the Golok country, and even as far south as the country between Jyekundo and Nagchuka towards Lassa, but appear to have become completely Tibetanised, and to retain only the tradition of their origin.

Yungan is a replica of Êpo, only poorer, an old walled post with the interior almost entirely in ruins. It lies not far from the Tatung River, surrounded by grassy downs and overlooked by rocky snow-capped ranges. One is here on the reverse side of the outer barrier range of the Nan Shan, the snows of which provide the water for the streams which fertilize the Liangchou oases. This portion of the Kokonor border is the meeting-point of the four widely-spread races of High Asia, Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols.

From Yungan to Pei Tatung is another long march of over 100 li. The trail runs east and then south-east across undulating grass prairies dotted with herds of yak for 45 li to a solitary inn or ranch known as Paishui Ho, whence it continues across a plain, gradually approaching the Tatung River, to reach Pei Tatung. The going is excellent across grass all the way. Pei Tatung, lying on the left bank of the Tatung River, is another walled village mostly in ruins. Barley is grown in the neighbourhood, the first cultivation met with since entering the Pien Tu K'ou from Maying Tung. The valley of the Tatung River in this neighbourhood consists of a rich grass prairie bounded on either side by rocky snow-capped ranges; to the south the mountains approach close to the river; to the north they rise on the other side of the plain. Between Kueitê on the Yellow River and Kanchou in Western Kansu the Nan Shan consist of three huge parallel ranges, dividing off the valleys of the Tatung, Hsining, and Yellow rivers. We were now between the two highest and most northern of these ranges.

The following day's march occupied us from dawn till eight o'clock at night, the distance being called 100 li but entailing the passage of the Tatung River and of a high pass known as the Tapan Shan. The river, some eighty yards wide (in August), deep, and very rapid, has to be crossed immediately on leaving Pei Tatung. Men and loads

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

the Kokonor (in Chinese Ch'ing Hai, meaning, like the Mongol name, "Azure Lake"), who used to be known by the Tibetan or Mongol term of "Amban," but who at the time of our visit was styled in the republican manner *Ch'ing Hai Pan Shih Chang Kuan* ("Chief Authority in charge of the Affairs of the Kokonor Territory"). Soon afterwards the post and its occupant, an old Manchu, were abolished by Yuan Shih-k'ai's Government, and the control of the Kokonor territory handed over to the Mahomedan General of Hsining. This control is of the usual vague and shadowy nature, such as has been exercised for so long by China over her outlying dependencies. The Mongol inhabitants are ruled by their own princes under China's overlordship; the Tibetans wander pretty well at will over the territory, robbing one another, the Mongols, and the Chinese, and generally pay but little respect to their nominal Chinese masters. It is possible that the Mahomedans will now take measures to bring them more under control[1].

We remained some days at Hsining, but unfortunately had no leisure to visit either the Kokonor Lake or the famous monastery of T'a-erh Ssu. In the intervals of official business we were hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General, the Manchu Amban, the Taoyin, and other officials. The former, like most of the Mahomedan leaders we met, was a bluff, hearty soldier and a delightful companion; he had served under T'ung Fu-hsiang at Peking in 1900.

Tanko and Hsining are the headquarters of the great Kokonor wool trade, which has been going on for twenty years or more and has now reached very large dimensions. This wool is produced on the grass lands of the Kokonor border, and is carried by raft and boat down the Yellow River and by camel caravan across the desert to Tientsin, whence it is exported to America. The trade is largely in the hands of the foreign export firms in Tientsin who, through their compradores, maintain buying agencies at various collecting centres such as Hsining, Tanko, Kueitê, Hochow, Hsünhua, Tatung, Yungan, and Êpo on the

[1] Such measures have since been taken, with the result that the Tibetans, and more especially the lamas, have on several occasions risen in arms against the Mahomedans, and the peace of the Kokonor border has been seriously disturbed.

that two hundred thousand people had perished in the 731
disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by 491
means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had 741
also been constructed with famine relief funds, and 731
which now provided the means for saving scores of
lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted
by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled 797
for seven days before touching another Mission station
—a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in
those days, unused as we were then to the wider
horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the
little market-town of Anting, to which Mission author-
ities had directed our attention as the possible goal of
our quest; but as we walked through its streets with
every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that
our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and 583
cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, [292]
white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at [533]
brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild
snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird
melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by
them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric
intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in
those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose 485
between this man and the others, on the subject of the 563
choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being 783
distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the
mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the
assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem
inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but
manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings
with the travellers on matters of purification connected

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783 with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious
485 atmosphere created was always most irksome to us,
563 feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the
demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different con-
354 struction from those we had met with elsewhere, this
4×5 being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on
this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were
372 covered with movable boards, under which a hollow
space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which,
once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are
laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the
traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for
weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary
effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly
gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best
old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed
291 from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In
286 every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn,
[887] or knitting socks for themselves on two needles; this
is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre
291 of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed
287 boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was
necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the
making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt
is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out
the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape
required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats
are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to
the industry.

361 Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a
maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on
the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the
Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded,
491 and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

which a tiny spring kept overflowing. Green mosses 788 lined the bed of the crystalline rivulet, and the diamond drops reflected the sunshine. The wheel turned with a subdued creak, which seemed almost like the murmuring of the prayer inscribed on its lines of chamfered edges—Om mani padme hum—'Hail thou jewel in the lotus flower'—the offering of a blinded people to its undiscerned god.

A mile apart from each other stand two walled 361 cities,[1] the more imposing of the two being the Manchu town formerly occupied by the pensioners of the ruling dynasty, but which now consists of a great enclosure of uninhabited or ruined houses, so that in a space equal to the area of a large town, at the present hour only six or eight families are living. Of the remaining former inhabitants many have been massacred, others have fled, and the ranks of the beggars have been replenished by these truly unfortunate people. The 366 Chinese city consists of quiet streets busy only on market days, the shops of which being so poorly provided with the necessities of life that vegetables are brought a three days' journey to be sold here. Its western wall is flanked by a suburban thoroughfare composed of inns, wheelwrights' and blacksmiths' shops, which, together with food-vendors, supply all the necessities of traveller, carter, and muleteer. Some very fine 563 temples crown the summits of the surrounding hills, and 782 parties of Tibetans riding to and fro on the Sining road, leave offerings of silken *khada*[1] hanging to the idols, before which their obeisance has been made.

In the first home which we visited in Pingfan we met 634 a man who was courier to a woman-magistrate of the aboriginal tribes. Her residence was in Liencheng—Lotus City—but she constantly visited Pingfan on

[1] Votive scarves.

[1][Valley of Pingfan--Analyst]

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000 the sixty miles are far too long a journey for you to walk.'

CHAPTER X

A TIBETAN LAMASERY

563 THE Kanchow oasis reaches to the very foot of the Tibetan hills, and of all the North-Western towns which we visited, this city is the one most frequented by Tibetan travellers. We constantly met them strolling about the streets, or bartering their gold, silver, peacock-feathers and skins for the necessary grain which their nomadic life, as well as the climatic conditions, make it impossible for them to produce. The Christian community was deeply interested in these people, the more so since a recent visit to a Lamasery, where some of them had been hospitably entertained. It was therefore decided that a band of us should spend some time at the Kang Lung Lamasery, on the occasion of their yearly temple dances.

491 The first stage of the three days' journey was done by cart, and brought us to a large farmstead owned by a Christian man, who was making arrangements to supply us with sufficient mules, horses, and donkeys to carry us and our goods over the mountain pass. We were a party of twelve, and carried the tent in which we were to sleep, a folding-organ, a load of books, and a good supply of rice and flour. Five miles outside Kanchow is a wide and treacherous river, difficult to cross in the summer when snows are rapidly melting, and when thunderstorms in the mountains are frequent. Experienced men watch the river, and word was brought to us on the morning of our departure, that the waters

000 bought enough opium to kill herself, and kept it at hand for use when needs-be. A few nights later the Huei Huei appeared in her room, and informed her that she was his by right. Without a word she swallowed the opium, and then said: 'I shall soon be dead and you may do as you please with my body.' Meanwhile the neighbours, aware of what had happened, climbed on to the flat roof and shouted for Dr. Kao. He jumped out of bed, and seizing his medical bag, was soon over the roof. The woman was not yet unconscious, but when he wanted to give her treatment she said: 'Dr. Kao, it is useless for you to try and save me, for I shall cut my throat rather than consent to go with that man.' 'If you do as I tell you,' answered the Doctor, 'and trust me, I will protect you.' Then turning to the fierce, bearded bully he said: 'This woman is going to my wife this very night, and when you have anything to say to her you may come to me.' The Moslem slunk away and was seen no more, but the rage and hatred which Kao's uncompromising condemnation of evil stirred up in official and Moslem circles, burnt the fiercer, and vengeance on the Doctor was the more determined. The woman lived for months with Mrs. Kao, then having confessed her Christian faith, became one of the band of women who accompanied us to Suchow.

563 Besides the Chinese and Moslem populations of
142 Kanchow, there are most interesting traces to be found of aboriginal races. It is not infrequent to meet men, women and children with fair, reddish hair of a finer texture and more curly than that of the Chinese, and light eyes, not blue but fawn-colour. They intermarry with the local people, have no distinctive customs, and are only recognisable by the constant reversion to type.

000 Soon after our arrival in Kanchow, it was reported

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any transition, from wastes of sand into a fertile zone, in which the city of Linshui stands. We arrived there 133 in the evening, and after supper strolled out through the quiet street to the canal which bordered the watered land. Here we sat on a bank and looked down on what 000 was to us a very beautiful and a very thrilling sight. The plain was wooded, and the early autumn frosts had painted the foliage with gorgeous tints which glowed under the level rays of the setting sun. A winding river showed here and there between the trees, and we knew that, hidden among the groves, lay the city of Suchow, around which our thoughts had centred for so many months, ever since the day at Pingliang when David Törnvall had laid his finger upon the map and said: 'Here is the city which awaits your coming.'

We sat until the sun had set nor did we care to speak, so full was the mind of each, of thought concerning all we had come through, and all that yet lay before us. Gradually the darkness closed in, and by starlight we slowly walked back to the inn, our hearts beating with high courage and great confidence in God our strength and our exceeding joy.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SPRING OF WINE

ANCIENT Suchow, known as Chiuchüan—the Spring 361
of Wine—has vanished, having been replaced by the 563
present town which has only arisen within recent years. The destruction of the former city being caused by the last great Mohammedan rising in 1862, the new settlers enforced a regulation ordaining that no Moslem should be allowed to reside within the walls, in consequence

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361 of which the eastern suburb has become the centre
563 of business with Turkestan merchants, who are all Moslems.

On approaching the city we passed a lovely temple retaining the old title of 'the Spring of Wine.' Its grounds still contain a reedy basin wherein sparkling waters continually bubble forth.

Through the great gate we entered this eastern suburb, a far more un-Chinese settlement than anything we had hitherto seen. At the inn doors stood groups of travellers clad in wadded coats of striped cotton, with loose trousers stuffed into high leather boots. They wore a species of turban, to which they owe the Chinese name of 'Chantow,' meaning 'Bound head.' Many had brown curly beards, but several were of a fair complexion with reddish hair and beard. They spoke a language utterly unknown to us, which we learned later was Turki, and has no resemblance to Chinese.

On the stalls cotton materials were on show, hand-woven in Turkestan, with patterns and colours totally unlike Chinese goods; rugs, too, and gorgeous saddle-bags, while many a Chantow sat by great mounds of dried sultanas, apricots, and plaited strips of dried melon.

346 The dome and crescent of a whitewashed mosque[1] now
872 appeared, and as we passed its doors a crowd of young Moslem schoolboys ran out. They had been studying Arabic and the Koran under the tuition of the 'Ahung.' All were strikingly goodlooking, but had an air of haughty arrogance never seen in Chinese scholars.

485 Every smithy was busy shoeing magnificent horses,
326 and all the inns were overflowing, the east suburb being the halting-ground where every traveller rests himself and his beasts, provisions himself for the exacting journey ahead, and repairs his carts and changes their

[1] [In Suchow-- Analyst]

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The population, as in all these cities of the North-West, is largely composed of Chinese from distant provinces who hold the main part of the trade in their hands. The Kansu man is the agriculturalist, but each village-centre offers scope for the trading capacity of a Honan or Shensi man, who opens a small shop in which he does a large business as grain-merchant and money-lender. The farmer values the services of this fellow-countryman, who helps him out of many difficulties, but hates the oppression of the Tungkan or Huei Huei—by which name the Chinese Moslem is known. The origin of the Huei Huei is disputable; they are a vigorous race of men, to whom the Chinese Government at one time made grants of land. They entrenched themselves in South Kansu, were responsible for the Mohammedan rebellion and massacres, and though quelled for a time they have so reasserted themselves as to now hold many of the important official positions in the North-West. Their regiments are feared by the local people, from whom they seize produce, grain, and animals, requiting them with personal violence if they dare to question the right of might.

An illustration of the high-handed dealings of the Huei Huei is supplied by the incidents which brought one of our women students into the Christian circle. She, a young woman with one small child, was married to an elderly man, who was both an opium-smoker and a gambler. Their little home was in a courtyard which backed Dr. Kao's dispensary. Her husband, after losing all his money in a gamble with a Huei Huei, put her up as the stake, and lost. She came to know of this, and when her husband spoke of going away from home for a few days, knew at once that this was a prearranged plan for the Moslem to come and claim her. She had no redress nor court of appeal, so she

788 and anyone following the maze will pass hundreds of shrines in the course of his pilgrimage. The ambition
778 of each worshipper is to visit as many idols as possible,
796 and to light a stick of incense and burn paper before each. It is an amazing feat for women who are crippled by bandages and tiny shoes, and many of whom are no longer young, to climb these precipitous paths, sometimes even on hands and knees, in order to reach an apparently inaccessible rock-shrine, yet this is accomplished even over roads made slippery by rain.

Some of the chasms are crossed by rickety wooden bridges which bear such names as 'The Heavenly Road,' or 'The Short Cut to Paradise,' and here old women are helped by husband or son who carries the basket of incense and a pile of votive-paper.

Most of the shrines[1] are modern, but the original cluster of buildings dates from the time of the Emperor Chien Lung, and there are a very few, excavated in the hill, of a much older date, which contain frescoes similar to those found in the famous 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' at Tunhwang. At dark on the last evening, bonfires are lighted on every prominence, in which all the remaining incense and paper is burnt, in honour of the gods of the earth, spaces, and mountains.

The crowds were by this time accustomed to the sight of the white tent, and the people streamed in and out, listening to the addresses and buying the books. In preparation for the festival the students posted carefully selected passages of Scripture in each of the many shrines, and twelve months later, when we revisited Wenshu Miao, not one of these had been defaced or destroyed.

563 A week later was the Tibetan gathering, and we drove out once more over that stony road. We had

[1] [at Wenshu Miao, see p. 107-- Analyst]

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barely entered the river-bed when we were joined by a party of Tibetans, who had come three days' journey to worship the Living Buddha. The young women with babies were mounted on camels, small children sitting before, and others clinging behind, and the remainder of the party rode little donkeys ; one young woman holding before her, across the saddle, a live sheep which was to be their offering to the 'holy man.' As we overtook the party, an old woman, obviously very tired, and whose donkey was flagging, asked if we would let her little granddaughter ride on our cart, as the ass could no longer carry them both, so for the rest of the journey little Arti was our companion. She was a child of the mountains, and this was the first time she had ever ridden in a cart, this being her first visit to the plain.

The Tibetan ritual took the usual form of liturgies, intoned by rows of chanting lamas, who sat cross-legged facing each other, in the great, dark, pillared temple, below the dais on which the Living Buddha sat motionless. Round the door the groups of worshippers rose and fell in innumerable prostrations, bowing each time with their heads to the ground, until the whole forehead was black with dust. During the intervals of the liturgies an attendant ran in and out with a huge brass kettle full of 'butter tea,' and each lama drew from the folds of his shawl a polished wooden bowl, which was filled with the boiling beverage, then licked clean with the tongue, and replaced in the bosom.

The tribes which gather at Wenshu Miao belong to the 'Black Tibetan' group, and the women wore a handsome head-dress, high-crowned hat made of corrugated felt, and encircled with a splendid fox-brush. At one point of the ceremony a procession was formed, in which all the old women laid the volumes of the

sacred books on their shoulders, and marched through the temple courts and out into the valley, led by the chanting lamas, then returned to the temple precincts and piled up the holy books once more in the dark recess of the inner hall.

CHAPTER XX

THE CHILDREN OF THE NORTH-WEST

WHILE giving all due credit to the Pioneer Band of men and women, without whom the work accomplished would have been quite impossible, our highest tribute for sheer capacity and pioneering genius must be paid to the Children of the North-West! In spite of persistent poisoning of the mind by superstitious parents warning them that, harmless as we looked, we were steeped in guile, these plucky little people determined to stick it out and see us through. True, they half believed the gruesome stories told of being enticed to remote haunts, where eyes would be gouged out and hearts removed, then cleverly treated by magic and replaced, so that the victims, losing all power of resistance, might blindly follow us to the ends of the earth; but, meanwhile, they would 'wait and see.' We should be under their supervision, and they would prove for themselves whether the parents' old tales turned out to be right or wrong. Accordingly, from the day of our arrival, they watched us—watched us closely! Scouts were appointed to keep us and our doings continually examined, and every detail of our daily life was discussed by them. Did we go for a walk, then a gang escorted us; did we give a singing lesson, then a crowd outside the window soon formed,

third Tibetan Pass and Lamasery at Mati, about forty miles due south of Kanchow. The temple buildings, which proved to be both interesting and extensive, were built against a hill of yellow sandstone, and approached by a flight of one hundred stone steps. The most ancient shrines were in caves hollowed out of the stone and connected by tunnels and galleries which penetrated deep into the cliff. Many of the temples were inaccessible, except by the underground passages, and were lighted by windows cut in the most unexpected parts of the hill, high overhead. The various figures of the Buddha were finely carved, and among his attendant idols, which were Indian in style, were little, slim, alert, female figures with limbs swathed in light drapery and bangles on the ankles. Other rooms were in purely Tibetan style, with walls covered by small earthen *plaques* representing the sitting Buddha, or with well-preserved frescoes said to be the work of Tibetan artists.

During our visit there was masquerade-dancing by the lamas, whose costumes, used in the historical representations, were fine specimens of applied art of the Ming period. The Emperor Chien Lung endowed this Lamasery with one of his own imperial-yellow silk garments and a splendid inlaid saddle. In a dream he saw a unique temple and sent out messengers to seek the place of his vision. They wandered far and wide, but at last came to Mati, in which they at once recognised the object of their quest. The divine origin of the dream was confirmed when they saw a stone bearing the print of a horse's hoof supernaturally impressed by the steed of a deified rider, and to which Mati—'Horse's hoof'—owes its name.

Near our camp two families of Aborigines had taken possession of two disused caves in which they lived,

cultivating a small patch of ground. The women wore their hair in a number of small plaits, Tibetan fashion, but their features were more refined than are the Tibetans, and they impressed us as being most intelligent.

We returned to Kanchow over a road which lay between poppy fields now filled with gaunt, naked, dry poppy heads from which the juice had been extracted. By the roadside, at small tables on which were piles of silver, and scales to weigh it out, sat the buyers of crude opium, and before them squatted groups of farmers haggling and quarrelling over the price of the bowls of thick, brown juice—the tragic harvest of their fields. The two months which we were able to give to Kanchow passed only too rapidly, and as we were planning an extensive missionary journey for the early autumn we were obliged to start again for Suchow. We had only reached the first stage of the journey when our mule Lolly showed signs of illness, and we unwisely called in a village veterinary who assured us there was no cause for alarm, and wrote out a prescription.

Shortly after this noxious draught had been administered, the poor beast lay down in the inn court and died. Molly, who in ordinary circumstances would whinny incessantly if separated from her companion, took one long look at Lolly's dead body, heaved a sigh, and never called for her again.

On August 24th we reached Suchow, and immediately began the necessary preparations for the long journey ahead, in the course of which our aim was to visit every city of Kansu situated beyond the Great Wall.

We were a party of eight, including Elder and Mrs. Liu, and their little boy. In order to carry sufficient supplies we had to purchase a cart of the type peculiar to Kansu, having been made by a village carpenter

The geographical position of the city is such as to render it a very important centre, standing as it does where roads from Lhasa, Mongolia, India and South Siberia all converge. Merchants from Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar travel this way, and it is not infrequent to meet a caravan of sixty donkeys which have travelled fifty days over the southern border of the Takla-Makan desert. Tunhwang is a town which has, under various names, taken an important place in the history of the territory now known as North-West Kansu. In 165 B.C. there is record of its inhabitants being overcome in battle, and dispersed, reappearing later as the Indo-Scythians of the Punjab. Its more ancient name was Shachow—City of the Sands—and it is frequently marked by this name, on maps, at the present time. In A.D. 400 it was the capital of the State of Western Liang. It has been held by Tibetans, and used by the Chinese as an extreme outpost of defence against the Huns. Documents in the Indian, Khoroshti and Brahmi scripts had been excavated in the district, as well as in an unknown script resembling Aramaic.

Of the original city nothing now remains but a ruined wall, and an enclosure mostly cultivated by market-gardeners. In its stead has grown up a smaller town, on the opposite side of the river, the eastern suburb of which has become the business quarter, and is chiefly occupied by Moslem Turkis, who are now gradually possessing themselves of the land, so that it is common to see the scarlet dress and fluttering veil of the Moslem women at work in the fields. The reason for this change in the population is not far to seek, opium and its deadly influences being the cause. Rich and poor, old and young, farmers, tradesmen and artisans are all neglecting their employment for the opium-pipe, and it is freely admitted that the people

of the place are on the downward grade, being unable any more to hold their own with the Moslems, who are forbidden by the laws of their religion to indulge in this vice, and so easily get its victims into their hands. Nevertheless, the memories of past prosperity, and the present post of importance held by the Military Commander, impart a certain consciousness of self-respect to the inhabitants of Tunhwang, so that the visitor cannot fail to be impressed by the dignified bearing of the populace in this isolated spot.

Among our first visitors were two women from Kashgar. They were remarkably picturesque, and with splendid physique and deportment. They wore long, straight gowns of brilliant-coloured cloth, and a finely-woven veil falling below the waist, which softened the strong, handsome features, and gave them a most attractive appearance. They immediately mounted the *kang* barefoot, and it was a sight to see the face of Mrs. Liu—a model of Chinese propriety—as they slipped off their shoes, and the shapely feet were exposed. However, as they spoke Chinese fluently, she was soon in happy conversation with them. These ladies insisted that we should come that very afternoon to return their visit in their own home, and in an hour's time sent two charming children, wearing miniature Wellington boots, to escort us there. They led us safely past several ferocious dogs, through a spacious courtyard, to a living-room, where the whole family was assembled, the patriarch of the group being an Ahung, which corresponds to a Levite among the Israelites. After we had been seated for about half-an-hour, during which time they all listened attentively to the Gospel Story, a woman-servant appeared bearing a large dish of boiled lamb, the joints of which, being of the minutest size, were easily handled. The hostess,

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with unimpeachable manners, lifted the joints by the knuckle-bone, and gave us each one, saying, 'You know that it is not our custom to use chopsticks.' We accordingly sat, as to the manner born, and gnawed meat from the bones, greatly enjoying the entertainment. We also were specially pleased by the vivacity of the numerous small children, who sat in a circle on the floor round the brass dish, into which their elders from time to time threw their own half-stripped bones, to be further polished.

Several hours every day were afterwards spent by us in house-to-house visiting, and by this means we came into close contact with all sorts of people. After family prayers every morning, a couple of hours were spent in meeting the requirements of various early callers, many of whom came to buy literature, and also in arranging the day's campaign. Our method of gaining an entrance into the distant farm-houses was to carry an English book, and after walking a suitable distance, sit down and read aloud in the foreign tongue. On not one single occasion did we get through a page before some woman came out, greatly interested by what was taking place, and invited us into her home.

In one house we found an old lady of seventy, trembling with excitement at the prospect of seeing us, for the news had reached her that we were preaching 'the forgiveness of sins,' a blessing for the attainment of which she had vainly devoted all the years of her life, and she was now almost blind, and with death drawing near. No sooner did we appear in the doorway than she knelt up on the *kang*, calling out to her grand-daughter: 'Burn the incense! They have come!' Protest was useless, for she had heard a report of our doings, and, in her eyes, our celibacy, combined with our age and the long and fatiguing journeys which we

501 dozen whole yak skins are blown up and joined to make rafts and carry wool and other goods that come down from Tibet on camels or small conveyances farther down the river. In 1907 there were eight larger shops where Russian goods of the so-called Tschan tou hui hui - as the Sarts and Turkistan-Turks are called in Kansu - were traded. (1)

1. The number of Russian shops was on the increase. Tschan tou hui hui literally means "Mohammedans with bound heads." This designation comes from the fact that the Turkistan Turks always appear before the Chinese in turbans.

511 As long as I was in the province of Kansu the inhabitants used
651 astonishingly few foreign commodities compared to those of other provinces. The population of Kansu is particularly backward. To be sure, the way to the coast is very far and inconvenient. Besides that, the provincial government introduced a trade monopoly in 1907 on glass, bronze and lacquer goods, and Kansu in any case is regarded as the poorest province of the middle kingdom. Its annual balance is said to be so deficient that for many years other provinces have had to assume responsibility for the deficit. The many soldiers which seem to be necessary for the constantly recurring uprisings are said to be to blame for this state of affairs. The chief reason is, of course, the destruction and impoverishment, a result of the wars. Nor was stealing as prevalent in other provinces as here; the emperor was too far away. Payment of direct taxes, of land tax, is largely in kind. The most ancient registers of landed property are still used to control the levying of these taxes, whereas the farmer himself is taxed on the basis of the amount of land he
[661] has at the moment. In this way the agents of the yamen above all amass great riches.

When I was in Lanchow fu there were few Europeans living
563 there and these were missionaries. My old friend, the Belgian Father Van Dyk lived a quite lonely life in his mission and therefore greeted me particularly cordially. I moved into a camel hostelry outside the city quite near the Catholic mission, so that we could get together for an evening of conversation now and then and no city gates separated us, which were here irrevocably locked at twilight and divided up Lanchow fu and its suburbs into several separate parts. (Plate XXXIII). Mohammedans are not permitted to live here in the center of the city, they may only keep shops there, but must leave the central part of the city before darkness sets in. 563

There had been a great deal of progress since my first visit to 631
the city in the spring of 1904. In the summer of 1905 the old, very 185
reactionary viceroy was replaced by one who had been in Berlin and Petersburg. This man had sent Splingaert, the interpreter of Baron von Richthofen, known to every Sinologist, /153/ in order to find European engineers who should open up a new era for the province of Kansu. He wanted to re-open the cloth factory, and build sugar and champagne factories. The very good coal mines which lay a short [316]
day's journey south of the city were to be made more accessible by means of a small railway. But above all, a university and technical school were to be opened, and, for strategic purposes, an iron bridge built across the Hwang Ho.

That was the program which everyone was discussing in this city of no newspapers, but there were for the most part unbelievably exaggerated and distorted rumors about it. Because a Chinese province is an independent unit, the governor-general was obliged to raise a large part of the funds which were necessary before he could carry
out his program. He therefore wanted to open up another mint in [436]
which special Kansu money was to be coined and the silver and gold
for this he wanted to get from the provincial government. He there- [316]
fore needed European foundry experts; prospects of mining concessions for Europeans no longer existed here. But everyone knew that there was gold as well as silver in Kansu; for Kansu, like Szechwan, borders on Tibet and since ancient times gold has been washed in the rivers on the border.

It was in connection with this very program that I came into fre- 574
quent contact with the higher officials during my three-weeks' stay 524
in Lanchow fu. I was often obliged to attend Chinese dinners at which the Chinese are so fond of testing the drinking capacity of a foreigner. Their drinking games are particularly dangerous, being a sort of morra in which the loser must empty cups the size of a thimble, filled with warmed whiskey. For linguistic reasons alone it is very difficult for foreigners to win. But I found that the cultivated Chinese and Manchu begins to warm up to a foreigner when the latter, through this sort of thing, comes closer to him as a human being. Thus I learned the game "dry" from one of my servants and in the
course of time I had many a "Chinese queue" on my conscience. I 574
was amazed to see how brief the emotional flare-ups of these people were; or could they, perhaps, even if they had had too much of a

place for the wealthier class of Lanchow fu. During the season there 529
the Chinese ladies are entertained with theater and festivals. There are /159/ woods on the slopes between the cliffs and a little mountain brook gushes merrily out of a narrow ravine. The Kansu know, as well as we do, where it is pleasant to be.

Beyond Kin hsien I was obliged, on the following days, to cross 133
this rocky mountain range, the Hsin lu Shan, the continuation of the Kwan Shan which earlier travelers had pointed out and which is made up of granite and chalk and sandstone rich in coal seams. Loess masses cover the slopes far up; but here, too, the peaks are free of this yellow, ugly covering. But at a height of 2,800 meters I had not yet got beyond the haze and dust which had enveloped the mountains and valleys in a blue atmosphere for one and one-half months now since the end of October when last it rained, or rather snowed. Every day the sky was cloudless; but visibility was so limited that the horizon and all the outlines of the mountains were indistinct. Behind, that is, southwest of these mountains - they form only a narrow chain like theater wings - one comes to the basin of the sub-prefecture Di dao tschou and into the environs of the Tao Ho, one of the most important tributaries of the Hwang Ho. In this basin, too, there is loess everywhere, but it is not very thick (about 40 centimeters). Below it there are soon to be found red tertiary and mostly horizontal layers of clay of huge proportions. These have molded the hilly and mountainous landscape of today and formed the valley which is several kilometers wide at the city of Di dao.

Di dao tschou belongs to the good cities of Kansu. It has possibly 361
15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, tobacco manufacturing establishments, 487
many lumber companies connected with the spruce forests of the southern mountains, and is connected with Lanchow by a highway leading over the Kwan Shan. (1) Two important roads lead south

1. Part of the mountain range Hsin lu Shan, just described. As we mentioned earlier, the Chinese does not name mountain chains but only mountain peaks.

from here and to the province of Szechwan, one over Min tschou and the other over Kung tschang fu.

The city of Di dao is already on the border of China. The Tibet- 631
ans appear as a new element among the Chinese and Mohammedans. 563
A Tibetan prince lives in the city itself, the so-called kia (pronounced dia) or tiao tu se (2) who has his own subjects. In the district of

2. T'u se or t'u sse (not to be confused with tu se or du se,

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captain) is the Chinese name for the hereditary and domiciled Tibetan princes.

Di dao there are families who pay the kia tu se a sort of head tax a[nd] families who belong to the neighboring prince, the Yang tu se of Dschoni near Tao tschou, and in between live ordinary and Moham-medan Chinese who are subject to the tschou, the sub-prefect of Di dao. (3) These Tu se belong to the old Tibetan or Mongolian

3. The district of Di dao is said to have had 71,432 families or 516,000 inhabitants in 1831.

aristocracy, they have their own jurisdiction, but are treated condescendingly as barbarians by the Chinese officials in the province far from Peking, who have no feeling for aristocracy. When they are invited to dinner, the tu se - even though they may be holders of important mandarin buttons - must sit at the end of the table among the youngest lieutenants. In hereditary succession they must buy their position in the form of large sums of money payable to the /160/ provincial officials. They, like the Mongol princes of the Ordos and of Ala Shan are subject to special officials of the nearest Chinese district.

563 From Di dao tschou I traveled west through a country of loess- and clay hills and after three days came to the city of Ho tschou. My way was a carriage way, at least the Chinese used it for carriages. It led quite close to the Tibetan border. I had scarcely crossed the Tao River at Di dao tschou on the narrow, swaying wooden bridge which is set up on high sawhorses each winter when the river is low, when I met wild-looking figures dressed in limp and, in many cases, torn fur coats and with pliant, but determined bold and imperious movements. They were the first Tibetans. Most of them were mounted. With a sword in their belts they sat on bony, scrubby ponies and pulled their stirrups and thighs so high up that their calves lay almost horizontally against the sides of the small riding horses. When such a horseman appeared my servants became obsequious; however, I had only Chinese from the lowlands, who had never seen a Tibetan. But the bronze-colored figures were capable of making even a European uncomfortable.

The farmers living along the road also took on a different appearance. There was as yet no noticeable difference in the way they wore their pigtails, bound their feet or built their houses

[text continues on p. 263]

kang, scratched by a nail in the grime of the wall, were the following lines:

'To-day we came to Ansichow;
Midday to morn onward we go;
All through the night carters' oil-bottles flow;
Heat, hunger, thirst, cold I now truly know;
The mere sight of a cart makes my courage sink low!'

This gloomy poem referred, we knew only too well, to the next stage of the journey, spoken of by the carters as a 'thirty-mile march which, with luck might be accomplished in eighteen hours.' On the opposite wall some homesick traveller had also written:

'Tho' a man travels far, yet his heart bides at home,
'Tis the prospect of wealth that still urges him on.
But he looks for home joys when his hardships are past,
And his wife's well-trimmed lamp guides his feet back
at last.'

From Ansi we entered on a period of twelve brackish water stages, and with this in view we bought some gourds as water-bottles, in addition to the aluminium flasks we always used for our personal supply, as well as a large zinc can given us by a Turki friend. There was still no fruit to be had, but cucumbers were plentiful. The Turki bakers, who formerly supplied us with excellent bread, had vanished. They were unable any longer to travel freely, and preferred returning to their own people in Turkestan. We, however, laid in good stocks of *kwo kwei*, so familiar to every traveller in Kansu. These are round loaves of bread, two inches thick, measuring two feet across, and are baked on a circular iron plate covered with an iron lid, beneath and above which straw is burnt, while the heat of the smouldering embers suffices to cook the loaf.

A few days were enough for rest and provisioning, and for the small repairs needed by the carts, then once

from the Chinese way, but the clothes of the men were different. 563
They preferred small octagonal blue, white or black caps and long garments which were worn like a caftan. It became more and more evident in all the faces we saw that foreign blood predominated here. The color of their skin had grown lighter. More and more often I saw red cheeks, brownish mustaches which were trimmed somewhat, hooked and somewhat narrower noses, eyelids with an at least horizontal axis and a much more pronounced arcus superciliaris than in the Mongolian type. The region around Ho tschou is densely populated; countless villages are scattered all over and in all of them [361]
the Mohammedans strongly predominate. (1) And no wonder! For I

1. Today no Mohammedans are permitted to live in and around the city of Di dao tschou; their settlements begin on the other side of the Tao Ho. On the way from Di dao to Ho tschou I saw many goiters, otherwise North China does not have many cases of it. Goiters begin to appear in the valleys of the Tsin ling, and in certain places there they are so frequent that almost every adult and especially all women carry around such an appendage.

was now nearing the stronghold of Mohammedanism in China proper. 563
What stories the Chinese soldiers who escorted me knew about the 579
towns along the way and the year 1895 when the Hui hui had rebelled! What hair-raising deeds had been committed on both sides! Whenever they fell into each other's hands, no matter what age or what sex, they killed one another. Whole communities were exterminated. The rebellious bands of Mohammedan farmers moved along from village to village. But the leading mullahs acted thoughtlessly. Their troops were so poorly armed that even smaller town walls stood firm if they were half-way decently defended.

It is astonishing that there are still so many Mohammedans in 563
existence after all the rebellions which were always quelled amid 779
rivers of blood. /161/ When I approached the city of Ho tschou itself I thought I was in a Mohammedan country. From the tops of the many minarets the muezzins were calling the hour of prayer. Well-spoken Arabic syllables reached my ear; countless old mosques /dscha mu (Arabic-Chinese)/ stood among groups of beautiful trees and many bearded mullahs without pigtails moved about in the throng.

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Today the city of Ho (1) tschou itself consists mainly of the

1. Pronounced like H'e with a very sharp guttural sound.

southern suburb of Nan kwan. That is where the mosques and the large Mohammedan shops are. The actual city of Ho tschou, on the other hand, is pure Chinese. The Mohammedans are forbidden, under penalty of death, to live inside the city. There are always many hundreds of soldiers garrisoned on the city wall (Plate XXXVI), and one finds there stables for the horses of officers and men. The wall is kept in excellent repair. But since not very many Chinese live here, there are large areas inside the walls that are deserted. All the life goes on outside. There we find closely built-up streets, for the most part with two-story houses as in Di dao, surrounded by a wall which today is destroyed. I estimate that Ho tschou proper and its suburb has a population of 30,000 and of these over two-thirds are Mohammedans. (2) There is not another city within the 18

2. The entire district is said to have had 85,526 families, according to the census of 1831.

provinces of the Chinese empire that has a similarly strong Moham-
771 medan aspect. And yet there are many things that are entirely
[782] different here from other genuinely Mohammedan countries. In Ho tschou and environs I never saw a Hui hui who spread out his prayer rug in a courtyard or out in the open to pray when the muezzins (3)

3. The muezzins like the mullahs are always called ah'un in Kansu. The word comes from East Turkish where āhon means the scholar. Even these Ahun are not always circumcized. Most Chinese Mohammedans do not know anything about circumcision.

called out. The Ho tschou Mohammedans, like the ones that have become still more Chinese, are very superficial in their religion and can scarcely execute the prescribed ablutions without making a mistake. It seldom happens that one of them makes a pilgrimage to Mecca. Only a few of them even know the name of the city. Most of them only know about "Kerbe" (4) and that this is a place

4. Kaaba, the cubiform holy of holies in the mosque at Mecca.

in the Lumi kingdom. (5) In this, they say, perfect happiness is to 771

5. Lumi or "Rumi guo" to the Chinese Mohammedans means Turkey, the Oriental Rome.

to be found even on earth and from there you can without effort ascend to heaven. In the Lumi kingdom a great emperor reigns, they say, who is emperor of all Mohammedans; pillage and murder never occur there and, neither the emperor and his subjects nor the officials there are ever guilty of injustice. "The emperor of Lumi is our emperor, too," say all the Hui hui in Kansu, and they began their countless uprisings so that they might really belong to him.

In the year 1895, at the instigation of a few wealthy Moham- 563
medans, there was no fighting carried on around the city of Ho tschou. [346]
Thus, there are still a great many mosques preserved here; the oldest and largest of them were, however, already destroyed after the uprising in the '70s. But in the territory of the Salar a little farther to the northwest, through which I came on my further journey, there was a good deal of fighting in 1895. These Salar, remnants of a /162/ Turkish group which last emigrated to China from the West - in the Ming period, it seems - allegedly under the leadership of a mullah who is buried west of the city of Hsün hoa, are said to come from what is today Russian Turkistan. The center of their 631
country and the place from which their eight gun (1) into which

1. Community or district. This gun is a word that I heard only the Salar use. It is said to be Chinese (?). Besides the eight chief gun of Hsün hoa, there are a few wai (outer) gun. Altogether there are only two or three dozen Salar villages. Probably gun means "aggregate of a thousand" (see also p. 165). The names of the eight chief gun are: Keitse (Geitse) gun, Tsa tscha gun, Su dsche gun, Tsaghan gun, which lie west of Hsün hoa; and Tsching schui gun, Man da gun, Nei man gun, Tschang ga gun, east of Hsün hoa.

from ancient times they have been divided, are ruled by the Chinese, is the city of Hsün hoa, the residence of a ting. (2)

2. To the Hsün hoa ting also belong large Tibetan territories and the large Tibetan monastery of Labrang with its large district which reaches a distance of a many-days' journey

from the tu se fields into their barns. I shall come back to the subject of the Tu jen later when my journey takes me through their country. In and around the city of Hsining there are only a few Tu jen living today. 624 651

The city of Hsining fu is now almost entirely Chinese. Even in the erstwhile very important eastern suburb, the Tung kwan which was destroyed by the Chinese in 1895, Mohammedans are no longer permitted to live with their families; they may only conduct their businesses there. Since 1896 specific sections and valleys in the mountains have been assigned to Mohammedan families. The only thing that is waived today is the decree that was for years carried out very strictly, namely, that Mohammedans wishing to visit the inner part of the city were obliged to have a stamp put on their cheeks as they entered the city gate. 563

The inhabitants still vividly recalled the horrible battles with the Mohammedans. Hsining was therefore also a military city. There were five ying (battalions) stationed here and the largest and most beautiful yamen was that of the general (tschen tai) who had a rather large arsenal. In it incense was lit on the first and fifteenth of every month to the deliverer of the city, an old ko lu pu pau (a Krupp cannon), and officers and soldiers fell to the ground in a kowtow before the rusty cannon. This weapon was the soul of the defense in the year 1895. Human blood was officially smeared around the mouth of the cannon in order to make it voracious and thirst after Mohammedan blood. The natives said: "It has a soul just like a human being," and they undoubtedly had a much more definite image than our native recruits do when we teach them to speak of the "soul" of the axis of a gun or cannon. 701 [782]

The tsch'eng schu ying, the military governor of the city who is also the keeper of the keys to the city gates and commander of the so-called middle battalion, (1) as well as the hsien, the prefect, 701 712

1. The Chinese provincial army consisted only of the green banners, the lü ying. In peace time one seldom heard of the larger associations, the tschen piao (brigades), the hsie (regiments), because the Chinese provincial army (I am not speaking of the troops on the coast) was used as a police troop and was garrisoned in various places. The primary important military unit is the ying camp or battalion that is under the command of a major (yu tschi) or a captain (du se or schu be).

000 The ting told me of his adventures in the grasslands. He kept repeating how glad he had been to get out again alive. It was a dreadful land, this prairie land. He had been obliged to ride through the cold steppes for months on end. It was like winter in the middle of summer. And these bad roads, these storms in the passes! He told of wolves, bears, even tigers, and said that the dogs of the nomads were as large as calves and much wilder and more snappish than raving lions. And then the rivers! He said he had to ride through them on horseback or swim across. When he came to Denang, thousands of heavily armed Ngolok had surrounded him and threatened him. Amid threats they had called out to him: "We Ngolok are as numerous as the stars in the sky; what do you think you can accomplish with 45 men?" He said they had acted like disturbed hornets! The supreme authority of the Chinese emperor was in no wise acknowledged. They even wanted to stamp their riding boots on the imperial seal, which is a sign of the deepest disdain. He had been unable to accomplish a thing and for this reason the expedition even cost him a great deal of money. He lost his own riding horse and many yak who succumbed as a result of great exertions. The Chinese government finally paid part of the damage in order to satisfy the Lhasa Tibetans and above all the monasteries. "You who were born earlier, wait until the amban gives you soldiers to take along. You had better go to the lake in summer," thus spoke the friendly ting mandarin.

I replied, "Your illustrious colleague, the sub-prefect of Hsining, told me that it is impossible to launch a boat on the lake, it won't stay afloat, that a /179/ a ship sinks immediately, and that the waters of the Koko Nor do not have the power to keep a ship afloat."

[823] "Of course, if you must go out on the water and visit the island then you can only go now. I, too, know that the waters of the western sea do not have any supporting power." (1)

1. A superstition to which the Chinese cling tenaciously. There is not a ship to be seen on the entire lake.

"I shall see that you get soldiers during the time of the New Year," concluded the Chinese district chief, picked up the cup of tea which was set before him, noisily sipped a few draughts and took his leave.

361 Dankar ting is a city of about 8,000-10,000 inhabitants and an
563 outlying stronghold of Chinese culture which, like the city of

Hsining and To ba, stems from the military colonizations of the Han period. (2) The city is 2,680 meters above sea level. In the 361 563

2. A few lis below the present city of Dankar, at the upper mouth of the valley, there are huge loam walls that might go back to the Tang period.

vicinity barley, oats, and vetch are raised, but no longer much wheat. There are still real Chinese farmers as far up as this, although not very many. With their industry and their stable culture they have spread out wherever the earth promises a yield, especially in the axes of the larger valleys. But in Hsining fu today, i.e., in the district under the Hsining inspector, to which Dankar belongs, all the smaller lateral valleys are inhabited by remnants of non-Chinese peoples. The Mohammedans who have been more than decimated since 1895 are to be found in great numbers only in certain places. One has the impression as though they were once artificially pushed in between the Chinese and Tibetans and as though the Chinese were only now following after. All the Chinese in Hsining fu still maintain that they come from the lowlands, most of them saying that they came from the Nanking region. (3) It is 563 167

3. Kiangsu province; either as military colonists or as exiles.

considered too barbaric to say that one comes from the land itself, just as in the province of Szechwan where the Chinese still assure you that they come from such and such a province but never from Szechwan itself, even though it has 45, in fact some people say 68 million Chinese today. (4)

4. The official count (better, estimate) of the year 1902 reports 68,724,890 inhabitants for Szechwan. Hosie, probably the greatest specialist on that region, estimates the population at 45 million. According to the census of 1911, it probably has 55 million. According to earlier official estimates, Kansu was said to have 10 million inhabitants. According to the census of 1910/11 Kansu has between 3,800,000 and 4,500,000 inhabitants, or 711,000 independent and 195,639 dependent families or households. Thus, according to my calculation, it has 12 inhabitants per square kilometer. 161

N.W.China AFD

361 Dankar is a most interesting place, compared to the eternal
563 monotony of other Chinese cities and city dwellers. And no wonder.
443 It is the most important gate into Northeast Tibet! There is no other city until one gets to Tatsienlu in the south that has such convenient connecting roads into the interior of Tibet as well as into the rich trade sources of the lowlands toward the coast. Not only the nomads living around the Koko Nor, but also the Tsaidam Mongols, even those from Tätschinär, Lhasa merchants and inhabitants of the Tibetan province of K'am all come to Dankar. They all get edibles, primarily. For many tribes the market place of Dankar, or Dunkur gäsching, as they say, is almost the only /180/ place where they can trade in their wool, skins and salt for their annual supply of flour, tea, and luxury items. The Tibetans of the northeast have become economically completely dependent on the Chinese.

485 The practical-mindedness of Chinese officials, which is always bent on the cheapest possible management, has drawn its own ad-
437 vantages from this and prepared its administrative regulations ac-
631 cordingly. From olden times there has existed in Dankar the arrangement of the hsiē dia (hsiē kia) (1), that is, officially-recognized lodgings for nomads. In former times each tribe even had its own particular hsiē dā where only the members of one tribe might live as long as they were in the city. Today this system has changed insofar as the nomads may freely choose their hsiē dia, but everyone still adheres strictly to the rule that Tibetans and Mongols do not use the ordinary inns, but that these are open only to Chinese. There are about thirty hsiē dia in Dankar. Their innkeepers, Chinese or Mohammedans, must buy the right to house Tibetans or Mongols from the Chinese municipal board. They are wealthy people who, besides a spacious house also have large stables and cattle yards with room enough to take in a Tibetan with 300 yaks who arrives one day and a Mongol who arrives the next with almost as many camels.

The hsiē dia arrangement is ancient. We learn about it also from Huc and Gabet, the two French Lazarists who came to Dankar in 1845 dressed as Mongolian lamas. Huc tells definitely that as a Mongol he could find shelter only in such a house. In the

1. hsie means "to rest"; kia means "house" or "family" (pronounced dia in the Hsining dialect).

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14. The horde of the Hartschiu (Khara tschut) dsassak, formerly five squadrons and 750 families, now only 40 families who wander on the north shores of Danassu Nor. K 619

15. The horde of Mortschi dsassak in the Lala Valley, southwest of Dankar ting, today a few families.

16. The horde of the Torgho dsassak around Schara khoto, today about 120 families.

17. The horde of the Gomi dsassak around Balegun Gomi on the north shore of the Hwang Ho, today 30 families.

18. The horde of Da tung dsassak near Da tung tscheng.

19. The horde of the Dia schir dsassak west of the Kurlik.

The Koko Nor Mongols on the right bank of the Hwang Ho have maintained themselves relatively better. Of the five banners which were formed after 1723 south of Kue de ting (one banner with one squadron Torghut, four banners with close to 20 squadrons of Khoshot) K
there are about 4,000 left. But in dress and manner of living they have adapted themselves almost completely to the Tibetans. Their [177]
highest aristocrat as leader (dsassak) of the first front banner was made king of the first class (tsin wang) a few years later because of his services in the conquest of Central Tibet in the years 1718/19. He has his residence in the monastery of Labrang gomba and designated himself on his Chinese calling card as Hwang Ho nan tschün wang (king south of the Hwang Ho) Ba la tschü la bu da (Mongolian name would be Baltschür Rabdan). He is the most respected Mongol ruler of the Hsining amban-general through whom he annually drew a pension of 36 yüan bau at 50 taels and 34 bales of silk. The rest of the dsassak south of the Hwang Ho remained taidschi of the first class.

There were once three tschün wang altogether (wang of the second-class), two bei le (princes of the third class), two bei tse (princes of the fourth class), four gung (dukes), eighteen taidschi each of whom led a banner battalion.

If in the census of 1910, the results of which were published on February 27, 1911 as the last important deed of the Manchu in the Peking state newspaper, the Hsining banner was said to have 2,032 families, this refers to these same Mongolian banners, and according to that the total number of Koko Nor Mongols amounts to barely 10,000 souls. The erstwhile power and strength of the Khoshot dwindled through the division into banners and the simultaneous creation of so many "lords" and courts. The Mongols of the Koko Nor became such un-war-like shepherds that they no longer had any K 619 C 563

K 619 c 563 weapons when the Tibetans overran them in 1840.

The banner leaders were obliged to travel personally to the Manchu court in Peking every five years, in order to show their submissiveness and to bring tribute, and their journey was paid for from the Hsining border via Hsingan fu, Tai yüan fu by the Chinese officials; they received carriages and horses and every day a royal dinner. Usually a few Mohammedan and Chinese merchants joined them, from whom the Mongol dsassak profited. Nevertheless, the tribute journey was regarded as an oppressive duty by the Mongols. It is true, that as the princes grew older the semi-annual journey (twice 4,500-5,000 lis) was certainly not child's play. The Mongols abhor the crowded cities and the close quarters in Chinese inns. Many of them lived on the entire journey going and coming, on tsamba and butter which they had taken along from home, and anxiously avoided the large bowls with the greasy dainties which were placed before them by the Chinese yamen servants.

In Peking the Mongol princes were admonished to remain faithful subjects, they were given gifts which usually amounted to more than the value of their tribute. Besides /193/ that, all Koko Nor chieftains also drew an annual salary which they were obliged to get from the dao tai in Hsining in the tenth month. The wang were given 1,200-1,800 taels of silver and 24 (36) balls of silk; the bei le 1,100 taels, 22 pieces of silk; the bei tse 300 taels and sixteen pieces; the gung 300 taels, six pieces of silk; the ordinary dsassak, 300 taels, 6 pieces of silk which for the simple nomads, which is what they mostly are today, is considerable revenue. But in recent times their salaries were not paid in full, and all kinds of illegal deductions were made. The expenses which the Manchurian court incurred on account of the Koko Nor Mongols often aroused displeasure among the Chinese. But they stuck to the arrangement and to the costly tribute-journeys until the Chinese revolution intervened and the entire northwest along with the province of Kansu was for a time completely severed from Peking.

K 619 P. K. Kozlow in his Mongolia i Kam (St. Petersburg 1906) has up to now given the best reports on the Koko Nor Mongols and lists the following banners for the Koko Nor which are divided into two edeget (brigades):

A. Dsun (left) edeget:

1. Tsing hai Wang, once 3,000 families, now 130 families (corresponds to my Wang Ka).

yüan bu. A single day's horseback ride took me there. (1) 361

1. Prschewalski's Yjam bu. In Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, translated by Stein, the Tu ren which I am about to describe are spoken of as Daldy, Doldy and Tunschen, and Prschewalski believes they originated in Samarkand and are a mixture of the Aryan and Mongolian race.

This Wei yüan bu is a little market town, ninety lis distant from the city of Hsining fu toward the north-northeast, and is geologically in the same red tertiary clay basin as the prefecture city of Hsining and the monastery Gum bum. The edge of the basin is about 10 kilometers beyond on the north and east and it is only there that one again finds granite and slate looming up out of the loess-covered tertiary. Thus, from north to south the width of the red clay of the Hsining fu basin is 50-60 kilometers. In modern times these red strata were split up into so many valleys and ravines that even this tertiary region has now become a bizarre mountain country. The material is so soft that the valley bottoms of the larger streams have been washed out to form wide beds. At the spot where Wei yüan bu is situated a large plain several square kilometers in size has been formed by the union of two such broad-bottomed, fruitful valleys. This undoubtedly accounts for the location and the importance of the place. 361 133

For, Wei yüan bu is an important town. It can even be called a small city. It has a civil official who is now under the hsien of Hsining, it is the seat of a captain and second lieutenant, it has a city wall, a full half-dozen pawn shops, and all kinds of craftsmen. Above all there are important whiskey distillers among its inhabitants, who export their product as far as Lanchow and far into Tibet, and /246/ many mill owners whose mills, like those throughout East Tibet, are characterized by vertical axle trees and horizontally placed paddle wheels. In the census of 1895 the town had 820 families. For me Wei yüan bu was important as the present-day chief town and market-place of the Tu ren who are under the administration of the hsien of Hsining. 361 [624] [274] [162] [443]

Tu ren (tu jen) literally means "earth man." It is a Chinese word and means "a resident." It refers to those people who were already in the country before the last Chinese inundation. This last large immigration of Chinese began in the Mongol Dynasty (1260-1368) and still continues. 563 167

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
142 halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

563 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them (allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao, Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mohammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

subjects of Lu tu se who has his residence on the lower Da tung 563
River in Lien tschen. If one passes through a Tu ren village of this 342
kind, there is little noteworthy to be seen on an ordinary day. The houses are the same stamped-loam, flat-roofed dwellings that the Kansu Chinese build. At most /247/ we note that the women in these towns wear their feet only lightly bound or not at all.

At the present time the Tu ren speak mostly Chinese, but they 563
have also kept alive a language of their own which only they under- 197
stand. It is not written and consists of many dialects. I was repeatedly told that almost no one is familiar with Mongolian writing. Seven-tenths of the Tu ren language in the vicinity of Wei yüan bu is made up of Mongolian words, the remaining three-tenths has many peculiarities, probably of Turkish origin, but also contains Tibetan and Chinese words. (1)

1. The following sample may already show that the language is related to the Mongolian:

1 -	niga	11 -	haran nigä
2 -	hor	20 -	horun
3 -	horän	30 -	h'otschin
4 -	deren	40 -	tetschinn
5 -	t'awen	50 -	t'a yin
6 -	dyurgon	60 -	tscheran
7 -	dôlon	70 -	dalan
8 -	nimen	80 -	wayen
9 -	schetsin	90 -	yeren
10 -	häran	100 -	negadyon

I - bu (wu)
you - tschi
he - tie

There is no plural pronoun.

man -	de dyekon
woman -	wereken
child -	mola beli
Mohammedan -	h'ui h ui
Chinese -	h'ara tschitad
Gumbum -	sgumbun
woman's coiffure -	nudar
camel -	temien

197
563

I eat -	wu tschilarä
bread -	borzordeno
Buddha -	skopdyo renbodye
living Buddha -	Yerech'tuch' te
tea -	dya
teacup -	aira
sky -	tingere
temple -	larang
horse -	more
mule -	lossa
plough -	radschar fulin (Mongolian on Koko Nor: diasse, meaning "tool" in Chinese)
house -	ger
tent -	re (black tents: mongu bau /Chinese/ the Mongolian tents)
ride horseback -	moru h'anä
walk -	so wade
I came -	tschüre wu
I went -	tschisch tschewu

563 The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu told me they were Mongols. In
101 their own language they call themselves mongrolken, and while they call the other, actual Mongols of the region h'ara monggo, that is: black Mongolians, they speak of themselves as the "white" or "yellow" ones. Most of them are farmers today, like the Chinese
[186] who afterwards immigrated. Many of them are very proud and self-conscious and regard themselves as very special and much better and more aristocratic than the Chinese and Tibetans. Nor do they like the real Mongols. This is obvious from the epithet h'ara meaning "black" which they give them, for this is of course synonymous with "bad," while they themselves are the tsah'an, the white or good sheep. In Chinese they refer to themselves as "Tu ren." In a valley west of Wei yüan bu they told me: "We are 'Tu gu h'u ren' and we are the ones who came here first." It is true, I did not find many of those who called themselves Tu gu h'u ren (often also pronounced: Tu gu h'ung), probably 2,000 at the most, and they did not have their own prince but were directly subject to the hsien
563 of Hsining and Niem be. They told me: "We carried on farming
173 here when all the others were still wild and uncivilized." (2)

2. Wieger, S.J. Textes historiques, Vol. II, p. 1070

quotes the Chinese chronicles as follows: T'ou kou hounn 563
(or T'u gu hun) was the eldest son of "Chee koei," the khan 173
of the Sien pi (Hsien be - Tungus?) but was the son of a concubine. His father gave him a horde, but the actual heritage went to the legitimate son, Mou joung hoei. After the father's death (around 308 A.D.) the brothers quarreled because their horses had fought together. T'ou kou hounn left his home in present-day Manchuria, along with his horde and crossed the Liao River. At that time the Chinese Empire was split up into many small principalities and in what is now Shensi Huns ruled. T'ou kou hounn's horde pushed on farther and farther to the southwest until they found good pastures in the Koko Nor region. As time went on the T'ou kou hounn of the Koko Nor region were often mentioned by Chinese chronicles.

/248/ A few Tu ren teachers of Wei yüan bu maintained that 167
their ancestors lived in the present-day province of Shansi in the 175
North during the time of the Tang emperors (620-907). They said 563
that their prince at that time had been Li ts'in wang (King Li) who had thirteen sons and assisted the Tang emperor when he was in great trouble, by defeating "Hoang ts'ao." They had always been free and it was only in the Ming period that they had come under Chinese domination. In the meantime a ruler with the title of Nan ding wang ruled them and he was supposed to have supported the emperor in his struggle against Tibetan invasions, that is to say, he was a sort of frontier guardsman for the Chinese. (1)

1. In various places within their empire the Chinese have allowed foreign peoples to remain. As we can clearly see in the Hsining Valley, they always pushed into the neighboring countries along the trade routes and did not disturb the former inhabitants in the mountains unless they were energetically aroused by them. Thus, the "wild Yao" have remained to this day in the mountains of South Hunan, and in southwest China the tribes of Miao tse, of independent Lolo, and others lived interspersed with Chinese. In the northwest near Hsining the Chinese began pushing forward more than 2,000 years ago, as we mentioned above, pp. 286 and 309. But they were checked by renewed disorders of the nomads after the Hsiung nu (the Huns) had conquered present-day

167 Central Mongolia in the year 177 B.C. With the beginning
175 of the fourth century the Tu ku hun (formerly probably al-
563 ways pronounced Tu yü hun) appear with 1,100 families in Kansu and Koko Nor. As we said before, they are supposed to represent an eastern branch of the Hsiun nu and be of Turko-Mongolian origin. In the year 445 one of their khans conquered the wealthy city of Khotan in Turkistan and killed the king there. In 556 they withstood hard battles with the Turks who came from the north. Around 390 they numbered 15,000 families and in the course of the years they made repeated invasions deep into Chinese territory, until finally in 635 (after more than 300 years) the Chinese checked them. Shortly thereafter (663) they were vanquished by the Tibetans who resided in the south and whose tribes had just been united by the greatest Tibetan ruler, Srong btsan sgam bo. The Tibetans (the Tu fan of the Chinese chronicles) drove them from the succulent pastures of the Koko Nor and into the Nan Shan Mountains and their last king is said to have fled with the remains of his people from Nan Shan to Ning hsia where the tribe disappeared presumably around the year 672. But they are mentioned subsequently a few times in the Tang schu. Some of them must have been able to maintain themselves in Kansu.

The Tu ren are now domiciled not only around Wei yüan
162 bu (with about 3,000 families) but there are a few hundred
563 families south of the Hwang Ho near Bau ngan wedged in
175 between Tibetans and Salar, while 2,000-3,000 more families live in San tschuan on the most inaccessible spot of the Hwang Ho below Hsün hoa ting, and 2,000 families live on the Da tung Ho; and in the extreme north the so-called Hoang fan or "yellow barbarians" in the valleys of Richthofen Ridge of the Nan Shan, on the upper course of the Edsingol, also
563 belong to them. These represent large remnants of peoples
175 which makes it obvious that they must at one time have belonged to something larger and better, and since the Chinese chronicles do not tell of any other peoples, except later on the Khoshot-Mongols, who founded an important kingdom, it almost follows that the Tu ren must be the remnants of the Tu ku hun. Later on they must also have formed part of the population of the Hsi Hsia kingdom which carried on long wars with the Chinese and Tibetans for the possession

of Hsining, Niem be hsien and their surroundings. But it 563
seems doubtful to me that they played the leading rôle in 175
the Hsi Hsia kingdom- as a Liu tu se, a prince of the Tu ren told me. It seems to me that for this their dwelling places were too far south. The destruction of the Hsi Hsia kingdom, like the conquest of the Chinese Sung kingdom by Genghis Khan and his descendants did not bring about an extermination and expulsion of peoples, because the assault of the Mongols from the Altai with its relatively small /249/ forces could only cause dynasties to fall and cities to be plundered, but could not replace or destroy whole nations.

Sanan Setsen, in his history of the East Mongols tells us that Yen ta (Altan Gegen Khan) in his drive into East Tibet at the end of the sixteenth century, made war on the "Schara Uigur" who lived here, and captured several of their aristocrats. But these Schara or yellow Uigur (Igh'or) are none other than the "Hor" of Tibetan history and the old "Tu ku hun" (Tu yü hun).

As far as the above-mentioned Nan ding wang kingdom is concerned, of which the Tu ren spoke, it is probably the kingdom of An ting or Ngan ting which was said to have been located between Kanchow and Hsining. During the Yüan dynasty Buyin Timur, an imperial prince was set up as king there. After the Mongols were driven out of China his descendants were able to maintain themselves for a while as hereditary princes who were recognized by the Ming emperors. However, their subjects seem to have been largely Tibetans. When the northeast Mongol Ibula came, part of the An ting people fled to Scha tang tschuan east of Wei yüan bu. In the Ming period the military districts of An ting wei (Ngan ting), A duan wei, Tschu hsien wei, and Han tung wei belonged to Hsining, while Tsche dschin wei and Scha tschou belonged to Suchow. Under "Nan ding wang" the city of Wei yüan bu was said not yet to have existed.

When the Tu ren maintain that their national hero defeated Hoang tsch'ao we are reminded of the great "Schah to Turk" (?) Li (Schah to is the steppe in the northwestern part of Kalgan). According to Wieger, Textes historiques, Vol. 3, Hoang tsch'ao was one of the most blood-thirsty conquerors in the entire bloody history of China. He laid

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waste 879 cantons and ravaged the capital city of Tschang ngan (Hsingan fu) so that only Szechwan was left to Emperor Hi tsung. In his extremity he turned to prince To pa se kung from Hsia tschou, whom the historians sometimes speak of as a Turk and sometimes as a Tibetan. He had before that himself risen up against the emperor, but obeyed the emperor's summons in view of the expected booty and in the year 884 destroyed the rebel Hoang tsch'ao. As a mark of gratitude he was accepted into the imperial family. The Tang emperors descended from a Li family and for this reason the rescuer was henceforth also called Li or Li ko yung (Li K'eue young, according to Wieger). Besides, he received the title of duke of the land of Hsia. The descendants of this Li later became rulers of the kingdom of Tsinn in Shansi and, according to Wieger and de Mailla, they made themselves emperors of China with the dynasty title of Hou Tang (later Tang, 923-936) with their residence in Lao Yang (Honan).

Inasmuch as Chinese sources maintain that the Tang hiang prince by the name of To pa Sse Kong of Hia tschou helped the Chinese in 881-884, Devéria, L'écriture du Royaume de Si hia ou Tangout (Hsia Hsia), believes that the kings of Hsia Hsia kingdom who are said to be descended from this man, are also Tibetans, assuming with Klaproth that the Tang hiang people are Tibetans. But later on, he himself says that, according to Chinese sources, the title To pa which was applied to the Hsi Hsia kings means that they descended from the Sien pi. He says that the Sien pi who founded the Wei dynasty in the year 386 A.D. were formerly regarded as Tatars.

Tu ren of Wei yüan bu and their present-day Li Tu se told me that they were descendants of this To pa Li ko yung and the Hsi Hsia kings. Now, they are surely not Tibetans but Mongols, and ethnographically they show various peculiarities of both. Therefore, I cannot regard it as impossible that they stem from the Hsien be (Sien pi). In that case the Hsi Hsia kingdom could have been a Hsian be dominion and the strange, hitherto undecipherable language which has remained of this kingdom would have to be Mongolian or Tungus. Since to this day among the Chinese many things are done "ts'a bu do," i.e., "approximately," I do not

regard the old Chinese assertion that Hsi Hsia was a "Tanggut kingdom" and Tibetan as conclusive. (With the word "Tanggut" the Mongols of Koko Nor mean only Tibetans nowadays, but it is not known since when this has been done.) 563 175

/249/ The thing that strikes a stranger most when he comes to Wei yüan bu and to these Tu ren is the dress and the head-wear of the feminine population. Even in these regions in which the eye is certainly used to many daring color combinations, the feminine mode of Wei yüan bu is conspicuous for its particularly bright colors (Plate LII). The Tu ren women wear one or two cotton jackets next to their bodies, and these, just as with the Chinese, take the place of our chemise; they also wear two pairs of trousers which are rather wide and open at the bottom and not tied at the ankles as is the case with the men. The one pair is bright red, the other indigo. Over this they wear a rose red skirt which, however, is made more like a long apron and is split in the middle from top to bottom; in other words an article of clothing with no visible function. Over this is worn the most important part of the dress, a Tibetan caftan which is closed at the side and reaches about down to the calves. /250/ This caftan is sewn out of blue cotton material and in the winter when it is very cold it is padded. At the hips it is held together by a red wool belt from which hang three towels, a green one, a white one and a red one. But this by no means satisfies the clothing need and above all the love of color of the Tu ren women. The upper part of their bodies is also covered with a blue cotton jacket with wide sleeves which are sewn together with horizontal strips of green, red and blue cloth and on which are fastened black, yellow, etc., ribbons and bands. On their feet they wear cloth boots that are colorfully stitched all over and the legs of which reach to the calves. And on their head sits a fashion structure of the most grotesque forms and proportions. It consists of a more or less large hood, depending on the tribe and the valley around Wei yüan bu from which the person comes, with huge orange-colored tassels, with a center piece resembling a saddle from which hang brass buckles that widen out at the bottom (Plate LV). Altogether there are thirteen variations of this headgear. As a non-professional in hat styles, I noted particularly three kinds which I collected and photographed. Among the Tu gu h'ung women the headdress consists of a metal trident which sticks out from their blue-black hair, and 563 291

563 down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood
291 which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored beads and cowrie shells and sticks out horizontally (Plate LIII). It is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves
[302] even more beautiful and colorful, the young peasant women paint a round red disk on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan bu is in point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival at Gum bum.

527 The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the second
563 Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have been frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the region gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meadow
[346] south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There
[669] is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards, one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temple has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed during the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an ambush in front of Wei yüan bu and were killed to a man by the Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-
[211] to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small wooden tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the
[782] temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of one of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it. He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were incense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan bu itself strikes the visitor as very worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings, the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

252 1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of charcoal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is eaten throughout West China

eaten throughout West China. 000

flour, the heads of slaughtered pigs which, according to ancient 527
custom, are set up by the community in front of the picture of the 563
god in the main temple of the fair ground. But there are crowds of people on the square where the eating shops and the booths for the sale of all kinds of bright-colored materials and ribbons have been erected, and where the liquor sellers and the men who rent tobacco pipes are to be found, and especially on the meadow which is several acres large where the gamblers assemble. (Plate LVI). For ten days 563
from early in the morning until late in the afternoon a Chinese 527
theater group performs on a Chinese stage. The Tu ren community 545
makes possible these performances through local assessments and through half-voluntary contributions of the wealthier populace, as is the case with Chinese festivities, and the individual spectator need not pay admission. The part of the theater where the audience gathers is not marked off specially from the rest of the fair grounds. People can come and go as they please, can set up a tent to protect themselves from the sun, or bring chairs and tables. The wives of [556]
the more well-to-do, especially the Chinese women who attend the festival view the performance from their private carriages whose large sun roofs cut off the view even more than the largest hats of *ladies on European race tracks. The stage is built of tiles with an* arched roof, closed on three sides and - exactly as in China proper - is next to the main temple, as though it were a part of it. The stage [782]
faces the entrance to the temple, for the Eastern Asiatic is of the opinion that theatrical performances are particularly meritorious and pleasing to the gods, and that therefore the stage must be placed so that the gods can watch the performance. For in Tibet today theatrical performances are a part of the cult - as we saw in the last chapter - and this is the way it was in former times in China. Today, however, the connection is somewhat external. The Chinese theater has for a long time also presented secular plays, pranks and love dramas, and is by no means satisfied as are present-day Tibetan plays, merely with the presentation of horrible images of the gods which, according to the priests, will punish mankind unless they are appeased with gifts and assessments of all kinds.

A Tibetan incarnation, an old cozy-looking holy man with a nice pot-belly, who came from a monastery not far from Wei yüan bu, seemed to think there was no harm in sitting for days on end in front of the theater on the open meadow where the festival was held.

563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped
527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received
545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of h cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252

541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners an
527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged
563 horse races, i.e., each of the competitors felt he had the best pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistan his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators, at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together, then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shoute and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, scre ing with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances r ceived the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thum and praised the horse and the cleverness of its rider to the skies. Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track w extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the mid of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luc with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, eve one became critical and the owners who had previously been les fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once
[492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Moha medans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic ho men, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost horizontally against the horse.

[526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells. B
[273] the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Roun about the fair grounds groups of men and women assembled, esp ly young people. They gathered into groups according to the tri and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of b schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a
533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds am
527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love,
563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at ni

there was little peace in and around the place. Every room of my 533
inn was filled, mostly with young men. By the light of the custom- 527
ary smoldering lamp dozens of them crowded around the coal braziers 563
which the innkeeper had set up, in their thick sheep furs, and sang part songs with melancholy trills and yodels and snickered and laughed and mocked the ones who were no good at it. All this lasted until morning. They were all happy like contented and very well brought up children. It was always long after midnight before the singers would gradually, one after another, fall silent. Then girls and boys would lean sleepily against one another and remain thus until the sun awakened them and they began their fun anew.

But I found it difficult to come closer to the Tu ren. They shyly 563
withdrew from me, avoided me wherever they met me, and many 609
of them obviously disdained me. To them, as to the Tibetans, a 123
stranger was uncanny and seemed to them an extremely dangerous creature who stands in close communion with death and the devil. Many of them had seen only few white men, some, none at all, and never one who wore Western clothes. /253/ On the other hand, much Chinese coolie gossip had reached their ears. They knew very definitely that our medicines are made of human hearts and children's bones. It took days of encouragement on my part and a great deal of baksheesh before I could get any of their legends and songs and persuade some of the men to let me photograph them and take
anthropological measurements. It was particularly difficult because [511]
the Tu ren are largely well-to-do and intelligent farmers and because the harvests had been good in the preceding years. They said: "We do not understand why you want this, such a proposal has never been made to us and we do not need your money and your presents." The few men I was able to measure were extremely frightened and twitched at every single measurement. More than a dozen ran off at the first touch of the measuring instrument, as excited as though it were a matter of life and death. As for measuring Tu ren women, that remained a pious wish on my part. (They were usually around 1.5 meters tall.) They were all afraid that they would thereby become sterile for life. In a few years, when Europeans become more familiar to them it may be an easy matter to make up for my failure.

It is often said that the Mongoloid peoples and especially the 152
inhabitants of China are much more calm, stoical and self-controlled than we Europeans. I discovered the opposite to be the case. The Chinese very easily fly into uncontrollable fits of rage which makes
them capable of almost anything. It is also well-known, of course, 000

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792 The houses are not old; they were built after the great Mohammedan
346 revolution in the 1860s during which time the monastery burned to the ground.

C
On the evening of the second day of the journey beyond Wei
361 yüan bu, I had already reached Da tung hsien. I had again come to
701 a purely Chinese city, after having passed only Dungan and Tibetan villages on my way. Da tung hsien is one of the extreme outposts of Chinese colonization, the seat of a district head - the hsien was established only in 1762 - and has a very large garrison. Besides the Chinese soldiers and officials there is also a Tibetan prince stationed here with a band of militia, and not far from the walls Mongols pasture their herds.

C
The city is usually called Mo bai tschen by the people, which
361 refers to the old market that belonged to the nomads here. The town is small because only Chinese are permitted to live in it. Adjoining it on the west, however, is an attractive and busy suburb where many Mohammedans do business. In the year 1895 it fell upon evil days. The Mohammedans made every effort to capture the city by undermining the miserable walls and making assaults upon them. It is amazing that the city nevertheless held for four months.

C
The following day brought me through uninhabited high mountain
563 country and through snow a foot deep farther west, as far as the Mo-
361 hammedan town of Bamba. I found there only a few miserable huts instead of the thousands of families that once lived here. But it was possible to recognize all the old streets because of the countless ruins, almost level with the ground, which testified only too eloquently of the unspeakable misery, of the destruction of a talented people which, heedlessly, in a state of blind religious fervor, entered into hopeless battle with the Chinese giants. Bamba and the extremely fertile valley 25 miles long of Schang wu tschuan as far as Do ba where it joins the Hsining Valley was one of the centers of the last Mohammedan insurrection. With the capture of Do ba the revolt was quelled. The entire valley now has only 800 families of Hui hui all told. Once (until 1895) Bamba was a great rival of Dankar, today it is dead. Its caravan road which follows the narrow valley northwest up into the Koko Nor steppes is deserted because all trade from here is forbidden by the government. The Mohammedans whose families /256/ were forced to settle here after the Chinese victory (1) must carry on their tradè in Dankar and

1. In Bamba there are about 100 families of the old sect

[text continues on p.439]

and sixty of the "new" who were forced to settle here. They 563
are still unable to get along among each other. 361

Hsining. But there they may only come as transients in order to carry on their business and must live in the suburbs while their families are obliged to remain in Bamba.

I stayed a day in the town and bought mules and horses for my 000
forthcoming new journey. A great many people positively implored me to take them along as servants. There were competent men among them who knew the steppes and could speak Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian and so I took several of them into my service. When the contract was signed by both parties and by witnesses the men asked for the customary advance.

"We want to fetch our warm clothing and our felt coats immediately for the journey into the cold steppes. Our things are in the pawn shop in the city of Mo bai tschen," they said.

"But do you have so many debts," I asked, "that you must pawn even your clothes?"

"Heaven forbid! But we have wives and children at home and so it is far better and safer to keep our clothes in the pawn shop."

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/257/

CHAPTER VIII

Departure for the Ts'ao ti

When it is winter in the Central Asiatic plateau it is not only 132
bitter and bitingly cold but a harsh wind sweeps over the land, turning everything rigid and lifeless, so that the people who live up there, the devout and ceaselessly praying lamaists, have learned to speak not only of a fiery, but also of a cold and ice-filled hell into which poor sinners are cast naked and bare in order to be tamed and purified in a hell in which glaciers will devour them, icicles spear them, icebergs crash down on them and crush their bones with burning cold blocks of ice. But besides the cold which it brings, the Central Asiatic winter is also uncomfortable because of its dryness and its dust. Snow, the mark of our European winter, is a rare phenomenon. Week after week and month after month a radiant, cloudless sky stretches over a dried-up, impoverished earth. All living creatures are envoloped in a white veil, a dust-impreganted

[text continues on p.441]

C Tibet, the last on the Hwang Ho inhabited by Chinese, in fact the
361 last town on this river, and has been fortified especially well by the government. Tibetans live all around it; some of them are farmers, others, especially in the south and west, are nomads. The city of Kue de is only 2,310 meters high. It is the warmest city of all the border towns of the entire fu, i.e., the prefecture of Hsining to which it belongs. But directly west of the city, just above a few islands the Hwang Ho flows through a narrow ravine which it has cut into a terrace 250 meters higher, with steep embankments. On this terrace there is nowhere a small field or a house. Thus, Kue de is an oasis in the midst of wild, bare mountains. When we /264/ left the Hsining Valley there was not a touch of green to be seen on the numerous willows and poplars, but in Kue de peach blossoms peeped coquettishly out from among the green shoots of pear orchards and budding wheat fields. (1)

C
563 1. This region at one time also belonged to the Hsi Kiang
631 and later to the Tu ku hun, and beginning with the end of
T the seventh century, to the Tu fan (Tibetans). During the
101 Yüan dynasty the city of Ho tschou formed the outermost Chinese government station on the border. There a department was set up for the Tu fan, and its sphere of influence reached as far as Kue de. Later the town of Kue de was, however, lost to the dynasty and was not regained until 1371 under Hung wu. In 1376 it came under the military district of Ho tschou wei and the Tibetans were given a horse- and tea-market as in Mo bai tschen. The city wall of Kue de was erected in 1380. At that time 48 soldier-families were settled here from Ho tschou who were assigned tax-free fields for themselves and their descendants, for which they were obliged to perform military service as militiamen. Thereupon Tibetans and other Chinese settled in the vicinity. In 1723 the city was hard pressed by the Mongols under Lobzang Dandsin whose headquarters were at Mo bai tschen, but it successfully resisted. In 1739 the town came under the rule of the Hsining Hsien. In 1762 Kue de became a separate hsien under Hsining fu, and later a ting.

T
[651] There are only a few Chinese farms belonging to the Kue de district, but, on the other hand, 54 tax-paying tribes of Tibetans (mostly farmers) and 19 partly-exempt Tibetan tribes (nomads). Nominally, more or less all Tibetans

C
belong to it on the right Hwang Ho bank as far as 180 kilo- 563
meters (aerial distance) or eight to ten travel-days south of 631
the city of Ting. In the east it borders the sphere of influ- T
ence of the hsün hoang ting and farther south that of the 101
tao tschou. The greatest Tibetan prince is the ts'ien hu of Lutsang, Lubungko, who gets an annual salary if he is not guilty of any major crime. After the last war in which at the end he played the part of mediator, he was awarded the red button and was given about 900 bushels of grain annually. After the Lutsang chief, the Dantschie ts'ien hu with the two tribes of Wanschgoro and Tschoch'ru (altogether 1,000 families) is the most powerful ruler. Other nomad tribes are: west of Kue de the Ts'aner, Tschebts'a and Rengan; south and southeast between the city and Lutsang: the Wulang Ats'o, Dschesa, Nerta, Kamba, Bara, Baa-Mongra (800 families) and Gonts'a. Many nomad tribes pay an annual tax in lamb skins instead of the horse tax which was instituted in the Ming period. Each nomad family is supposed to pay a tschü lin (lamb) skin worth 0.5-0.6 tael. In this way 9,000-10,000 skins are received annually. But the ting taxes the farmers around Kue de after each harvest for the amount of the seed that was sown in the fields in spring. The ting, in turn, is required to give gifts to the 24 monasteries in his district.

C
An earth wall ten meters high, with a rectangular ground plan, 361
with very few gates through which a horseman can just about squeeze 631
himself on horseback (that is to say, if he stoops down), gives us [712]
here an exact picture of the old Roman frontier camps on the former Limes germanicus. The wall encloses the official buildings and the chief shrines of the Chinese patron saints, besides a few dozen miserable Chinese shacks in which the soldiers and the officials with their families live. On the town wall I saw large piles of stones the size of a fist, which had been gathered together to be used for defense. The actual life and bustle of the city, buying and selling, is carried on in front of the south gate. There are a number of streets there along which Tibetans, Mongols, Mohammedans, as well as Chinese merchants have their shops and dwellings. This section is extremely picturesque. Countless lamas in their attractive costumes idly fingering their beads, lounge about there during the day around the open bazaars, the upper part of their gowns slun

out of the question. During the second watch we were visited by wolves and their constant howling made sleep impossible. My dogs were mad at this disturbance and answered with angry barking, and the surrounding rocky mountains intensified this concert of the steppes with endless echoes. On the third day[1] we again came across traces of human beings, finally discovered a distinct path and soon saw people. We found a few dozen tents of the Tscham ri Tibetans, and around noon we pitched our tents on the small grassy plain in front of the Schara khoto walls (Plate LVII). 200 361 [563]

The extremely jovial Schu be Tsch'en, the captain of Schara khoto, with whom I was well acquainted from my previous visit, arrived accompanied by his non-commissioned officers and official interpreters and was friendliness personified, although he must have cursed me inwardly for once again disturbing his peace and meditation. After the initial formal greeting, we embraced like old friends and exchanged presents. He asked me above all for European gunpowder because he could not get any at all or none that was good, from his superiors. His thick accent, his many "f" and "pf" sounds instead of the North Chinese "sch" and "tsch" respectively, betrayed the fact that he was a man of the people from "Lan dpfu" (Lanchow fu). He was an officer who had risen from the ranks. This schu be did me a great favor by sending a messenger the very first evening to the amban of Hsining fu to inquire after the promised /280/ escort. I had notified the amban of my change of plans and the reasons as soon as I got to Kue de and had reminded the old gentleman of his promise. But up to now I had received no answer.

At Captain Tsch'en's orders, a uniformed soldier with a loaded gun always had to help my men tend the animals during my five-day stay at Schara khoto. However, none of the soldiers inspired me with confidence. They were 15 and 16-year old boys, and yet the Chinese mature more slowly than Westerners. Besides, the entire garrison indulged in opium and were, without exception, obsessed with gambling. And indeed, what else should these people do with their time in this godforsaken place? Once a month there is drill, otherwise, except for carrying messages, there is no official duty for the men. Throughout the rest of China the soldiers can carry on a little trade or agriculture on the side. But in Schara khoto there is nothing to sell, the caravans pass heedlessly by and on the few fields only wild oats grows and even that ripens only every few years. It is easy to see how little profit there is in animal husbandry, considering how much is stolen, for Tibetans passing by take all the animals that are not carefully 701 [276] [525]

[1] [after leaving Ts'ien hu tsch'eng—Analyst]

loaders) and heard that some of us - as Da Tschang lied to them - were soldiers of the amban. I wanted to buy sheep from them but they had only small flocks. They[1] are very poor, live far away from the markets, and cannot, like the Koko Nor Tibetans, pay for their flour needs in part by salt transports, but can only barter their skins and sheep wool. One afternoon, accompanied by Da Tschang, I went from tent to tent peddling thread and canvas, needles, razor blades and wool belts, combs, knives and rosaries. In one of the tents I was a witness to the native method of shaving and hairdressing. The local Fan tse dressed like the Chinese. But they shaved a larger area of their heads, and allowed less top hair to grow long. Their method of shaving cried to heaven. They used their every-day knives that hung on their belts and shaved completely dry, or moistened their hair with a little cold water. Like all Tibetans, they plucked the hair of their beards with pincers. T 609 T 511 437 T 302

Close to the black Rengan tents, separated only by a small brook, were the whitish felt yurts of the Schang rdi Mongols. I set up my camp, number 51, in their midst. The Mongols were also not very hospitable, in fact almost hostile, but I would not let myself be frightened off and stayed several days among them. In the end I succeeded in getting them to sell me sheep and milk, but I was not permitted to enter their yurts. I appeared in European dress among them and had to fight their notion that I could cast a spell on all the silver I spent so that it would come back to me after a time. c 563

Schang rdi has a peculiar political position in Northeast Tibet; it /336/ is not under the jurisdiction of Hsining fu and its Mongolian banner general, but under the sdeba gschung, the Lhasa government. (1) c 631

1. In the Meng gu yu mu dyi (the Chinese chronicle of the Mongol nomads) it is mentioned as the Schang tsa country of a kampo of Pan tschen Erdeni (of Tashelhunpo).

Like all of the Tsaidam territory, it is largely inhabited by Mongols. (2) [563]

2. Tsaidam literally means "salt swamp." It is a word used by Mongolians and Tibetans (ts'a meaning "salt," dam, "swamp)." One always speaks of five Tsaidam dominions: Taidschinär, Dsun, Barun in the south, and in the north: Kurluk and Kukut.

Here, too, Mongolian rule was weakened by the rebellion mentioned

[1] [The Rengan Tibetans.—Analyst] [text continues on p. 563]

they lose one district after another in their part of Tibet, and that their officials cheerfully return from the interior after a defeat, as did the Dankar ting, for example, in 1905 when he came from the Ngolok country, or that they allow the murder of a Ts'ai by the Tibetans to go unavenged and unpunished. Thus, even the Mongol banner leaders who are much less war-like than the Tibetans permit themselves all kinds of tyrannies. 631

My Camp 51 beside the tent village of the Schang Mongols was again in a beautiful spot (Plate LXXIV and LXXIII). There toward the north the rocky crags become gradually lower and the mountains descend to the sands of the Tsaidam border, so that one was able to see a distance of about 100 kilometers to the north. In the south there is a sharp ascent up to more than 4,000 meters and the peaks there are snow-capped. But on the lower part of all the northwesterly, northerly and northeasterly slopes, the mountains are covered with small stands of mountain cedars, forming glades of old, gnarled trunks. The fresh green pastures that extend down from the edge of the woods were alive with countless white dots - sheep and goat herds. There were black masses in between comprising the yak cattle, and dappled masses consisting of horses and camels. Horses are insatiable; they graze from morning till night. Cattle are more quickly satisfied. Ploughing up the earth with their horns, wildly snorting, grunting, their bushy tails held high, the yaks disport themselves on the pastures. It is a good thing that the Mongols and Tibetans have the custom of letting only the hornless males go uncastrated and of using them for breeding steers. But even these are not as wild as ours. It is peculiar that hornless animals occur very frequently among domestic yaks. When they do have horns these are not bent in all kinds of ways like those of the European and Chinese colored cattle, but are always regular and shaped like those of the wild yak. In fact, the build of the tame yaks is exactly like that of the wild ones, except that they are smaller and have a weaker bone structure. (1) 133 231

1. I never once saw a white spot on the wild yak. Their tail is also completely black.

The Mongol women here wear their hair like the Tibetans. They part it in the middle and twist it with butter into countless tiny braids which are joined and hang down the back. They also wear a separate braid that starts at the crown of the head, and from which a piece of red cloth ribbon a few centimeters wide extends down the back. This 563 302

563 [302] ribbon is decorated with white shells, deep-red corals, silver discs and pieces of amber sewn on it. Like the Tibetan women, they wear a caftan that opens on the side, and the men, too, dress like their neighbors, the Tibetans. The faces of the Mongols are rather different from those of the Tibetans. They are broad and their noses are also wide. My men thought they were much better looking than the Fan tse. I, however, did not agree with this. Even with my taste which was corrupted as a result of my Asiatic environment, I could not admire these faces that looked as though they had been flattened out with a roller. [142]

778 563 July 6. The Mongols are very devout Buddhists. Near the very first yurts on Schang territory there stood mani rdyayu - they looked very gay like our May poles - consisting of four tall poles forming a large square around a taller /338/ center pole. There were garlands of cloth shreds, red, blue, green, yellow and white, completely covered with prayers, stretching from pole to pole (Plate LXXVIII). At the top of the center one cedar twigs swayed in the wind, and their resinous fragrance pleases the heavenly ones. Next to this there was an altar on which today, the day of the full moon, cedar- and thuja-leaves and tsamba were being burned. At noon the family lama blew his horn; a procession of men, women and maidens approached the altar, fell down before it, prayed, circled again and again around the mani rdyayu, clockwise, according to the rules of the yellow sect, "the way the moon rotates around the earth," and prostrated themselves countless times after each time around, hoping to obtain peace, release from demons, and for their herds, freedom from disease and death. [795] [789]

563 792 For this exorcism my nearest neighbor in Camp 51, a well-to-do Mongol, (1) had invited the incarnation from Tangsker, a monastery

1. A man is here considered well-to-do if he has 8 to 10 horses, including mares and foals, 20-30 yak cattle and 400 sheep, whereas near Dankar a man is not considered well off unless he has 40 horses, 60-70 yak cattle and close to 1,000 sheep and goats.

of which I learned for the first time here, and which lies far off on the Hwang Ho, many travel-days farther than the oft-mentioned Rardscha gomba. The journey of the holy man from his lamasery to Tsaidam lasted many months, but he had been undertaking it for several years already, and he stayed two or three months each

summer with the Mongols. The holy man came riding up early in the morning, accompanied by three akkas, and for many hours he read prayers, invocations and exorcisms in the Mongol's yurt. When he departed all the members of the family humbly kissed the hem of his garment and the three akkas followed him with a yak and 28 sheep. - Indeed, summer resorts prove lucrative for the holy men! 563 792

In our little group it was also a day of prayer and sacrifice. Lao Sung who had recovered along with the rest of us from his illness up at the Tschümong redeemed a pledge today. He had bought the sheep which he had promised the gods for his recovery. He built an altar of earth and stones behind the tent and before it he sang his daily invocation: 782 539

Lama la stiapsumdschiū
Songrdyi la stiapsumdschiū
Tschu la stiapsumdschiū
Ginden la stiapsumdschiū
Guntschok sum la stiapsumdschiū
Yidam tschüngkordye
Lha tsok kordang dye ba
mam la ptscha tsalo-o
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - -

If he spoke very rapidly he could say the entire prayer in twenty minutes. (2) Thereupon he burned thuja leaves together with cow

2. The beginning of the prayer btsoktschito... and the supplication to the sGrolma. Every little lama novice and every layman or "black man" (Tibetan: mi nag) knows this prayer by heart and is supposed to repeat it if possible 21 times a day. The above lines roughly translated are: I implore all the lamas, /339/ I implore all the priests, I implore all the deities, I pray to all that is holy. I beseech the trinity of the gods. I kowtow in the dust before the lord of the tutelary gods, before the assembly of the gods, all the holy ones and their pupils...

dung. /339/ Meanwhile the slaughtering of the sheep was undertaken. It was first consecrated according to the Tibetan rite and then killed according to Mohammedan rites. While Lao Sung was still praying, Lao Tscheng brought burning cedar leaves on our serving ladle and exposed the animal to smoke with these; according to his own words, 782

rented four camels for the crossing. On their high stilt legs they brought the bags of flour dry to the opposite shore, whereas the water ran over the backs of the bullocks. c 133

We camped on the left side of the river at an altitude of 3,170 meters, in other words, not much higher than the large Tsaidam Plain. Because of this, we were almost eaten up by millions of mosquitoes. To the north of us the Yohg'ore Valley soon passed over into the Tsaidam Plain. In the distance we saw the groups of houses comprising Schang rdi kura. On account of the mosquito-pest which was very painful for the animals - we were unable to let the horses graze freely even for a minute because they would immediately attempt to gallop off - I left the Yogh'ore Valley without visiting the houses of the Schang rdi with my caravan. On the following days I traveled over foothills and over several passes of 3,700-4,000 meters into the Barun territory (Plate LXXVIII). I was constantly running into individual Mongol settlements, yurts and flocks. Through some valleys I traveled as fast as I could. I suddenly learned that I had chanced on regions where there was a cattle epidemic. Now, some of my animals had allegedly had the disease, and I had bought them in regions where the pest had just raged very severely; yaks who have survived the disease are called tarma in Tibetan. Nevertheless, I was very much concerned for my herd. C 136 C 563 232

On July 12 we crossed the Ara Usse gol. Da Tschang and I were far ahead of the caravan and we reached this valley early. I was very hospitably received and entertained there by a Tibetan mamba, by a colleague of the science of medicine. The mamba with his wrinkled spouse, a Mongol woman, lived in a Tibetan black yak-hair tent which, inside, was furnished in Mongolian style. It had a two-winged entrance door and instead of the takoa, the walled and well-burning hearth of the Tibetans which always divides their tents in half, it had, Mongolian fashion, a cooking pot on a round, iron tripod about a foot high in the middle of the tent. In the rear of the tent there were a few chests on which stood a few dozen brass bowls containing holy water. The gentleman had evidently carefully packed away his gods before he invited us to step inside. From the ceiling hung countless small cloth pouches, blackened with soot, in which he kept his medicines, roots and seeds. He pulled down a little bag from the driest corner and showed me its contents. It revealed nitrate of potash which was supposed to come from the Lop region, and which he used to prepare gun powder. We talked about the weather and about cattle epidemics. The Ngolok and K'am T 756 342

T 756 Tibetans are said to have a good remedy for the latter. They are said to induce a sort of protective disease in their animals so that their animals do not contract the diseases as often or as severely. They kill young, sick animals when they are in the recuperative stage and feed their meat and blood to well animals. After this the latter are said to be sick for almost a week and eat nothing, but afterward they are immune, the mamba said. This "medicine" is largely bought from the Ngolok by the Koko Nor Tibetans and Mongols. But by the time it reaches the north it is usually spoiled and then it is reportedly not very efficacious. /345/

c 243 563 On July 14 we reached Ikhe gol. Here, at 3,185 meters, we came upon barley fields which the Barun Mongols had planted. I had also seen some in the lower Yogh'ore Valley. They were capable of being irrigated but looked extremely poor. I never again saw such uncared-for fields. The Mongols maintain that they are able to cultivate the same field only every six years. Then only do they plow their fields and sow thinly between the huge clods of earth, without harrowing or fertilizing. The weeds which grow up during the long period when the fields lie fallow are almost never removed, so that it was difficult for me to distinguish between cultivated and uncultivated acres. The Ts'aidam Mongols are surely the laziest farmers in the world. For this reason they are obliged to get the largest part of their barley supply in Dankar.

C 133 From our camp along the Ikhe Gol we soon came out of the mountains. But we were obliged to march from morning till night in order to find a new pasture for our animals. The way led over a desert of stones, over the Piedmont gravel, the schala (Mongolian) of the Tsaidam Basin. The edge of the mountains, from which the Tibetan highland descends into the Tsaidam Plain, runs west-northwest to east-southeast. The declivity consists of completely barren, savagely cut-up crests which, toward the north, sink into the yellowish, weather-beaten dust and gravel of the schala. The latter is only very sparsely covered with desert plants, with tamarisks and other low shrubs. The bullocks reluctantly and very laboriously stamped over the sharp-edged stones of the ground. (Plate LXXVII). The farther west I came, the drier became the character of the landscape, and the more signs of vegetation disappeared. With every step it became more like a desert. For a long time now there had been no more small woods in the border-mountains, and the grass patches also dwindled noticeably.

Our new encampment stood in a brook bed filled with mighty granite boulders, bordered by high poplars and willow shrubs (Plate LXXVII). Here we were overtaken by an emissary of the dsassak (banner-leader) of Barun who presented me with a khádar and requested me to visit the dsassak in the plains, in Barun Kurä, where he was staying for a month to recite prayers. I promised to go. But since I had been warned on all sides not to go down into the hot, mosquito-filled plain with my yak bullocks, I first marched south for a whole day, up the Wulasetä Valley, (1) at the outlet of which stood our 563 233

1. Uläsutä, meaning "region of poplars." The "poplar and willow oasis" just before the river emerges into the plain has given it its name. Rockhill, Diary, p. 166, however, is of a different opinion.

previous camp. The region offered little that was attractive or inviting. Barren, desolate rubble terraces were to be seen everywhere, and only after we were a dozen kilometers from the Tsaidam Plain in the mountains was there finally a scant growth of grass. The cattle herds of the Mongols were able to find somewhat adequate amounts of grass only above 3,700 meters. Far back in the valley we came upon about twenty yurts of the Barun nomads. I decided to stay here and give my caravan animals a somewhat longer rest. The bullocks were at the end of their strength, in fact, on the last few marches I had lost four more. Two of them had to be left behind in our last camp at the mouth of the Wulasetä Valley. /346/ When we were ready to fetch them, we found only their footprints together with those of a horse's hoofs, leading out into the Tsaidam Plain. They had been stolen and I never saw them again. (1)

1. Dyoba Dyentsen told me that the dsassak himself had had them removed.

On the day after our arrival in this camp, the dsassak of Barun visited me in person, to my great astonishment. First a mounted courier came dashing up, behind him came the dsassak in the midst of ten horsemen. A clumsy figure, somewhat over 1.65 meters tall, an uncouth Caliban as one could see from a distance, stopped 100 centimeters in front of my tent, was assisted awkwardly from his horse, and came toward me. He had just reached the age of 45. He, as well as his escort, wore the Tibetan gaily-colored caftan, except 643 291

643 291 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats. I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Mohammedan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak[1] pretended he understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also implored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the plain 40 kilometers distant. 782

563 342 574 I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbors. I started my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached, the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white beehive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with low bows, until finally I, as the first person, stumbled through the wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mongol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class tschürra, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama. [576] When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 437 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen. He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a [792] priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

[1] [ie., of Barun. - Analyst]

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remarkably open and honest nature which quickly drew me closer to 437
him. He wanted, of course, to do business with me, but he did not, 563
like all the rest, waste a lot of time charging the highest prices which
one then had to force down to the proper amount with a lot of haggling.
I bought sheep, yaks and horses from him and then he told me a 563
great deal about his life, about the many, many disputes with the 221
Horkurma Tibetans up at the source waters of the Hwang Ho. Once
they drove away 100 camels belonging to the Barun, and gave them
up again only for a high ransom although they could not even use
them in their swamps. He sighed over the life of the nomad, over
the great nuisance of having to change camp-sites, of endlessly hav-
ing to pack and unpack household goods, and said he envied the
farmer who could call a stationary house his own. He complained of 563
their poor customs, of the fact that within their families, in decided 562
contrast to those of the Chinese, they always differentiate very strict-
ly between "mine" and "thine," that their women have too many
rights and that this causes endless quarrels, that trading was difficult
because the women had too little vision and would often not permit
the most favorable cattle sale. "The women take pride only in having
large herds, they never consider how quickly an epidemic can snatch
away the animals, or robbers carry them off." At the time of my 563
visit, people were busy shearing the sheep. The thick winter wool 236
was cut off and half pulled out with iron shears a foot long. (1)

1. A picul (100 catties or 65 kilograms) of the rather coarse wool of Mongolian sheep cost 4 taels in Barun. Two and one-half tael were charged for the transport from Tsaidam to Dankar, so that on the Chinese border a picul costs the merchants to 6 1/2 taels 20 marks. While I was in Barun a mounted courier arrived from Dankar with a document saying that the agents of the Yang Hang (the Tientsin firms) had set the price per picul at 9 taels for this year and could not give a cash more. The resultant increase of 2 1/2 taels for the small wool-buyer was considered much too little. The wool business of Tsaidam was thereby supposed to have become practically profitless. The year before, 11-12 taels was paid per picul by the Yang Hang in Dankar.

The yak cattle are also sheared in July, that is to say, their belly hair, which is used for making Tibetan tent walls and for ropes, is plucked out by the owners. The

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563 entire body of the yak cattle is covered with a thick mat
236 of hair which, on the belly, becomes a foot long and
changes to rather stiff hairs. The wool as well as the
bristles are always pitch-black in wild yaks and usually
so in domestic ones. But after the hairs have been
plucked out and exposed to the weather and to moisture,
they quickly turn a reddish-brown and then resemble old
mammoth-hairs such as one finds in the ice of Siberia;
the mammoths were undoubtedly all raven-black at one
time like the wild yaks.

563 After a few days of rest three of us, Han, Tsch'eng and I rode
133 toward Barun kurä with only mules and horses. We again traveled
down the stony and pathless Wulasetä Valley and then, as a result
of a misunderstanding, set out from the mouth of the valley in a
north-northwest direction into the plain. Thus it happened that
when we again met human beings we were in Dsun, that is, in the
territory of the banner-dsassak of Dsun which was west of Barun. Be-
hind a 10 kilometer-wide, barren belt of rubble known as the schala,
which embraces the foot of the mountain, there is a zone of dunes
scarcely one kilometer wide following the southern border of
Tsaidam; then there is a more or less wooded zone consisting of
tamarisk, and finally, beyond this, the pasture land, the zone
where /348/ the water that flows down from the mountains and is
absorbed by the schála, gushes out again, irrigating and making
the ground fertile once more before it loses itself in sterile salt
swamps toward the middle of the Tsaidam basin.

643 Here in Dsun I again tried to add to my herd of sheep, but no
441 one had the courage to do business with me. It is the custom in all
five dominions of the Tsaidam Mongols that the rulers have a sort of
business monopoly in their territory. Their subjects may carry on
business with a stranger only when the ruler has covered his needs
or if he expressly permits it. Dyoba Dyentsen, too, first had to get
permission from the dsassak to sell me his animals.

101 Because the dsassak of Dsun lived too far off my route, I myself
221 did not visit him. He is said to live on a walled estate in the mid-
dle of his country. His domain is about 40 kilometers long and 5
kilometers wide and consists of fertile pasture land. Belonging to
it is also an area of wasteland extending over many days' marches.
The Dsun (140 families with one squadron) graze their herds only
in the plains, in the narrow zone between the dunes on the edge of
the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this.

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Between all this the salt lake Dábassu Nor stood out like a small, tur- C 133
quoise blue eye. According to my calculations this lake must cover
about 120 square kilometers, but in the huge valley where there was
not a tree, a wood, or a house for the eye to cling to, it dwindled to
the size of a clear, pretty little pool. On Lake Dábassu the Tala Val-
ley is already 40 kilometers wide. However, one could not have any
conception of the true size of this valley in the sparkling clarity of the C
winter atmosphere and the total lack of objects of comparison. Lake [135]
Dabassu is the chief salt spring of the entire Hsining border territory.
Its shores are bordered by a wide band of cooking salt, and snow-white
masses of it float in the wind-whipped center of the lake. On the
north shore an old Mongolian fortress stands next to a spring. Today
two communities of Duchu-Tibetans, Duchu goma and Duchu chima,
occupy the east shore. There are 140 families living in tents. Still
farther east they border on the Tschebt'sa.

As darkness approached we rode into a yurt village where a pack K
of dogs almost unhorsed us. We had reached the small community of 485
the Hartschiu (Kharatschut) dsassak, where the two interpreters had to
change their ula and their guides. Since I was traveling with the two
Tung sche, I was, without a word, received as a guest into the yurt
of a Mongol. For a small fee my horses were driven to the community
pasture by the women. They also sold me meat and flour. If one
disregarded the construction of the tents, one felt one was among
Tibetans. Their clothing, the structure of their faces, their customs
and weapons were those of the Fan tse.

Today the Hartschiu are only a small tribe. There are cordial re- K
lations between the family of the Hartschiu dsassak and that of the 619
Wang ka. Several generations ago the Hartschiu (they are also descend-
ants of Guschri Khan) helped out the Wang ka with a son and heir, when
the Wang ka were only able to fill the Mina-fo seats in the temple
with their first-born sons /78/ but did not have enough for an heir to
the throne. At the present time the oldest son of the ruling Wang ye
was presented to the family of the Hartschiu dsassak, because he had
no male heir.

On that evening I saw no more of the two Tung sche, but I heard C K
them working very hard. Blows were dealt because the Mongols did 563
not bring them a sheep quickly enough; more blows, because the
sheep, when it finally came, was not fat; still more blows because
the Mongols wanted to furnish ula to a tribe in the north of the Koko
Nor and not to one in the south. My ideas of the authority of the
Chinese were completely refuted. I would never have believed that

Kalmyk AH5

K C 563 the Chinese could risk such arrogant behavior in Tibet. At any mo-
ment I expected that the natives would band together and stage a
general rebellion, and I hastened to explain to my host that I just
happened to be traveling with the interpreters and that I would,
naturally, pay for my lodgings. However, our hosts were Mongols
and it did not occur to them to resist the Chinese. On the contrary,
the head of the tent finally became rather a nuisance because he kept
on begging from me and with great loquacity tried to make himself
out as the poorest devil in the world.

November 4. In the morning it was doubtful whether the two
interpreters would travel on or not; they found that they were needed
to settle a dispute and hoped to earn more. They did not know when
they would leave. I therefore decided at noon to travel alone with
my men to Dankar.

T When we were saddling our horses two young Tibetans came up
695 to me and asked me to give them the horse which I had recently
bought, or, if I did not want to sell it to them, at least to trade it
for one or another of their mounts. (1) I was surprised at the strange

T [825] 1. It was a so-called schen ma, a horse pleasing to God, for it had a mane that hung to the ground and was twisted into thick, tangled braids. Such horses may never be ridden by women, on the Koko Nor they are considered much too good, and are usually presented to some high lama.

offer and, demanding an explanation, I elicited a long tale of rob-
T bery. The young animal had been stolen months before from the
[619] Gan ts'a Tibetan tribe (2) in the north of the Koko Nor and the thief

2. Gan ts'a under the rule of a Ts'ien hu, is about 1,000 tents strong and is one of the eight Tibetan sub-tribes of the Banag kak or Baner, that is the Tibetan tent people of the Koko Nor.

had sold it to the Wanschdäch'-Tschabtsa. Thus the horse had passed to
the T'sien hu and finally, through Ts'ien hu's mediation, to Schü
who, in turn, sold it to me in Dulan se. The former owner of Gan
ts'a had accused one of the young Tibetans who came from the
Rengan tribe of theft and had placed 20 yak cows on the truth of his
accusation. The pastures of the Rengan tribe lie near those of the

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had been exposed to light. The screws and screw holes of the small 000
stereo-camera were not equal to the vigorous and ceaseless jogging
of the journey on horseback. Unfortunately I lost all the pictures of
the life of the people in Inner Tibet, many of which I had taken
secretly and at the risk of my life.

The old city of Tao tschou, the tschiu tsch'eng (in Tibetan sim- 361
ply: Batser of Watsi, meaning "city," an originally Turkish-Mongolian
term) lies at the bottom of a valley between flat ascending terraces
of tertiary remnants and red clays covered with a moderately thick
layer of loess. If one follows the brook in the valley, which is low
in water, one reaches the Tao Ho after seven kilometers, at the vil-
lage of Latsak and near Yang ba tsch'eng. The city has strong walls
but they are no longer extensive enough and there are houses on all
sides of the original quadrangle of the walls (Plate LXVII). The city
is a military station and seat of a captain. The tschou of the dis-
trict lives 60 lis away toward the east in Tao tschou-Hsin tsch'eng,
the new city, which, however, is not nearly as important as the old
city, although the district colonel is also /303/ garrisoned there.
The old city is inhabited by Mohammedans who own a beautiful old [563]
mosque in the center of the city (Plate LXIX). Like the Salar, many
of them did not wear pigtails. Here, too, it is the Mohammedans who
have charge of the trade with the Tibetans. Where in the Ts'ao ti
had I not met these courageous people! They are also the ones who
bring wheat up from the Min tschou district, because the region does
not furnish enough, due to the all too brief summer, and who annual-
ly buy up close to 10,000 young Tibetan mares in the hinterland and
drive them to Shensi and Shansi to breed mules. Besides that they
carry on trade in furs, skins, musk, and grain. Altogether the total
trade of the district amounts to probably 600,000 marks.

However, the old city does not have a prosperous look. The in-
habitants number 8,000-9,000 and the natives are very poor. The
yamen of the old city, in which the town captain is housed, was in
a completely dilapidated condition. "It is an antique," its jolly
occupant said, "it originates from the earliest Ming times and has
never been repaired since, because none of us captains earns enough
to be able to have the house repaired. When it rains my family and
I have only one single dry tsch'ien (kien means compartment of a
house) in the whole building. I was convinced that this tsch'ien was
not in the schang fang where we ate together when I was invited there,
for in the schang fang one could see the sky through the rafters be-
tween the broken tiles. But as a genuine banner-man and warrior,

565

565 CLASSES--presence or absence of stratified groups between which mobility is to at least some extent possible; number and ranking of social classes; composition and distribution; basis of differentiation (e.g., wealth, occupation, ascribed status, conquest); class consciousness; degree of class organization; integration of cliques with classes; class prerogatives and disabilities; insignia and stigmata of classes; relations between classes; extent of intermarriage; status and affiliation of children of interclass marriages; special social classes (e.g., royalty, nobles and commoners, bourgeois and proletariat); etc. See also:

Mobility 55
Political statuses 62, 63, 64, 66
Occupational specialization 463
Standards of living 511
Cliques 573
Revolutionary movements 669
Poverty 736

S N 311 The newest
development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang,
is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the
sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates,
salt, and as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only
outnumbered but also outweighed in economic and political
respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have
been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as
Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they
never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier
areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum
of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the
lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed them-
selves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or
governors and their bureaucracy.

S N The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking
175 was to make use of the existing form of governmental institu-
642 tions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-
177 Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang,"
631 i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had
S existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The
[171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols
were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental
institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners
S ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in
N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks
[668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist
[565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various
175 ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk,
631 "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue";
795 the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintend-
647 ant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi,
657 "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by
the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon
the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor,
although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang,
Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the
S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese
631 military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi,
Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc.
647 Relay stations provided communication between the government
[202] in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness
of the means of communications was an important duty of
000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile high-
ways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods, but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.

The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and government, can be described as the average conception of the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only fur niture.

Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course, the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia, became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep inclination towards Communism.

In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

*563 or later is assimilated. But if a Chinese family goes there to live
177 it will remain Chinese and will attract other Chinese families. After
[167] [621] a few decades the whole community becomes Chinese.

In addition to familial cross-contacts, there are others of a
*563 strictly economic character. Certain craftsmen, such as carpenters,
463 blacksmiths, and millers, very easily obtain a foothold in a Tibetan
177 community. They find very poor competition from most of the
621 Tibetan artisans, although once in a while there is a Tibetan workman of outstanding skill and reputation. Much of the village trade also will gradually pass into the hands of the Chinese traders. Also, poor Chinese come to the Tibetan villages as laborers, lumbermen and charcoal burners.

*563 An isolated Chinese migrant in the midst of Tibetan influence
167 and environment undoubtedly would become Tibetan. But actually
this situation does not exist. Behind the individual Chinese and
621 reinforcing him in successive stages is sustained population pressure
177 from the Chinese country. One by one, others follow his lead and press into the Tibetan community through the opening he has made. Once a number of Chinese families are established in a village, they are sure to become dominant simply as a result of the differential birth rates. Slowly the community becomes increasingly like a Chinese village. Finally, Chinese influence is paramount because the agents who exert that influence and spread that culture have a definite advantage over the Tibetans. They can talk the language of Government officials and wealthy merchants and traders, and they have superior business acumen and industry. The village oil-press or grist-mill eventually passes into the hands of a Chinese if, as is more usual, he has not started it himself. So the Chinese members of the village community forge to the front. After a certain length of time, a once-Tibetan village will become very much like a Chinese community. Even when the village has become all "Chinese", however, the quiver shrines of the mountain gods at the highest mountain peaks still are tended and replenished annually. Thus certain aspects of Tibetan culture and religious observance persist despite the otherwise complete transformation of the Tibetan village into a Chinese one.

*563 There is little information about social classes and land tenure
in the far Northwest. However, the general impression is that in
• 565 the central and eastern parts of Shensi and in the important cities
423 of Kansu, where the population is mainly Chinese, the patterns of
social distinction and land distribution are similar to those of China
Proper. The Chinese in these areas and in all the other provinces
[184] have fundamentally the same culture, with only some minor local
variations. For this reason, the reader is referred to the section on Social Structure in the General Handbook.

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

The old administration
of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners. Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

565 extremely obedient and timid toward the government officials.
829 Anyone who has some connection with the government can com-
181 mand the service and materials of the small people. One who has
just a sword may act as a lord in the Chinese rural community.
The common people in these communities are too meek and ignor-
ant to resist. The rural people in general are primarily con-
cerned with their food problem. Their attitude toward anything
565 is affected by this problem. Their attitude toward the coming of
829 the Communists, for example, was quite interesting. They were
668 anxious to know how far the Communists were and how great the
177 possibility was of their coming. When they were asked how they
felt about the coming of the Communists, the answer was that
what they feared mostly about the Communists was that the Com-
munists might eat up all the food they had and then they would be
left to starvation. They seemed to believe that the Communists
would not persecute them because they were just poor people.
They had heard that the people in Szechwan called the Communists
the misfortune bringers. It meant that wherever the Communists
appeared they would bring misfortune. The Kansu people would
not care how sweet the Communist promises might be, if the Com-
munists had to live off the province's scanty food supply, they
were not wanted. This shows that the economic conditions in the
Northwest, as in other places, had great influence on the people's
political attitude.

However, this does not mean that the Chinese peasants in the Northwest care only about their stomach and overlook all else. They also resent the fact that the government officials and the local gentry looked down upon them and treated them as people of little value. It is reported that bad administration of the local government at that time was the reason that the local Communists, led by a man named Liu Tzu-tan, were able to make considerable progress among the peasants in a big territory between the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. The Communists gave the people many kinds of little or temporary advantages and made all sorts of big promises. At the moment they looked much better than the local government officials and therefore they won the people's confidence and support. It is reported that when the government tried to call the people in the villages to a meeting so they might be enlightened about the government's policy, very few came. But whenever Liu Tzu-tan wanted a mass meeting, the peasants swarmed into wherever the gathering was held. Liu Tzu-tan knew the common people's psychology and their dire needs, and he skillfully played these factors for his purpose. Consequently, his movement was very successful among the rural masses.

423 According to Fan Ch'ang-chiang's report, the Chinese farmers
in the areas between Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia were by and large
landowners, not tenants. The areas were very thinly populated

S
175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang
Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots.
However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain
peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than
that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
S
the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later,
[177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang,
he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet
secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state,
though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in main-
taining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force
declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

S
N
184 B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups
577 Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem
throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang
where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can
be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the
result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and
S
geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to
N
give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation.
[671] But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol
[674] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the
night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and
steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wander-
ing traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was
S
usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali
N
in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that
681 people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted
184 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much
674 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The
punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also
with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before
S
the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a
N
nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties);
[565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things;
of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valu-
able thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the
N
Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall:
681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit
184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is
674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91,
reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is
ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of
the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is
laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

159 Council, and Cha Hsi served the same position as before.
*668
631 Chang Chia-fu

Chang's birth date and background are unknown. When the Military and Political Council for the Northwest was formed in 1949, he was a member of that council and also a vice-chairman of the Commission on Culture and Education. In 1953, when that council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, he still served as one of the vice-chairmen of its Commission on Culture and Education. Since 1951 he has been vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the SSFA. In the Communist Party, he was director of the Department of Propaganda in the Northwest Bureau until 1953. He is also a vice-president of the China Academy of Sciences.

Chang, Chih-chung

See China General Handbook.

Chang Chung-liang: Communist

A native of Shensi Province, birth date unknown. From 1949, he served as one of the vice-chairmen in the People's Government in Chinghai Province, and secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party in Chinghai. 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and member of its Financial and Economic Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai Province. In 1955, he was elected chairman of the Kansu PPCC committee, and transferred to become secretary of the Kansu committee of the CCP.

Chang Feng-hui: Local leader

[565] A native of Shensi, a member of the gentry class. Birth date and other background unknown. Since the "liberation" of the Northwest, he served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi. From 1953 he was a member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Shensi Province.

His position in the local government was chiefly due to the fact that Chang is an influential local leader and willing to cooperate with the new regime. The policy of the Communist regime of utilizing local talents for local government finds a proof in the case of Chang Feng-hui.

Chang Feng-po: Member of the Democratic League

Background unknown. He is a member of long standing of the

*668 suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigation
185 for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000
248 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu cor-
311 ridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest
China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Alto-
gether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over
650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it
was found that the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acres)
of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechanized
state farms have been set up so far there.

*668 Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Kansu
deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburban
241 farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hui
369 Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech by
Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's
Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete
picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development
but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feudal"
[565] exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolished.
[423] 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distri-
buted among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little.
Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among
*668 these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural pro-
241 ducer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the
474 suburban areas. These included roughly 32.46 per cent of the
369 peasant households; expanding agricultural production to meet the
[476] daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed.
By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all
agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural
producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will
be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of
vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig
rearing.

*668 The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years
241 with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their families.
369 It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas
can have maintained this population growth. This would imply
that some food would need to have been shipped from China.
[474] There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutual
[476] aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchases
[443] and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood
since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing pro-
cedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed
up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratiza-
tion, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle
peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditions.

567

567 SLAVERY--presence or absence of a servile class of chattel slaves; number of slaves and proportion in the population; activities of slaves; methods of control; treatment; stigmata; rights and privileges of slaves (e.g., to hold property, to marry, to contract debts); rights, privileges, and powers of masters (e.g., to kill, to sell, to hire out); enslavement (e.g., of war captives, for debt, for crime); slave trade; permanency of servile status (e.g., hereditary, for life); redemption (e.g., manumission, adoption, purchase of freedom, escape, asylum); intermarriage between slaves and freemen; status of children of mixed marriages; etc. See also:

Enslavement of criminals . . . . 681 Prisoners of war 727
Slave raids 721

779 of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to
[788] Mecca.

e. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations men-
tioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to
"strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general
terms in Sura ii, v. 186., between the regulations of the fast
and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight
against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them
wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have
expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . .
Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is
rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no
aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans,
on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the
other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe
partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass
them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer
and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

779 "Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last
721 day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited
and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those
798 who have received the Book, until they humbly pay tribute out
of hand." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not
dead but living in the presence of their Lord their needs sup-
plied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura
iii, vv. 163-4]

779 Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obliga-
tions, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical
teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gam-
[262] bling and usury are forbidden along with the making of images
or representations and a number of the practices of pagan
Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans,
[681] and inheritance are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid
down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder
[567] as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an
institution, but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of
owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined.
[681] Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely con-
demned, and rules of social behavior are laid down in several
[671] passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in
the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of
rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a,
the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long
line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which
was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place,
and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow.
An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where
life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers
marched in and out, and much official business was done, for
this was an important military center and the officer in command
held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the
place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly
resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to
be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to
walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert
stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where,
twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[529] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[276] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a
fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves
in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of bliz-
zard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were
dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by
[574] the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the
three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed them-
selves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the
properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their
belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating
stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sun-
rise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling
by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of know-
ledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

733 simultaneously lit, the pipe produced, and the pillows
spread for the wretched feast. This town might easily
[443] be one of the most prosperous of Kansu, being the
[237] centre of the lamb-skin trade, and at mid-January the
merchants come from all quarters to buy the tiny,
soft skins of the lambs, killed on the fourteenth day of
their existence. Large sums of money change hands in
Yungchang, yet all is consumed in smoke, and spent
upon that which satisfieth not. The men are gaunt and
[567] dishevelled, the women keep indoors for lack of decent
clothing, and Yungchang supplies the slave market with
its required commodity of little girls for the great cities.

167 We were leaving our inn one morning, when some
Chinese called our attention to the fact that a foreigner,
'one of your own people,' was begging at the door. We
found a crowd collected round a ragged Russian, who
was begging his way to Peking. The road over which
we were travelling was the *Via Dolorosa* of the Russian
refugees, who, driven forth by poverty or unwillingness
to register their acceptance of the Soviet rule, find
themselves homeless exiles on the face of the globe.
For some months before our arrival a great stream of
suffering humanity poured down this highway, in every
stage of poverty and utter destitution. Until the
great war of 1914, the peoples of the East were under
the delusion that race-solidarity, which in them super-
sedes the instinct of individual nationality (strong
though that be), was also impregnable in the West.
From this time, however, European prestige was
entirely shattered ; and the sight of homeless, penniless
whites swelling the ranks of Chinese beggars, and of
helpless women becoming the concubines of Chinese
men, was a violation of their sense of fitness : nor have
the common people ever recovered from the shock
caused by these unthought-of proceedings.

571

571 SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND GROUPS--incidence of types of social relationships (e.g., face-to-face, stereotyped); social interaction (e.g., interaction rates); categories of social groups (e.g., primary, secondary); general observations on the nature, structure and interrelations of social groups not classifiable elsewhere (e.g., intelligentsia, Philistines, secular cult groups, elites, etc.); sociometric data; evidence bearing upon the dynamics of group formation; general statements on decision-making within social groups; etc. Information on specific interest groups, kin groups, political and religious groups, etc. will be filed elsewhere under specialized categories. See also:

Personality	15	Age-grades	561
Property relationships	42	Ingroup antagonisms	578
Economic organization	47	Kin relationships	602
Family organization	59	Community organization	621
Political organization	63, 64	Contractual relationships	675
Ecclesiastical organization	79	Children's play groups	857

563 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history,
182 continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and
Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples.
This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understand-
ably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex
behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher
efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in
comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual
understanding and esteem.

563 Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the
668 minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic
[641] regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic
group but they are also treated with consideration. The
Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the
nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities
[177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination,
independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance
of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collect-
ivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the
traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the
total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth
are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivisation is
yet to come.

563 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of
829 the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the
state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the
government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior.
The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom
implies this basic recognition.

563 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and
668 ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described
578 as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities
669 and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension
and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and
the government has occurred several times during the last five
years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the
Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans
(July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest
has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission.
The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main
829 and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation
among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such
571 a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over
other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong
feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia -
cultural and political leadership.

181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
771 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In
general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious
matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked
askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.

181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes
to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his
own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious.
Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities
and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready
to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency
found especially within the extended family, which as a rule
feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc.,
of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically
anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional
attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the
last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese
proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from
good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace,
to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom
he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area,
caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
altar being almost the only furniture.

517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, of course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable
part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China,
showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia,
Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the
Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
inclination towards Communism.

563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives
are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a
religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the
nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

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572 FRIENDSHIPS--conceptualization of friendship; informal friendships and their development; formal friendships (e.g., best friends, guest friendship); reciprocal obligations of friends; etc. See also:

Economic partnerships	473	Relationships with nonrelatives	609
Economic cooperation	476		
Blood brotherhood and other artificial kin relationships	608		

standstill, since 'He that regardeth the wind shall not sow.' Accustomed as we were to discounting street talk, a strong instinct yet told us that, this time, we were up against a real danger in the matter of the Sinkiang frontier, and though for the moment we said no more to the young men, we deeply desired to be given a clear indication to guide us.

Some days later, when we were in the town of Santaokow, Mr. Tu suddenly complained of severe pain, and in a few hours it was evident that he was in for a sharp attack of appendicitis. We did what was possible to alleviate his terrible sufferings, but for forty-eight hours we had no idea which way the illness would turn, and our anxiety was extreme. After this time, however, his condition improved, but it was clear to the whole party that it would be madness to attempt a desert journey with a man in this condition, so finally it was decided to send him back to Suchow, escorted by two of the students. It was very pathetic to see the disappointment of the men, but when we ourselves actually reached the frontier we then realised from what a truly terrible fate this incident in all probability saved them, and at least they had had all the satisfaction of completing the preaching tour to the cities within the Kansu border. Those who remained with us were older men, and would, we knew, be regarded as our necessary personal escort.

From Yümen to Ansi we were travelling over familiar ground, and at every stage of the way there was always some friend to greet us. We also tried to stay at the same inns as on previous visits, for the Chinese are warmhearted towards those who are known to them, and all the small resources of the inn were at once placed at our disposal on the ground that we were old friends, and sometimes our stay in the

house had proved to bring a blessing, so we were welcomed accordingly. On one occasion, to our joy the innkeeper's wife assured us that she had never once touched the opium-pipe since our last visit, for we had told her distinctly that this *must* go if she would serve God. Then, too, the stages seemed easier, from the fact of their familiarity, as we now knew when to look out for a deserted city, or a clump of trees, or a rushing stream, or a sandy waste. We passed with even more wonder than formerly the site of the buried city of Pulungki, and marvelled once again that so extensive a town could have been recaptured by the Gobi till from being a busy habitation of men it had become the haunt of wolves.

There is a certain ancient river-bed a few miles out from Santaokow, which must hold some considerable underground water supply, since groves of fine trees border it, among which was a large-leafed willow growing to the size and shape of an English oak. The villagers had also effected an arboreal experiment there which was new to us, for we saw large plantations of young willows grafted with poplar, and they told us that by this means they produced a very useful tree, having the quick-growing properties of the willow together with the superior wood of the poplar.

As on former occasions our journeys were taken by night, but being midsummer the hours of darkness were brief, and we had the benefit of a long evening as well as of an early dawn, which enabled us to take more note of our surroundings. Ansi seemed more deeply submerged in the encroaching sands than even before. One more winter of sandstorms had passed over it, and its population bore the impress of yet another winter of opium indulgence. Our inn rooms seemed more than usually gloomy and filthy, while over the

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574 VISITING AND HOSPITALITY--extent and occasions of visiting; social relationships characterized by reciprocal visiting; reception and entertainment of visitors; informal and formal hospitality; offering of food and drink; feasts and parties; etc. See also:

Drinking	27	Travel	484
Recreation	52	Banquet speeches	544
Eating	264	Wedding feasts	585
Gift giving	431	Mortuary feasts	765

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each wife must have her own tent which will be within the area of the encampment assigned to the husband. Within the tent the wife frequently has full authority. It is she who welcomes and looks after the guests and to whom farewells must be formally made.

As is the case with most of Tibet, the problem of polyandrous unions remains unclear. One authoritative source assigns such unions to the nomads, and another will insist that it is a phenomenon of the sedentary Tibetans. Each produces logical explanations for its appearance in the one and not in the other. Moreover, the Tibetans themselves will state arbitrarily that it is commoner in one group or the other, but again there is no unanimity of opinion. Out of all the conflicting accounts, it can be deduced that polyandry exists, probably, in both nomadic and sedentary Tibetan populations and that peculiar local situations account for its prevalence in one or the other area. However, it is doubtful that it is uniformly practiced by any section of the population. Side by side with polyandrous families, moreover, polygynous unions are also found. Most common, is a more or less brittle monogamy.

Since the people of the black tents practice transhumance, their nomadic activities are measured in terms of elevation, rather than actual distance covered. From late spring through fall the encampments as units climb to successively higher pastures and then descend again. Winter finds them at their lowest elevation and the group is no longer a tent-circle. Instead of the regular circular arrangement of the yak-hair tents, the winter settlement may consist of sod-covered huts, which may be of wattle and daub construction, rammed earth, tent-roofed sod walls or similar materials. There is no regular arrangement of the huts, because the factors which led to the arrangement of the campsites are not operative.

The different activities around the year help dictate the limits of communal action. The short growing seasons of the successive pastures, necessitate frequent shifts. Thus eight or nine movements between winters are not uncommon. The tasks of striking camp, keeping the herds along the route and reestablishing the circles involve maximum cooperation from all involved. None can travel with impunity ahead or behind the others. The encampments represent military units because raids and stealing herds are recognized as rungs on the ladder to success.

In winter, the activities are more diversified. Gone is the constant vigilance against human and animal foes. Gone too, is the necessity of frequent, simultaneous uprooting and reestablishment. Life is conducted at a more leisurely and individual pace. Many of the nomads form trading caravans, which will journey beyond the settlements of the Tibetan farmers to trade their wool, hides, and other products among the Chinese Moslems. These caravans may be composed of some of the men of a single

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

The clan as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates. The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknowledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no political control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)

Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

to greet and welcome us. Rooms had been swept and got ready, and we were immediately served with bowls of hot, slightly salted milk, and fried doughnuts. Willing hands relieved our tired drivers of the work of feeding and stabling the mules, and within an hour we sat down to an abundant evening meal of the best food procurable. A sheep had been killed in view of our arrival, so there was meat and vegetables, with hot steamed bread. The kindness we received in this home is but typical of the grace of hospitality as understood by the Chinese, and such as has ever been extended to us on innumerable occasions by rich and poor alike.

Before dawn the farmyard was noisy with the braying of many small donkeys, hired and borrowed from neighbouring farms for our use. All our baggage was transferred to the pack-saddles, and shortly after sunrise we started to ride across the burning sands of the plain, towards the shady ravine, the entrance to which we could only just discern in the blue hills ahead.

The whole of the day was spent in following a narrow, uphill path through the gorge, where we crossed and recrossed a brawling mountain torrent. About mid-day we passed the watch-tower marking the frontier, and then knew ourselves to be actually on Tibetan soil.

By early evening we called a halt, and pitched the tent on a grassy plot near a hut, which was the only human habitation we came upon. In it lived one old man, who cultivated a tiny garden, and whose house supplied the only possible shelter to the traveller over-taken by a blizzard. A large saucepan was filled from the stream, and a meal of boiled rice, this time without any accompaniment of pickles, was cooked over the camp fire, and round it we hungrily gathered, each

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

Part of the complicated debt-system in which the whole of China's financial organisation is involved, is the general settlement of accounts, which takes place in the last month of the year. A son's inheritance of debt often exceeds the property devolving on him by the death of his father, which debt he hands on in turn to his own children. A creditor always claims large interest, which is due to be paid in the twelfth moon, but in order to collect the amount the problem is when and how to find the debtor. For many are the subterfuges and evasions practised by the impecunious, when the voice of the unwelcome visitor is heard in the distance—back-doors, roof-apertures, gaps in walls, all come in handy, and 'not at home' is the usual policy! During the final five days, the city is noisy throughout with the sounds of wrangling, quarelling and violent invectives, the uproar increasing in a regular *crescendo* until the appointed time when each family must gather within its own walls, to observe the religious rites necessary for the auspicious ushering in of the New Year. From this moment, suddenly, everything changes! Men, who a few hours before were heaping curses on each other's heads, now meet with urbane countenances, and exchange bows suitable for a Court function. Cordial greetings are also mutually expressed, and as with a sponge all animosities are, apparently, wiped off the slate of memory, while the whole population gives itself over to merry-making and feasting.

Long before dawn we were awakened by the sound of bursting crackers; temple-bells were clanging, gongs were booming, and the subtle perfume of incense crept into our room. As soon as the doors were opened, every man in the compound, dressed in his best clothes, came in to pay his respects, and from then onwards, through-out the day, we received visits of ceremony from all our

527 574 gentlemen acquaintances, it being the social custom that no woman should pay calls before the fifth of the month. Each visitor was duly offered tea and light refreshments, and each on leaving laid on the table his scarlet visiting-card.

527 525 The next morning[1] early, the main street was converted into one long casino for the purpose of gambling, each croupier spreading a table, bordered by cash strung on red cords, and to these tables the townsmen and villagers flocked to enjoy the excitement of play for high stakes. For three whole days the crowds were so dense that no horse traffic of any description could pass. On the flat mud roofs the women gathered in swarms to watch the fun. All had painted their faces, and wore brilliant dresses of green, pink or scarlet, while artificial flowers decked their hair. But underneath all this gay scene many a tragic shadow was concealed, and darkness had scarcely closed in when the Mission compound was aroused by urgent calls for help, the doctor being sent for to save, if possible, the life of a woman who, driven to despair by her husband's losses, had tried to kill herself. During the next few days many were the cases of suicide dealt with; some for an overdose of opium; others for swallowing the white face-powder which was always at hand; others, again, jumped down wells, or cut their throats; while one woman, more determined to end her miseries than the rest, had eaten handfuls of whole dried peas, after which she had very deliberately swallowed several bowlfuls of water, believing that no medical aid could possibly avail to restore her to life.

527 796 Within a week from New Year's Day came another ceremonial date, named 'The Greeting of Spring,' when this season is represented by a roughly-modelled, symbolic mud-cow, whose body is filled with dried

[1][the New Year Festival -- Analyst]

shops there, but must leave the central part of the city before darkness sets in. 563

There had been a great deal of progress since my first visit to the city in the spring of 1904. In the summer of 1905 the old, very reactionary viceroy was replaced by one who had been in Berlin and Petersburg. This man had sent Splingaert, the interpreter of Baron von Richthofen, known to every Sinologist, /153/ in order to find European engineers who should open up a new era for the province of Kansu. He wanted to re-open the cloth factory, and build sugar and champagne factories. The very good coal mines which lay a short day's journey south of the city were to be made more accessible by means of a small railway. But above all, a university and technical school were to be opened, and, for strategic purposes, an iron bridge built across the Hwang Ho. 651 185 [316]

That was the program which everyone was discussing in this city of no newspapers, but there were for the most part unbelievably exaggerated and distorted rumors about it. Because a Chinese province is an independent unit, the governor-general was obliged to raise a large part of the funds which were necessary before he could carry out his program. He therefore wanted to open up another mint in which special Kansu money was to be coined and the silver and gold for this he wanted to get from the provincial government. He therefore needed European foundry experts; prospects of mining concessions for Europeans no longer existed here. But everyone knew that there was gold as well as silver in Kansu; for Kansu, like Szechwan, borders on Tibet and since ancient times gold has been washed in the rivers on the border. [436] [316]

It was in connection with this very program that I came into frequent contact with the higher officials during my three-weeks' stay in Lanchow fu. I was often obliged to attend Chinese dinners at which the Chinese are so fond of testing the drinking capacity of a foreigner. Their drinking games are particularly dangerous, being a sort of morra in which the loser must empty cups the size of a thimble, filled with warmed whiskey. For linguistic reasons alone it is very difficult for foreigners to win. But I found that the cultivated Chinese and Manchu begins to warm up to a foreigner when the latter, through this sort of thing, comes closer to him as a human being. Thus I learned the game "dry" from one of my servants and in the course of time I had many a "Chinese queue" on my conscience. I was amazed to see how brief the emotional flare-ups of these people were; or could they, perhaps, even if they had had too much of a 574 524 574

*563 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door.
574 After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a
576 wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter.
The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They
562 have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to par-
796 ticipate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

*563 d. Customs

527 On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-
881 age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do
[302] their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the
[292] households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts.
[574] After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social
[431] functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in tra-
584 ditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who
[787] are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the
[675] horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male
583 bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his
584 own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bride-
585 groom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

779 431 735 794 which varies according to one's wealth. This food must be donated by every Moslem in the community who is not poor, and distributed among those who need it. The second institution is that connected with Id al-Adsha, on which occasion the poorer members of the community are fed with the meat of the sacrificed animals, and the skins of those animals are sold, and the sum thus realized spent on the propagation of Islam.

These then are the concepts applied to welfare work among the Moslems of the Northwest. As has been seen: the impetus toward welfare activities is entirely religious. This religious basis of welfare work was somewhat modified among the Chinese Moslems (Hui) particularly in those provinces, such as Ninghsia and Chinghai, where the secular power was in the hands of Moslem leaders. In these cases welfare activities would be supported strongly and with a certain efficiency by the worldly arm, but would pertain in most cases to the Moslem population only.

With regard to the handling of welfare cases among non-Moslem Chinese, reference is made in the section on Public Welfare of the General Handbook.

III. Welfare Among Lamaists

The concept of charity is alien to original Buddhism; it has no part in its ancient teachings. Almsgiving (dāna) is the only charitable activity that is occasionally mentioned in earlier writings. It is there termed as one of the "lucky things," with which to promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning the attitude in which alms should be given were worked out, the theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of the donee. The best gift of all, however, was the gift of Dharma (truth). The only entity who practided charity in anything like our sense of the word was the Bodhisatva, for whom, and for whom only, compassion was the cardinal principle. Every consideration is laid aside and even meditation neglected for its sake.

These basic doctrines have not prevented later schools of Buddhism in China from developing charitable and welfare work both through the temples themselves and through Buddhist sponsored or co-sponsored laymen's associations (see China General, Public Welfare). The Lamaist church, however, has stuck closer to the original concepts and hardly a trace of charitable or welfare work emanating from or sponsored by the lamaseries can be detected.

574 794 485 792 There exists, though, one concept common to both Lamaist peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

574 794 485 792 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food, shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

657 731 With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

653 312 185 The realization grew however that with regard to natural disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

114 657 Unfortunately, there is very little information available on the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the [794] little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long
line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which
was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place,
and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow.
An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where
life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers
marched in and out, and much official business was done, for
this was an important military center and the officer in command
held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the
place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly
resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to
be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to
walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert
stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where,
twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[525] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[276] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a
fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves
in dust clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were
dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by
[574] the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the
three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the
properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their
belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating
stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling
by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

and enters a gorge which soon ends in a stiff climb up to a 487
pass, about 5000 feet high and two hours' scramble from 133
Fenghuangtsui. There is a similar steep descent for a thousand feet or so down the other side into a ravine where farmsteads and rice fields reappear, and then a weary three hours' march down a stony gorge which debouches on to the narrow valley of the Ch'ienyu Ho, a considerable stream for these mountains, which takes its rise in the watershed ranges north of Hsiaoyi T'ing and flows south past Chenan to join the Han near Hsünyang Hsien. The trail continues down this stream, which has to be crossed and recrossed though barely fordable, for another hour's march through precipitous limestone gorges, and then turns up a small tributary to the west for a few li to reach the city of Chenan, a dilapidated little place lying hidden away in the mountains just round the corner from the canyon of the Ch'ienyu Ho.

We had had nine days' continuous travel over the most appalling mountain tracks since leaving T'ungkuan, and as we were well housed in the Yamen of the Chief of Police, and were informed that the trail on to Hsingan was much worse, we decided to rest in Chenan for a day. The fourteen days between T'ungkuan and Hsingan by this route constituted one of the hardest journeys we made in all our wanderings through Shensi and Kansu owing to the roughness of the mountain trail. Travelling as we were with the assistance of the local officials we did not have to sample the inns, if there were any, *en route*; without such assistance it would of course have been very much harder and more fatiguing.

Chenan has practically no city wall left, which is unusual. 712
The explanation lies in the fact that the inhabitants own a particularly fine *chaitzu* on a neighbouring mountain top in which they prefer to take refuge, with their magistrate and his police, in times of trouble rather than defend their
city. A large proportion of the population were there at the 574
time of our visit, for at that early period of our journey our
party was so formidable in size that when we descended 651
on these small mountain towns like a swarm of locusts the people used often to fly at our approach as though from a band of brigands. Chinese officials travelling on what used to be, and often still is, called an Imperial Mission, such as

574 that on which we were engaged, must according to immemorial custom be provided with food and accommodation
651 free of charge by the towns and villages through which they pass, and not only they themselves, but the cloud of parasites who accompany them, servants, soldiers, coolies, and animals as well. The local magistrates of course try and recoup themselves from the people, but in a very poor post they might almost be ruined by the passage of such a party.

634 There are patches of rice fields round Chenan, but most of the district is composed of a maze of wild mountains, the
651 lower slopes of which are often dotted with the valuable wood oil tree, a pretty sight in blossom in April. The Chinese assert that the district is rich in minerals, copper, iron, asbestos, and antimony. It is a third class district and the post of magistrate is of course a poor one, as the land tax receipts amount to less than a thousand taels per annum. But amongst our party was an official who had been magistrate at Hsiaoyi, a day's journey further north in the mountains, who affirmed that compared to the latter district, Chenan was a garden; for Hsiaoyi, it seems, has no land tax receipts, and practically no population. It should be explained that the land tax is usually collected in grain and remitted to the provincial treasury in silver, the process of exchange from the one into the other not being effected without a certain percentage remaining in the hands of the local official; hence the amount of the land tax is usually considered the standard by which the wealth of a post may be measured.

487 A road runs due south from Hsian, the provincial capital, through the Ch'inling Shan *via* Hsiaoyi and Chenan to Hsingan on the Han River, being the most direct route between these two important cities, but it is so rough as to be little used. It is bad enough in the dry season when it follows up and down the stream beds in the simple manner of so many mountain trails in China, but when the water rises and the path has to take to the cliffs of the gorges it is very much worse and probably quite impassable for pack animals and chairs. We found the stream bed still just practicable in April.

669 The number of burnt-out ruins of hamlets, farmsteads, and huts along the trail we had just traversed could not fail

We were well accommodated by the Mahomedans in 792
their village. The Hutukotu was away "saying prayers in the grass-country" (*Ts'ao Ti Nien Ching*—as we were 574
told), but the second lama in charge, an aged monk of refined and intelligent appearance, received us most amicably in a gorgeous apartment glittering with gold images and other signs of wealth, and gave instructions for us to be shown round the monastery. I am not sufficiently acquainted with Lamaism to be able to give an intelligent description of what we saw, but the temples were the finest and richest I have visited in China, and the residences of the monks the usual gloomy buildings common to all lamaseries. At our interview with the lama we were presented with the usual silk scarves (*Khata*), and it may be noted that the Chinese and Tibetans with us attached these in a prominent manner to their persons to show all and sundry that they had been received by the authorities of the monastery; I do not know whether this is a usual use to which to put the *Khata*, but it seemed a good idea here. After getting back to our quarters we found a present consisting of half a sheep for ourselves and several bushels of peas for our animals from the lama, which was very welcome in a country of scanty supplies.

From Labrang to Ho Chou is a distance of about 200 li, 487
which is usually made in three stages. The first day's march took us back down the valley of the Tahsia River to Sasuma. 133
From here the trail continues down the valley, which is here cultivated, past several small lamaseries, for 40 li to the village of Ch'aokou. Here gorges are entered through which the river winds for another 20 li to the village of Ch'ingshui (these villages are Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, with nothing Tibetan about them). The path ledged in the rock and supported by wooden stagings high above the torrent is very dangerous in places. There is an idea that mules and ponies accustomed to the mountains never fall, but this is by no means the case, and I have on more than one occasion seen an animal plunge to his death over the edge of one of these precipices, though fortunately we never lost one ourselves; it is always wise to dismount in such places. In spite of the dangerous nature of the road we 484
met large numbers of mule caravans going up to Labrang

were too high to permit of a safe crossing before midday. 491
The sun was therefore high in the heavens before we started, and we reached the bank still uncertain as to whether we might not be obliged to return home and come back again the next day.

The water was very high, and divided itself into ten separate channels, some wide and fairly shallow, others narrow and deep, so that the furthest bank was half a mile distant. It was a critical moment when the mules and carts plunged into the muddy, roaring, tumultuous stream, in which large stones were swirled round and round like pebbles, by the force of the current. Only by long experience does a man learn how to keep his head. He must know, as the Chinese express it, 'how to look at water,' and how to restrain his eye from being drawn off by the rushing eddies from that distant bank which seems so far away. Happily, animals have this gift by nature, and keep cool and quiet, even when the driver may have temporarily lost his bearings. Bullocks are the most reliable under these circumstances, for they at once take to swimming when their footing fails.

We were more than an hour fording, and as we approached the furthest bank, the shaft-mule of our cart stumbled badly, so that for a moment we thought we were going to be swept away. A shout went up from the men on the bank as they prepared to plunge in to our rescue, whereupon the mules, realising the danger, recovered themselves with a tremendous effort, and promptly drew us into shallow water.

It was already dark when we reached the house 574
where we were expected. The fierce dogs were chained, the other animals had been fed, and the sheep folded so that the farmer's brief leisure hour had come. We were met at the door by the whole family, who emerged

574 good thing, control themselves masterfully, - as long as they did not go to sleep? The fan tai once gave a large, solemn dinner. He was the treasurer of the province of Kansu, the official just below the viceroy who at that time also controlled the foreign office of the

574 411 province. Before we sat down to dinner I was asked for my "expert" opinion on the latest invention of His Excellency. The provincial treasurer also had charge of the equipment of the army and the arsenal of Lanchow. He had now made a new kind of "three-man-rifle a large muzzle loader which two soldiers had to lay across their shoulders while a third aimed and pulled the trigger. Amazed at such "cleverness" which had already resulted in a few hundred of this model, "Lanchow 1905," being ordered from the government arsenal, I silently espoused His Excellency's cause, and in token of his gratitude for my suggestion that it might be better to use steel instead of Shansi iron at a somewhat exposed place, I was presented with a photograph of the inventor. /154/

000 At the feast itself there was also a Japanese present, who made himself out to be an officer and who was on his way back from Turkistan. He appeared in European dress but his hair which was longish in the middle but shaved on the sides and in front, showed plainly that as a rule he preferred to appear incognito as a Chinese or a Mongol and wear a queue, because the hair that had been left was just long enough so that a queue could be tied to it. He was, as he repeatedly assured us, on a purely scientific journey and had set out only to look for the se bu siang, the "four-not-equal" (1)

[136] 1. Elaphurus Davidianus, Chinese: se bu siang, was first discovered by Armand David in the imperial game park at Peking. The strange, stag-like animal was named "four-not-equal" by the Chinese because it was said to have the antlers of a stag, the feet of an ox, the tail of a donkey, and the hair of a mule. The species is today regarded as extinct. The game park as such has not existed since 1900.

which in his opinion still exists in the mountains on the Russian border. He said he had not been able to get it only because of the hostile entanglements of his country with Russia!

264 351 At this dinner we sat in an airy, half-open but very pretty wooden pavilion in the fan tai's large garden in which there were lakes with many bridges and small boats between reed and bamboo

000 then quickly succeeded in getting back the stolen goods and even the people who were most guilty. Later on soldiers had to be sent to Tombu mda only because the French government insisted that the body be handed over. But it had been thrown in the Yangtze Kiang and the soldiers returned without having accomplished their mission.

574 291 During my stay in Dankar I was invited to a pleasant dinner at the house of the ting, along with the officers of the place, the colonel, major, first lieutenant and a few second lieutenants, as well as a few Chinese compradors of European firms in Tientsin. Among the countless dishes the most interesting this time was the tasty Koko Nor fish which has no scales but an unbelievable number of bones. Although we all sat in the small workroom of the mandarin we were, of course, all dressed in the thickest furs which consisted of Tibetan lynx, snow leopard from Himalaya, Manchurian fox or fine lamb skin, according to the size of one's pocketbook. This made for an extremely motley assortment, for everyone wore his costly fur on the outside in order that all could see what he had on. Although I wore a thick fox fur under my Prince Albert I was nevertheless far too shabbily dressed and was often asked by the voluminous Chinese - many of them were not content to wear only one fur - whether I was not cold. I believe that at that time I had scarcely half the girth of a Chinese and that I must have looked like a ray of sunlight between the fat colossi. Our

[364] feet with their felt soles several centimeters thick we braced against the edge of a coal brazier which was the sole source of heat in the room. Charcoal briquettes were used and they had a dreadful odor.

574 521 It was therefore a long time before anyone noticed that the felt shoes of one of the guests who had got too near the fire were slowly being charred. Finally the ting asked very politely whether he might say something unpleasant and whether they were sure no one would feel hurt about it. He addressed his question to two lieutenants. They were sitting on pins and needles waiting to hear what unpleasantness their superior might know about them. But the rascally ting let them dangle for a long time until they themselves began to feel what was wrong, until even their thick socks finally began to smoulder. In the Kingdom of the Middle the loser is the last who need /182/ worry about derision. The stiff wax-like faces of the Chinese gentlemen now took on life. Before that only one at a time had spoken while the others had slowly rocked back and

[text continues on p. 302]

forth from their hips, either sideways or forward and backward or even diagonally, according to the available space, always with an ingratiating smile - I was getting quite dizzy from it all. Now they became animated. The spell was broken. Drinking games were begun. Everyone wanted to tell an amusing story. Funny riddles and witty sayings were brought up as well as caustic stories of how mandarin so-and-so made a fool of his superiors and subordinates and directed a golden spring onto his acres. Even after the meal was over the party did not break up immediately, as is customary and even good form after a more formal dinner. In the adjoining room Japanese cigarettes and tobacco pipes as well as rice wine were offered and in one corner on a kang where the host slept there was a place for opium-lovers. As usual the pipes had already been prepared by the servants. The opium was first offered to each one in turn, and to me first because I was the guest of honor. I, of course, politely declined. I would not even have known for sure how to go about smoking opium, for it is an art. But the second in order, the colonel, then the major, and on down the line to the lieutenants with the charred soles, all of them lay down one after another on the kang which was covered with the most elegant knotted rug from Turkistan and heated from underneath with horse dung, lifted up the richly ornamented opium pipe with both hands and, with a silent nod, as though inviting the other guests and the host, took a few puffs and handed the pipe to the next person. Thereupon the smokers, wittier and more animated, again took part in the general conversation. C 574 521 C 574 276

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/183/ CHAPTER V

To the Koko Nor

In a small valley meadow a few hours south of the city of Dankar I had bought eight yaks from Tibetans of Tombum da who had come to Dankar to carry on trade. With these eight yaks and five mounted servants whom I had armed, as well as a few pack ponies, I left Dankar on January 11, accompanied also by a sergeant with a few soldiers. Ten kilometers farther west I passed the last frontier guards (Plate XXXIX) and before nightfall I came to the Gomba soma monastery (Chinese: hsin se, meaning "new monastery"). By journeying via Gomba soma, I was on the military road to the north T 792

The crumbled loam walls and the old roofless yamen and temple buildings lay bleak and desolate when we passed through. We were still merely crawling along at a snail's pace. In the interior of the city, in a corner of an old ruin, we brewed our tea once more before we traveled on into the night. In spite of our weariness, none of us wanted to spend the night here. The cold which set in anew after sundown was too intense. We preferred to fumble along across the barren steppes. Even though we were now going along a well-traveled caravan road, we had difficulty in finding our way in the dark to Schara khoto. We did not reach it until morning. We had covered 140 kilometers on our flight. All of us had sore feet from the solidly frozen riding boots, and the three rescued ponies were also near exhaustion because they were too heavily loaded. 361 631

Schara khoto (1) is today the farthest Chinese military outpost 701 712

1. A Mongolian name meaning "yellow city." The Chinese call the town Scha la ku to and say that this means "city of the green meadow." [103]

from Kansu. The Chinese government had stationed here a schu be (first lieutenant), a lieutenant and a few sergeants with 30-40 men (belonging to the green banner). They were armed with swords and matchlocks and a few old German drums and French horns. Thus, the detachment does not play a very important role. The soldiers even have difficulty defending themselves against the attacks of marauding Tibetans. There is an old wall but it is so large that it would take at least a regiment to defend it. There is also a large old parade ground. Between this and the city which is empty today there live about thirty Chinese families who cultivate a few small acres in the vicinity, raising barley and wild oats. Nothing else grows here. It is an unspeakably miserable spot. 241

One of the Chinese immediately received us very hospitably in his mud hut, and turned over his large warm kang to us. Without wasting any words he immediately prepared a few opium pipes for us, for the Chinese say this is the best restorative if one is over-tired. I was the only one who did not smoke and I did not wake up until the next night, whereas my companions, all of whom had smoked, walked about vigorously early in the day. 574 276

Two days later I traveled back to Dankar. On this stretch I was accompanied by fifteen armed men and half way to the city I was 000

426 then my friends, too, appeared dressed in silks and velvets and all their children, as good breeding demanded, wore new shoes. I now learned that the man had been cautious enough to store a few chests of his belongings in my little courtyard, with the help of my servants, and he had now brought them back to his apartment again. Nor was the man by any means bankrupt. All he lacked at the moment was cash to cover all his debts.

527 574 At the first cock's crow, long before day, my servants came back from the New Year's celebration with their families and offered me their New Year's kowtow for which one's employees always receive a major gift of money. The first official callers, among them the hsien and a few officers of the city who were acquaintances of mine, also stood at my door at six in the morning just as the sun was rising. They were on their way back from the temples where they had delivered offerings and congratulations to the official state deities and the emperor. In China I learned the meaning of New Year's calls on acquaintances, and good luck wishes. Surely no Chinese would be impressed by our European manner of doing this. Beginning with the first day of the new year, the inhabitants of China are on their feet from morning till night and hasten from one to the other of their acquaintances in order to express their good wishes in the form

527 777 of a kowtow. On the morning of New Year's day everyone washes his face and appears in holiday garb which should be new if possible, and all doors, all door posts and implements are freshly pasted with luck-bringing words and sayings. The paper which is used for this is fire-red, unless the family happens to be in mourning. (1) Thus,

1. Like the color of the Yang, see footnote to p. 33.

on New Year's in China everything looks pretty and orderly, and above all, indescribably gay. On my house, too, the servants had during the night pasted new pictures of the gate deities on the outside of all the doors, and over the hearth they had put a fresh picture of the kitchen /207/ god Ts'ao ye (1), and when I awoke there was

776 792 1. Also called Ts'ao wang ye. This is the chief deity of the family. He is below the city god and the almighty god of heaven, the supreme Chinese deity, and of course, also below the emperor, the son of heaven. He guards the fire and the domestic hearth. On the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of the last calendar month he ascends to heaven and reports there the way things have gone for the family throughout the year. Thus, this day is very important and is called the Little New Year. On this day he is offered sweets, rice and other things and while his picture is being burned in the fire the entire family calls after him: "Sir Kitchen God, Sir Kitchen God, do not report anything bad about us!" In the real New Year's night he returns from heaven and that is when people again paste his picture on their walls. 776 782

a little epigram or a Chinese symbol of luck and wealth on all my chests as well as my saddles, on the baskets, bags, hammers, on my camera, in fact even on the broomstick which I had bought two days before and on the shovel, in short, on everything I possessed. Even in the rubbish heap there was a special piece of paper for the important god of rubbish. My three horses had red ribbons braided into their manes and wore a piece of wide red cloth on their foreheads; all this was part of the New Year's greeting of my servants. And everyone exchanged wishes of "Fa ts'ai ba! fa ts'ai ba! may you be rich!" 527 777

My New Year's call to the amban was undertaken together with Mr. Ridley, and on this occasion I saw the old gentleman for the first time. As is customary in China, he greeted us in the vestibule and then led us, amid many bows and the most ingratiating smiles, into his guest room. From the moment we arrived he talked incessantly and it was perfectly obvious that he made every effort not to give us a chance to speak. He did not trust us. He was afraid of a complaint which would have lowered him in the eyes of his men. We were scarcely able to give him our New Year's greetings. He avoided any kind of dialogue and kept repeating how sorry he was that I had been attacked in his territory and that the hsie dia did not take better care of me. It was all their fault. He would have our guide severely punished. His soldiers were on their way to fetch my things. (2) And he said if I were going to travel again in his 574

2. As a matter of fact, they did set out three days later for the Koko Nor and brought back all my animals, but unfortunately none of the irreplaceable equipment.

province I should by all means let him know in time so that he could give me a military escort. "I shall give you soldiers to take along. I ding wo ba ni sung. You may depend on it, I shall have you

574 escorted!" he repeated over and over again, not even giving me a chance to ask for it. Then, suddenly interrupting himself, he asked us politely but firmly to drink our tea and because we pretended not to hear him, he repeated his request. There was nothing for it but to take up the tea cup and "Tso-aa!" Departure! cried the doormen at the same instant. Throughout China the invitation to drink one's tea is only an invitation to leave, and if a guest reaches for the teapot which must always be placed beside him when he comes for a visit, then everyone knows that it is time to depart. Within less than five minutes /208/ we again found ourselves in the doorway. In spite of our doubtful reception I was blissful, for what more could I wish than a small escort for my further journeys. At that time I still had confidence in the words of the higher Manchu officials, all of whom had received me well and treated me with friendliness, and I still had the best opinion of the amban, especially because he had returned my New Year's gifts with a large, costly dinner which, however, he had had served to me at my inn. But

[437] this is not an unusual custom in China. In larger cities it is also often customary to make out notes to some restaurant for a dinner of four or eight persons. These notes one may give away to someone else without embarrassment, and it sometimes happens that the tenth man into whose hands the promissory note falls really takes advantage of it, even though he may not know the first man who is actually paying for the dinner.

527 541 788 On the fifth day of the New Year shortly after sunrise the general and all the officers of the city set out to fetch the god of entertainment. A gala sedan chair which bore the written character Si (entertainment) was placed in a temple outside the east gate. In front of this letter, which was more than a meter high, the general and the men accompanying him fell on their knees in the dust of the road and kowtowed three times. Later on, the letter on his sedan chair was brought to the city in solemn procession and then placed in the general's yamen. There it remains throughout the year and is a guarantee that in the coming year there shall be no lack of entertainment and theatrical performances of all kinds in the city.

On the tenth day of the New Year the so-called spring festival was celebrated in Hsining fu. Scarcely was the sun up on that day when all the streets leading to the east gate were crowded with people. The Chinese farmers with their wives and children poured into the city from distant places. All the roofs of the main street were covered with representatives of the fair sex whose faces were

[text continues on p. 384]

*563 or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has
264 his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to an-
other home for dinner.

*563 Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a
feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The for-
574 mal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and
262 ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then
184 given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet
556 cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar
and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather.

[252] Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a
sheep's head boiled in salted water.

*563 c. Clothing

291 Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A
man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the
ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with
[556] sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red
or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty.

No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots
[556] trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go
barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.

The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The
[793] robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not
even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves.

*563 Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a
302 round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate.
The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way
[184] of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in
Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hair-dress which is commonly seen.

/The Tibetans/

3. Social values and customs

*563 a. Virtue

181 Early social values and customs of the Tibetans were derived
577 from their religious code and legal concepts. Their leading forefathers formulated a set of virtues for the laity, which bound them together as a people, and it is said that these virtues are still the basic moral code of the Tibetans.

The sixteen early Tibetan virtues are: "To have faith in 'The Chief Rare Ones' (Kön-chok); to perform religious observances and to study; to honor one's parents; to respect the virtuous; to honor elders as well as those of high birth; to pay heed to relatives and friends; to be useful to one's country; to be honest; to realise the proper use of food and wealth; to follow the examples of those who are good; to show gratitude to benefactors and to return their kindness; to use correct weights and measures; to be free from jealousy and to be at harmony with all; not to listen to the words of women; to be gentle in speech and acquire skill in conversation; to bear sufferings and distress with patience and meekness." (Bell 1928:11.)

*563 b. Etiquette

In Tibetan etiquette, the presentation of a katag may not be
576 made except in the presence of others. The katag is a small
431 rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is
[822] considered the most respectful. The katag of thin raw silk is used at common social occasions, or presented to a living Buddha or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin with designs of a Buddha on it. This type is used solely for an audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or presented to a Buddha image to show reverence.

When one visits relatives or has an audience with a Living
[574] Buddha or high official, the katag is presented first. The recipient will give one in exchange, but perhaps not until the return visit. The manner of presenting the katag varies with rank. For
[554] one of higher rank, such as an elder, t'u-kung or Living Buddha, the giver presents the katag with both hands. The receiver may not receive it personally, however, so the giver places it under the dignitary's chair and backs out. Two persons of equal rank simply hand the katags to each other. A person of high rank grants a katag to a less exalted person, he ties it around his neck. If there are other gifts, they may be placed on the top of a katag.

*563 Strict etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor ap-
574 proaches a tent, he should call loudly to his host (for protection
576 from the dogs). The host appears to greet the guest, and allows the guest to walk before him into the tent. Host or hostess lays a sheepskin or felt on the ground for a seat. The left side of the tent is the honored side. Hostess and women guests occupy the

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643 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted
291 swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red
and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats.
I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Moham-
792 medan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak[1] pretended he
understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came
out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through
infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected
if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also im-
plored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken
a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in
this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised
to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and
to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his
call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path to his home in the
plain 40 kilometers distant.

563 I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He
342 had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen
574 (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me
and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbors. I started
my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached,
the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white bee-
hive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with
low bows, until finally I, as the first person, stumbled through the
wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mon-
gol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the
wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba
decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on
gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class
tschürma, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and
the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly
tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama.
[576] When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed
out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last
to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen.
437 He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was
able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a
[792] priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family
who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I
rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

1 [ie., of Barun. - Analyst]

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586 they are considered man and wife, and the woman then gets a
dowry from her family. If she is no longer satisfied with the union,
she may choose a new spouse at any time. The children who im-
mediately after birth are given some animals from the herd, remain
with the wife. Often the women change husbands so frequently or
837 have so many lovers at once that one is tempted to speak of polyandry
or pangamy.

The town of Barun kurä lies between swamps and in the middle
361 of a scrubby wood. It consists of a few miserable huts, and crumbled
gates of which there is just enough left so that one can see they are
Chinese in style, and chiefly of the dsassak's houses enclosed by an
extensive courtyard. (1) The buildings of the town serve the Barun

1. Rockhill, Diary, p. 165, discovered that the town was built as late as 1846 and was largely destroyed around 1886 at the command of the one-time major domo of the dsassak, Dowe, because the house owners refused to pay taxes to the dsassak.

chiefly as storage places for everything which they cannot take along
on their frequent journeys. Among the permanent residents, there
are only a lot of old women as well as old men who no longer care
to live with their families, besides Chinese merchants who are in
debt, and orphans who have been forgotten by their parents.

643 We lived in a tent in the dsassak's court. After we had set up
342 our tent and got settled, we were invited to have tea in the dsassak's
574 reception room. This was a low room measuring three by four
meters. The dsassak sat down on a thick cushion on the rear wall,
while at his right sat an elderly lama from the Gum bum lamasery,
a Mongol from East Mongolia, who was the priest of the house. The
rest of us sat in a circle around the coal brazier which stood in the
middle of the room. I was seated alongside the lama. To the left
of the dsassak sat his brother who was also a lamaistic priest, beside
him sat the wife of the dsassak, and farther down, near the door, my
companions and the prince's retinue. The room was more than
simple. The walls, like those of all the houses of the village, con-
sisted of stamped loess-loam and dried bricks, and the furnishings
consisted of a few cupboards of the most slovenly kind of Chinese
workmanship and dirty, pulo-canvas-covered pillows that served
as seats. The room was lighted by the door opening and a small
latticed opening without a paper window, high up on the wall.

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After I had had my presents handed over, the conversation turned to 643
European weapons and the dsassak who already had a number of Russian 574
and English repeater guns, made every effort to buy some of my
weapons. When I showed no inclination to comply with his wishes,
the atmosphere became strained and I hurried to take my leave. /350/

The Barun dsassak (Plate LXXV), like all Dam Mongols, cannot 252
be relied upon. The flour for which I had paid him up in the Wulasetä
Valley, was still not ground when I came to Barun kurä, and I was
obliged to wait two days before I could get it. It was ground in hand-
mills by old women and widows.

There were a great many beggars and cripples loafing about in 735
the dsassak's courtyard. They mumbled their Om mani padme hung
and plucked at their rosaries without ceasing. There were people 644
coming and going all the time who paid tribute to the dsassak, and
my companions were always amazed at how obsequious the Mongols
were toward their ruler. Whereas the tent Tibetan shows very little
respect toward his chieftain, the ordinary Mongol is bound by strict
etiquette. He may never sit down with crossed legs before his prince,
he must bend his right knee and remain in a half squatting, half
kneeling position. If he is not invited to sit down he remains stand-
ing with his legs together. He must take his sword in his left hand
and may not leave it sticking diagonally in his belt as he usually does.

The Mongol princes have incomparably greater prestige than the 643
chieftains of the Tibetan nomads. I have already spoken of the
princes' right of preemption. Besides that, the dsassak owns his en-
tire country, he annually apportions the pastures and also the arable [423]
land among his subjects and for this he receives his tithe in the form
of animals and grain. Moreover, he demands several days of [651]
gratuitous service from each family, which the wealthier ones may
pay off in the form of added taxes. On his part he feels himself re- [792]
sponsible only toward the priests, he always supports a few lamas and
gives large gifts to the monasteries. In many things he is the only
source of supply for his subjects. He had large supplies stored in his
warehouses in Barunkurä. In them I saw pulo from Shigatse, lamb-
skins from Lhasa, Nepalese amulet boxes, peacock feathers from
India, saffron from Kashmir, Indian dates and cocoanut, Tibetan stag-
antlers and pouches of musk, as well as American cotton materials,
boots from Dankar, tea and the many little things with which the
Chinese furnish the nomads of the highlands.

While I was staying there a huge felt yurt was erected in the court- 792
yard of the dsassak, measuring 10 meters in diameter. The tribal 346

575

575 SODALITIES--prevalence of clubs, fraternities, and comparable voluntary associations; types (e.g., lodges, secret societies, men's clubs, women's clubs); organization, characteristics, and activities of each type (e.g., inter-sodality relationships; origin accounts, paraphernalia, etc.); selection of members; initiation; meetings; special rituals; etc. See also:

Medicine societies	78	Age-grades	561
Clubhouses	345	Military societies	701
Mutual-benefit societies	456	Veterans' organizations	729
Craft guilds and labor unions	467	Cult groups	794
Athletic clubs	529	Initiation at puberty	881

collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Furthermore, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.). It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

4. Religious organizations

Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, especially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tao Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

C. Centers of Resistance Abroad

It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a centralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

pictures on the walls, in practically every district city throughout China (of which there are nearly 2000) evidences the excellence of the principles governing the administration of the country. In the middle schools English, the official "foreign" language, is taught. Unfortunately in too many cases the local school does little more than represent the principle of education. The Chinese have a well-known saying *Yu Ming Wu Shih*, which means "theory without practice"; this saying holds good of most things in China, especially those connected with the Government of the country.

The magistrate of Shang Chou at the time of our visit was rather a remarkable character, and a "Ta Ko" (lodge-master) in the notorious secret society called the Ko Lao Hui. It is improbable that any foreigner knows much about the secrets, the history, doings, and aims of the Ko Lao Hui, but during and since the Revolution it has been the great power in Western China, particularly in Shensi and Szechuan. Originally anti-dynastic, it worked very much in the dark in the days of the Manchus, and for a magistrate then to have been a member would have been an unheard-of scandal. With the overthrow of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui came out more into the open. The revolution in the West was largely their work, and the bands of the T'ung Chih Hui who rose in Szechuan against Chao Erh-feng in August 1911, and whose rising brought about the military revolt at Hankow which ultimately swept away the Manchu Dynasty, were Ko Lao Hui partisans under another name. On the coast the revolution was to a large extent a matter of hoisting republican flags, and whole provinces joined the republican cause with their Generals and Governors at their heads. In the West, thanks to the Ko Lao Hui, the revolution was a real rising of the people, led by some of their least desirable representatives, against their rulers, and was accompanied by much more bloodshed, including the terrible massacre of the Manchus at Hsian Fu.

After the fall of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui reckoned Yuan Shih-k'ai as their chief enemy, and perhaps this was not the least of the latter's many admirable qualities. After his death their power and influence rose almost unchallenged, and at present they are in many parts an absolute curse to

575 635 579 the more respectable inhabitants. At the time of writing nearly all the soldiers and brigands in Shensi, as well as many civil and military officials, and in certain districts a high proportion of the entire adult male population, are members, and the administration of the province is largely in their hands. There may be some good in the Ko Lao Hui, but the writer, who has seen their pernicious influence at work throughout Szechuan, Shensi, and parts of Kansu, has never heard of it. To the ordinary observer the society appears to exist for the purpose of practising blackmail and terrorism, and securing mutual protection in the commission of every variety of crime. Amongst its members are special bands expert in gambling, kidnapping, piracy, highway robbery, and similar pursuits. Others join merely in order to secure immunity from the depredations of
[627] more active members. Offences against the rules of the society[1] are drastically dealt with by punishments such as death, mutilation, gouging out of eyes, etc., carried into effect by members specially told off for that purpose; while should these avenging angels fall by some mischance into the grips of the law, the society will see to it that they do not come to any harm and are well supplied with wine and opium while in prison. The Ko Lao Hui has many aliases, Chiang Hu Hui, Hu Kuo Chun, etc., and they are brigands one day, patriot rebels the next, regular soldiers the next, and so on. One of the first reforms to be carried into effect by a strong administration in Western China is to extirpate them root and branch, as the Manchus were always endeavouring to do.

487 133 The next stage in our journey southwards to the Han valley was the district city of Shanyang, distant 140 li, two days' march. The trail leaves the valley of the Tan Chiang and strikes into the mountains to the south. For half a day we marched up a winding gorge, and then crossing three sandstone ridges one after the other, the highest about 4000 feet, descended to the market village of Heishan Chieh, 70 li from Shang Chou, where we halted for the night. The mountains in this neighbourhood are most intricate, with streams flowing in all directions, but the general feature seems to be a series of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. The scenery is very agreeable, red sandy

1 [Ko Lao Hui secret society--ANALYST]

133 487 Ch'inling Shan; above the loess bluff on the right hand, however, the undulating uplands stretch northwards to beyond Fenghsiang Fu till they meet the Ch'ishan range; west of Paochi these latter mountains converge on to the Ch'inling Shan, and bring the loess plains of the Wei basin altogether to an end, in much the same way as the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain ends beyond Mien Hsien.

[361] [348] [575] Paochi, a first class district city, lies on rising ground behind the Wei River with its northern wall climbing the loess bluff. It is quite a big place and evidently handles a considerable trade with Szechuan and Kansu. The inhabitants have the reputation of being turbulent and the Ko Lao Hui is very strong in the neighbourhood.

231 The western districts of Central Shensi through which we had been passing are the breeding grounds for the mules for which Shensi is famous, and which are exported in considerable quantities to the eastern provinces. At the time of our passage the wheat harvest was just over and the fields were being ploughed for the next crop. The endless plains of loess were everywhere dotted with ploughing teams consisting of mules and pony mares, the latter in almost every instance being followed by a mule foal. These Shensi and Kansu mules are the best in China, probably in the world. Fine upstanding animals, they carry loads of over 200 Chinese pounds (say 300 English pounds), travelling stages of 20 miles or more per day for weeks and months on end; the Szechuan and Yunnan mules, though good animals too, carry less than half as much. The secret of mule management in Shensi and Kansu is the feeding, and they are given an enormous amount of grain, which they spend most of the night in eating; a midday feed is not considered necessary, or even advisable, except on a very long march. The jack donkeys by which these fine mules are bred are large upstanding animals, the size of a pony, and very different from the ordinary pack-carrying donkey of North China.

133 487 [485] From Paochi to Feng Hsien is a distance of 210 li and includes the passage of the Ch'inling Shan. There are numerous inns *en route*, so that it can be divided into two, three, or more stages as the traveller prefers. Leaving Paochi the Wei River, at high water several hundred yards

276 conditions unspeakably wretched, they yet cared not at all, for they had temporarily banished reality, and moved among elusive shadows, until the sentinel grey dawn should recall them to the grim world of Fact.

735 The largest city through which we passed was Pingliang. On the steps of a temple outside the city gate, we saw a motley crew of several hundred beggars basking in the midday sunshine. They displayed such a variety of physical ills, and provided such an exhibition of tatterdemalion garments, as to make one question how existence under such conditions could be endured. Nor can the life of a Kansu beggar hold any sense of security or hope of alleviation. All too familiar is the sight, on a winter's morning, of the naked corpse of a man, woman or child, frozen to death on the side path; and there is no one to remove the corpse, unless it be the tradesman, under whose frontage he
735 575 sought shelter and died. The gathering which we witnessed at Pingliang was an assembly of the Beggars' Trade(less) Union, when they collect an enforced contribution from each business house in the town—a tax which none dared refuse, since their appointed Head controlled a band of defenders, who were ready to deal summarily with any shopkeeper who might offer a blow in lieu of the dole. The police were helpless in face of this Corporation; and thus the beggar asserted his right to live.

797 For an hour our litters threaded their way through the crowded streets before we reached the Mission Compound, where we were the guests of a Swedish missionary and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Törnvall. Our hearts warmed with admiration for the unassuming man, on whose face long suffering had left indelible marks. With him we visited the spacious buildings of

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576 ETIQUETTE--greetings and salutations; obeisances; compliments; concept of courtesy; general patterns of etiquette in eating, drinking, smoking, visiting, and travel; deference to status superiors; noblesse oblige; breaches of etiquette and the resulting social sanctions; etc. See also:

Drinking etiquette	27	Intentional impoliteness	578
Patterned behavior toward kinsmen	60	Informal social control	626
Sexual etiquette	83	Court etiquette	644
Table manners	264	Diplomacy	648
Postures	516	Propitiation	785
Polite conversation	521	Religious ritual	788
Sportsmanship	536	Training of children in etiquette	867
Chivalry	562	Treatment of the aged	888

/Chinghai Tibetans/

19 *563 that of the nomadic Tibetans (drok-skad "steppe speech").

3) All reports agree that the sedentary Tibetans and the nomadic Tibetans have no difficulties in understanding and conversing with each other.

4) According to Prževalski the pronunciation of the Chinghai Tibetans (he calls them Tanguts) is somewhat like Lhasa-Tibetan, i. e. the initial clusters of consonants become either single stops, affricates or sibilants, e. g. dkrigs-pa "dark, dim" becomes tig-pa; bkrabs-pa "selected" becomes tab-pa; glang-chen "elephant" becomes lang-chen; sgyug-mo "mother-in-law" becomes jug-mo; mgo "head" becomes go. Furthermore, the final consonants are either completely omitted or they change the pronunciation of the preceeding vowels, e. g. las "business, enterprise" is pronounced like lai or la; lus "body" is pronounced like lui or lu; chos "religion" is pronounced as choi or cho. The same is true for other final consonants of stems ending in -g and -d.

5) According to Ekvall some nomadic Tibetans have preserved the pronunciation of those clusters of consonants (prefixes) at the beginning of words, although the method of pronunciation seems to be hard to describe. Ekvall says: "One or two of the variations of the nomadic dialect that I have heard have preserved most of the value of the prefixed and super-added consonants. The pronunciation of such combinations as brgy- is a remarkable performance. But the mean of nomad usage has been content to indicate the presence of these prefixed and superadded consonants by half-pronounced consonants, or by variations of breathing, etc., preceding the main initial consonant. Most, if not all, of the final consonants are pronounced at least partially, but the use of tones unobtrusive and the three vowels, i, u, and a have all become centralized until there is very little difference." Ekvall: 1939, 67.

6) The main difference between the two dialects, the sedentary rong-skad and the nomadic drok-skad, seems to be that the first one lost all final consonants with the exception of -n and -ng, while the latter one has preserved all of them with the exception of -s.

7) Besides these two, there are other Tibetan dialects spoken in the Chinghai area, namely Ngolok and Tebu, which are completely unexplored. It is believed that these are an archaic Tibetan, since especially the Ngoloks have kept apart from other Tibetans.

[212] Literacy is not a rare phenomenon. Thousands of Tibetans live in monasteries where they learn the Tibetan written language. Exact figures concerning illiteracy are unknown.

19 •576 *563 [127] The following examples are taken from K. Futterer's, W Filchner's and A. Tafel's travel books which present a few greeting formulas in Chinghai Tibetan as it is pronounced especially in the area between Kokonor Tossun-nor and the

19 •576 *563 [127] Amne-machin mountain range.

Written Tibetan	Chinghai dialect
nang-mo-bde-legs "good morning"	Tafel: nang-mo-de-leg; Futterer: nañ-mo-de-le
t'ugs-rje-ch'e "thank you"	Tafel: t'ür-je-ch'e; Futterer: t'ug-je-ch'e
k'yod-lam-na-bde-bar skyod-chig "happy continuation of your trip"	Tafel: k'yö-lam-na-de-bår-työ-chig

194 *563 As far as the pronunciation of skyod goes it varies from tyod, tchod, ktchod, työ, tchö, to ktchö. Unfortunately there is almost no material available on the phonetics of the Chinghai dialect. The only attempt to deal with this matter has been made by Uray Geza who says, in his Kelet-Tibet-Nyelvjárásainak Osztályozása (Dissertationes sodalium instituti Asiae interioris, Budapestini, 1949), that the Tibetan stems beginning with the clusters py- became sh- and the clusters kr-, dr- and pr- always become ch-, e. g. s-phan "eye" is pronounced like shan, x-dre "devil" is pronounced like che, d-krig-s-pa "dark" is pronounced like chig-pa, s-sprang-po "beggar" is pronounced like chang-po.

191 *563 The sedentary Tibetans very often speak Chinese as a second language, but the nomadic Tibetans rarely speak any other language than their native tongue, although some may understand Mongolian, since they nomadize in neighboring areas.

*668 212 177 [191] The Communist government is promoting literacy by publishing political pamphlets and elementary schoolbooks in written Tibetan. There is no doubt that the younger generation will become literate to a high degree. They also may become bilingual since Chinese is an obligaroty language for all minorities.

IV. Chinese Dialects in the Northwest

19 A preliminary linguistic survey has been made only within the territory of Shensi and Kansu in the northwestern part of China. There is fairly good material on the phonological structure of the dialects of the fifty districts in Shensi and two in Kansu. These Chinese dialects belong to the northwestern branch of the Mandarin dialect. They exhibit the phonological features of the Mandarin dialect, such as the complete loss of the final stops -p, -t, -k or -ʔ. Usually they have only four tones: in-p'ing, ang-p'ing, shang, and ch'ü. The words which originally had the u-sheng tone have been redistributed into the other tones.

The dialects in this area are marked by the following phonological characteristics:

1) Existence of initial ŋ- and ŋ-.

2) Disappearance of the diphthong -ai.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

/The Tibetans/

3. Social values and customs

*563 a. Virtue

181 Early social values and customs of the Tibetans were derived
577 from their religious code and legal concepts. Their leading forefathers formulated a set of virtues for the laity, which bound them together as a people, and it is said that these virtues are still the basic moral code of the Tibetans.

The sixteen early Tibetan virtues are: "To have faith in 'The Chief Rare Ones' (Kön-chok); to perform religious observances and to study; to honor one's parents; to respect the virtuous; to honor elders as well as those of high birth; to pay heed to relatives and friends; to be useful to one's country; to be honest; to realise the proper use of food and wealth; to follow the examples of those who are good; to show gratitude to benefactors and to return their kindness; to use correct weights and measures; to be free from jealousy and to be at harmony with all; not to listen to the words of women; to be gentle in speech and acquire skill in conversation; to bear sufferings and distress with patience and meekness." (Bell 1928:11.)

*563 b. Etiquette

576 In Tibetan etiquette, the presentation of a katag may not be
431 made except in the presence of others. The katag is a small rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is
[822] considered the most respectful. The katag of thin raw silk is used at common social occasions, or presented to a living Buddha or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin with designs of a Buddha on it. This type is used solely for an audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or presented to a Buddha image to show reverence.

When one visits relatives or has an audience with a Living
[574] Buddha or high official, the katag is presented first. The recipient will give one in exchange, but perhaps not until the return visit. The manner of presenting the katag varies with rank. For
[554] one of higher rank, such as an elder, t'u-kung or Living Buddha, the giver presents the katag with both hands. The receiver may not receive it personally, however, so the giver places it under the dignitary's chair and backs out. Two persons of equal rank simply hand the katags to each other. A person of high rank grants a katag to a less exalted person, he ties it around his neck. If there are other gifts, they may be placed on the top of a katag.

*563 Strict etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor ap-
574 proaches a tent, he should call loudly to his host (for protection
576 from the dogs). The host appears to greet the guest, and allows the guest to walk before him into the tent. Host or hostess lays a sheepskin or felt on the ground for a seat. The left side of the tent is the honored side. Hostess and women guests occupy the

/The Tibetans/

right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door. After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter. The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

to factories, rural villages, areas along the railways and in the minority districts. Among them, 45 literary and art workers in Sian formed twelve creative writing teams and proceeded to factories, rural villages, areas along the Tienshui-Lanchow railway cities.

2. Propaganda missions by minority representatives

a. To minority areas

There was another form of propaganda team which included well-known local leaders as members, with one of them as the head of the group. They were sent to a particular area to win over its minority groups. For instance, in June, 1952, the Northwest Military Administrative Committee sent out two propaganda missions from Sian, one to the Tibetan districts in southern Kansu and the other to pastoral districts in southern Chinghai. Each of these two divided again into two sub-groups. The first sub-group of the mission to the pastoral districts in southern Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-tso (Tibetan), visited the Mongolian banners and Chien-cha districts; the second sub-group, led by Hsia-jih-tsang, the Tibetan Living Buddha of Tung-jen hsien, Chinghai, visited Tung-teh and Tung-jen. The first and second sub-groups of the mission to the Tibetan districts in Kansu arrived at Hsia-ho and Lin-tan on July 17 and 20 respectively. The first sub-group led by Chief Huang Cheng-ch'ing (Tibetan) and Deputy Chiefs, Chu Hsia-fu, Ma Pei-ching (Moslem) and Huang hsiang, offered gifts to Labrang Monastery and its Living Buddha, Chia-mu-yang VI, on July 24. The visiting mission's welcome by the Tibetans, who had awaited the mission along the Mien-hsien-Hsia-ho highway, included the most solemn welcome ceremony of salutes fired from horseback and the presentation of katags. Abbot Tachi of Labrang Monastery and the leader of the mosque, Kung Ching-lu, were also present to welcome the mission at the outskirt of Labrang. Similar organizations were formed on other occasions.

b. To Peking, etc.

Besides organizing and sending propaganda teams to the minority groups, the local minority people were also organized and transported inland, especially to the Red capital, Peking, for short visits. There they were exposed to systematic propaganda. They might come to attend meetings, to give performances, to receive training and education, or simply to have a sightseeing tour. The following are some examples.

"The preparatory meeting of the Chinese Moslem Association was held in Peking on July 27-31. The meeting was initiated and convened by eight well-known Moslems among minority nationalities: Burhan, Liu Ko-ping, Saifudin, Ta Pu-cheng, Ma Chien, Pang Shih-ch'ien, Yang Ching-jen and Ma Yu-huai. The meeting was attended by 53 delegates from all parts of China. Among them were Akhuns, Mullah and responsible people of the Moslem groups

As we rode into this little place,[1] cold, tired, and generally rather miserable, the entire visible population fell on their faces, since republican principles had not yet penetrated to this out-of-the-way spot, and they thought they were prostrating themselves before an "Imperial Mission." The headman had, however, prepared the best of the mud cabins for our accommodation, and we were soon warm and dry again, and engaged in disposing of some of the cock pheasants picked up *en route*.

A few li beyond Tachuangtzu the trail drops over the edge of the plateau to reach the considerable village of Ch'enchiachi, lying in a flat cultivated valley sloping north and surrounded by grassy mountains. We halted here for the night owing to the rain, only having made ten li; quite good accommodation was secured in a farm house, but it was miserably cold. From here the road runs westwards across rolling grass country intersected by shallow cultivated valleys sloping north with sheep and cattle grazing on the hill slopes. This curious grass-covered plateau, the presence of which is entirely unexpected in a region of steep mountains, appears to be the westernmost end of the Ch'inling Shan, a range which we had come to know so well in the course of our journeys. After about three hours' march there is a slight rise to a pass, and then a precipitous drop for ten li to reach a village called Panchi Chuang, lying in a narrow valley. Another two hours' march down this valley brings one to the large walled village of Lich'uan, 60 li from Ch'enchiachi and 70 li from Min Chou. Here the stream flows south towards Szechuan and one is again on the southern side of the watershed.

From Lich'uan the track runs N.W. up a side valley ending in a grassy pass. For the next five li or so it keeps to the top of the mountain, whence there are truly magnificent views over the rocky snow-patched Min Shan to the south-west, and then descends steeply through a ravine to the valley of the T'ao River. Two tributary torrents are forded before the city of Min Chou is reached. Being now again in the valley of the T'ao we were once more on the northern side of the Yangtzu-Yellow River watershed. Since leaving Ch'in Chou a few days previously we had crossed this divide no less than six times, which is sufficient

1 [the hamlet of Tachuangtzu -- Analyst]

treated with every courtesy. The Mahomedans of Kansu still consider themselves to a certain extent as foreigners sojourning in a strange land, and greet travellers from the west as fellow-wanderers.

From New T'ao Chou to Choni, a march of 30 li, the track runs south-west over a low pass in the red clay hills, crosses a valley trending south, ascends another low pass, and descends through a grassy ravine to the T'ao River. Choni, the residence of a T'ussu, or native chief, ruling several Tibetan tribes in the neighbourhood, is a picturesque little place, a walled village built round the chief's residence on the banks of the T'ao, and overlooked by a lamasery containing some 500 monks. We were received by the usual cannon shots (an old-fashioned Chinese custom still surviving in most parts of Kansu which is terrifying to one's pony unless accustomed to it) and really sumptuously lodged in the chief's residence. The Choni T'ussu is by far the most important native chief in Kansu and exercises jurisdiction over an extensive territory. Some of his tribes, especially those living to the south of the Min Shan, are turbulent and not easy to control. The chief is under the authority of the Governor at Lanchou, but unlike his colleagues in Szechuan west of Tachienlu, he retains his power unimpaired over his Tibetans. On the east his jurisdiction is bounded by Chinese territory; on the west it fades away amongst the lawless nomads of the grasslands. His authority, like that of most native chiefs in China, extends rather over tribes and families than fixed territory, and its limits are therefore vague.

The T'ao River is here the dividing line between Tibetans and Chinese (Mahomedans), the forest-clad mountains to the south being inhabited by the former, and red hills to the north by the latter. There is good big game shooting to be had in these forests, wapiti, sheep, goral, serow, bear, etc. The elevation of the valley seems to be about 8000 feet at Choni.

Leaving Choni the road runs up the beautiful T'ao valley for about ten li, and then turns north-west up a small ravine leading to an easy pass. From here it runs along the top of the mountain for a few li, descends into a valley, crosses another low pass, and drops down to Old T'ao Chou, 45 li from Choni.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

hsien (Plate XXXVI) turned out to be an admirable cheat in drinking. 000
He constantly drank to the health of others, but, cautious man and diplomat that he was, he never touched a drop himself. It was interesting to watch the sophisticated way in which this Hupeh Chinese practiced his art. Once when I invited him to an affair I was giving in a temple (1) he bribed my servants not to fill his cup

1. In the temple in honor of the notorious Tung fu hsiang, which the grateful city built in 1899 in his honor, for its liberation from the Dungan, and in which incense was burned for him even during his lifetime. The temple was the most beautiful in the city, for it was still new. But since Hsining condones the widespread Chinese custom of donating an entirely new temple rather than providing annual sums for repairs, this new building will probably stand in ruins in another few decades, just like the other temples of the city.

but only to simulate the act of pouring whiskey into the little porcelain bowls out of which the Chinese drink.

Since I was the only person who took photographs in Hsining I 562
was also kept busy at this time taking pictures of the officials, their 576
wives and daughters. Day after day I was asked to do this. In the process the wives were treated like commodities, albeit precious ones. In my presence husbands and fathers never addressed their wives and daughters, nor was I, of course, permitted to address the women in the presence of their husbands. Among the Hsining and Dankar Chinese it is even regarded as improper if the man speaks to his brothers' wives. The brother-in-law must treat their sisters- 587
in-law like air, even when the family property is shared and they 607
all live together in one household. (2) On the other hand, it is

2. Even in the oldest classical moral teachings it is said that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law must not touch each other. If the brother-in-law must give his sister-in-law something, as for instance money, he places it on the floor or the table in front of her.

customary, especially among Mohammedans, that if a brother dies, the next eldest of the family takes over the widow as his wife; he "inherits" her as it were, for she has cost the family cold cash.

643 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted
291 swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats. I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Moham-
783 medan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak[1] pretended he understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also implored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the plain 40 kilometers distant.

563 I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He
342 had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen
574 (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbors. I started my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached, the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white beehive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with low bows, until finally I, as the first person, stumbled through the wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mongol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class tschürra, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama.
[576] When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen.
437 He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a
[792] priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

[1][i.e., of Barun.-Analyst]

000 to the dogs and the vultures and you will be eternally damned." - "We do not know what happens after death. The ahun says one thing and the lama says something else. I can make a good living here now. If I return to China, I shall be able to enjoy meat only as ts'ai - as a supplementary dish - whereas here it has become a chief article of my diet. Besides, I have to pay good money for the little meat and flour I get in China, and obtain the money by working hard for it. Here I do not need any money," argued the pseudo-Mongol.

My servant Han accomplished nothing. The next morning the relationship between the two brothers was so strained that it seemed to me high time for them to part.

264 When the flour was finally ground and while I was taking my
576 leave of the dsassak, I was invited to enter the reception room for a final drink of schnapps. A remarkably dark-skinned bondsman, a young Tibetan from the region south of Lhasa, entered with a stone-ware jug. He bent his right knee and bowed low before me, and with the ring finger of my right hand I had to touch a bit of butter that was stuck to the edge of the jug and to the stopper which consisted of a piece of wood. I had to smear a little of this butter on my forehead while the young chap held the thumb of his right hand against my forehead. After he had bowed before me, the young man made his bow in front of the dsassak, the wife of the dsassak, the lama (1) and finally in front of the small son, offering each of

[792] 1. Geslong lamas from the Galdan lamasery near Lhasa are always sent to the banner leaders of the Dam Mongols for a period of three years to act as high priests, advisers and shepherds of souls, so to speak. Their chief duty is to lead the ceremony for the dead.

them in turn the closed ewer with the little ball of butter, whereupon each person took some of the butter with his ring-finger and murmured some prayers. Only after he had gone around the circle was the flask opened and some of its contents poured into a cup. Again, a piece of butter adhered to the cup and again the servant handed each one the cup and each person made a libation into all four directions with his fourth finger. Only after that was each person, with the exception of the lama, given some of the schnapps.

576 After that, in accordance with the custom of the country, I delivered a long panegyric on the hospitality of the dsassak who replied

by means of his interpreter with a seemingly never-ending hymn of praise about me, about foreigners and about all the subjects of the "white emperor." (2) When I departed I gave him some letters ad- 576

2. With this he meant the czar; he thought all Europeans were Russians or Englishmen.

dressed to Germany which he was supposed to deliver into the hands of the secretary of the Hsining amban when he journeyed to Tsaghan Tsch'eng for the universal kowtow before the god of the Koko Nor. Then we rode off and by the time it was dark we had returned to our base camp up in the Wulasetă Valley.

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had become important gentlemen here. T [609]

We had a wing of one of the sprawling stone houses at our disposal. 342
Through a covered gateway with a heavy folding door one entered a small courtyard that was surrounded on all sides by houses. The owner of the entire property lived in a four-story tower building which stood in the northwest corner. Three larger groups and several sub-lessees lived in the north and east wings, next to or above one another. On the south side there was a one-story stable with a ladder leading up from the courtyard to a flat roof; and from this flat roof, up three steps, I reached the west-wing apartment which I was able to rent for myself and my men. My kitchen was at the same time a vestibule onto which the four small rooms opened.

Scarcely had we stored away packs and saddles when an old woman T 272 609
with two children in her arms climbed up the steps to my rooms with a bag full of dung, lit a fire and brewed tea. She had been sent by the be hu and, like all Kamba women, was very efficient in dealing with the diamtung, the wooden pipe about 60 centimeters long and 8 centimeters in diameter, into which the hot, brown tea concoction mixed with milk, butter and salt, is poured, and in producing a tasty and extremely nourishing mixture by carefully pounding it with a pestle in this vessel which resembled an old butter churn. Close behind the old woman came two men of advanced age. They bowed from the waist and stuck out their tongues in greeting, holding a small khadar out to me. They wore the customary K'am shoes with high, soft, red tops, and were wrapped in greasy, frayed fur coats; their hair was long and tangled and their whole appearance unkempt. They were two of the local dignitaries (Plate XXII), who inquired about my journey in a warm, friendly fashion. They promised me peace and friendship for the duration of my stay. They had hardly left /140/ C 441
when I was welcomed by six Schen si Chinese, merchants who were here in connection with the musk trade. We greeted each other like 576
countrymen, like Europeans, who were meeting in the depths of China. They spoke with utmost scorn of the wild, stupid barbarians among whom fate had led us, and were anxious to hear something of the outer world, of China, of Hsining down to the cultural city of Peking and Shanghai. They stayed about two hours and we pledged each other mutual aid in case of necessity. For their visit all six wore their little black Chinese caps with the red string button on top and had taken their long blue cotton clothes out of their chests for the occasion. And C 576
they had not come empty-handed. They had sent ahead their red visiting cards, and after the greetings and introductions each of them

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C 576 handed me a little packet of sugar from Yünnan. Most of them were intelligent and not narrow-minded and they had gone through a great deal. Thus our conversation was very stimulating, and it had grown dark when they set out for home. I stepped out on the roof terrace
T 782 outside my apartment and saw, in the moonlight, here and there a column of smoke rising straight to heaven; a glimmering, fragrant burnt offering for the gods smouldered on the roof altars. But the network of narrow streets that led down the side of the mountain were all empty and there was no bright light to be seen. From the monastery yonder on the mountain the melancholy sound of trumpets sounded through the valley. I soon heard the sounds of evening devotions of the peasants coming from the neighboring houses: bass voices mixed with sonorous women's voices, now forte, now piano and softly fading away. There was a deeply religious and at the same time melancholy mood everywhere. - After their devotions the citizens of Dscherku ndo soon go to bed. They get up with the sun and begin their day by lighting resinous juniper twigs in their little incense stoves.

T 361 The village or the "city" of Dscherku ndo (Tibetan: Gye rgu ndo) is a main stopping place on the large caravan road leading from Ta tsien lu in a northerly curve toward the west into the Tibetan ecclesiastical state Lhasa. A few days' journey before it reaches its destination it passes through regions that will have nothing to do with the Lhasa government. Every day I saw traffic on this road consisting of
T 439 441 large yak herds that had brought from the east Chinese tea, sugar, rice, silk, cotton goods, aniline dyes and all kinds of smaller Chinese wares such as porcelain bowls, cooking utensils, etc. (1) Many of

1. The total amount of trade from the east is about 550,000 marks annually, more than two-thirds of which is in tea. I found that there were three different kinds of tea, but they did not differ much in price because of transportation costs. Each half yak load (40 catties) was pressed and sewed into a piece of raw yak hide. The total amount of tea that was daily carried through Dscherku ndo during my visit I estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 kilograms, requiring 70 to 80 oxen. I was told that trade with Sechwan was very slack because of the war near Li tang. There was only a small amount of Sechwan rice that had arrived and cost 19 to 20 rupies per half load (40 catties), while the same amount of Kan tschou rice, which is brought from Kansu by way of Hsining, cost

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577

577 ETHICS--abstract ethical ideals (e.g., truth, righteousness, justice); ideals of individual virtue (e.g., honesty, loyalty, industry, courage, temperance, tolerance, filial piety); notions of right and wrong; conception of conscience and character; incidence and causes of, and attitudes toward breaches of ethics (e.g., lying, cowardice, flouting of kinship obligations); conflicts between ideal values and practical considerations; etc. See also:

Personality	15	Punishment of social offenses	689
Law	67	Military virtues	703
Ethos	181	Professional ethics	693, 759
Industry and sloth	461	Philosophical systems of ethics	812
Esthetic ideals	517	Ethnopsychological concepts of character	828
Organized vice	548	Chastity	831
Informal social control	626	Sexual modesty	834
Civic virtues	641	Inculcation of ethics	867
Crime and sin	673		

S N 563 668 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization
233 are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

S N 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

S N [668] Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

S N VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances
S N 563 153 577 the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

S N 563 153 779 155 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

/The Tibetans/

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576 made except in the presence of others. The katag is a small
431 rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is
[822] considered the most respectful. The katag of thin raw silk is used at common social occasions, or presented to a living Buddha or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin with designs of a Buddha on it. This type is used solely for an audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or presented to a Buddha image to show reverence.

When one visits relatives or has an audience with a Living
[574] Buddha or high official, the katag is presented first. The recipient will give one in exchange, but perhaps not until the return visit. The manner of presenting the katag varies with rank. For
[554] one of higher rank, such as an elder, t'u-kung or Living Buddha, the giver presents the katag with both hands. The receiver may not receive it personally, however, so the giver places it under the dignitary's chair and backs out. Two persons of equal rank simply hand the katags to each other. A person of high rank grants a katag to a less exalted person, he ties it around his neck. If there are other gifts, they may be placed on the top of a katag.

*563 Strict etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor ap-
574 proaches a tent, he should call loudly to his host (for protection
576 from the dogs). The host appears to greet the guest, and allows the guest to walk before him into the tent. Host or hostess lays a sheepskin or felt on the ground for a seat. The left side of the tent is the honored side. Hostess and women guests occupy the

873 strongholds of the movement for the remolding of ideology with-
*668 in the party (Cheng-feng Movement). Training of cadres was its
177 main purpose. (G. Stein, The Challenge of Red China, 1945, 260-67)

Attached to the Anti-Japanese University at Yenan was the College of Nationalities to train youths of racial minorities from Inner Mongolia and the Northwest to be Communist cadres.

871 III. The Communist Period

*668 A. Chinese Education in the Northwest

177 1. The general trend of changes

After the Communist take-over the educational system was initially left more or less untouched. Teachers and students, however, were constantly mobilized to participate in the movements led by the government and the party. This additional political activity meant not only an interruption of the regular educational program, but also an amount of overwork detrimental to the health of the students. [Hsüeh-hsi, Vol. 4, No. 11, (1951, September 16), p. 37, and 1952 Jen-min Shou-ts'e, p. 449. The latter quoted the resolution of the State Council on July 13, 1951, concerning the health condition of the students.]

Even after it was realized that this state of affairs conflicted with the purposes of education, it was never entirely remedied. As late as 1956, complaints were heard about the constant political interference in academic work.

By a resolution at the ninety-seventh meeting of the State Council on August 10, 1951, the old system of education was remolded (See General Handbook, Education). Within the new system much emphasis was given to Leisure Time and Short Course Schools on the primary and secondary levels for older students and adults. This program, however, has in the meantime come under heavy criticism, as it did not achieve its aims and absorbed the time of workers and peasants needed in production.

One significant aspect of the new system is that graduates of higher educational institutions do not have a free choice of professions, but are placed by the government wherever it deems fit. In fact, it is one part of the gigantic program of slave labor.
877 The tendency of students, condoned and incited by the Commun-
• 577 ists in pre-Communist times, to behave in a "revolutionary"
way has recently been curbed by a set of strict disciplinary
*668 rules, which have been called "New Confucianism" by one
177 writer:

Basic Rules for the Middle School Student. (Promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.)

1. Study diligently to make yourself strong in health, in class work and in character. Be ready to serve the fatherland

877 and the people.

577 2. Honor the national flag. Love warmly your fatherland and
*668 the people's leader.

177 3. Obey the school rules, follow the instruction and guidance of the principal and the teachers.

4. Arrive at school on time. Attend classes on time. Never be tardy, nor leave early, nor be absent without a good reason.

5. Bring all necessary books and supplies to school every day. Have ready all necessary articles for each class.

6. Sit straight and square at classes, concentrate on listening to the lecture. Never talk freely or do anything on your own. Never enter or leave the classroom without permission of the teacher.

7. To answer the teacher's question you must stand up. Only when you have the teacher's permission may you sit down. To ask the teacher a question you must first raise your hand.

8. Review diligently, and finish on time all home work.

9. Respect the principal and teacher. When the class starts you must stand up to show your respect to the teacher. Do the same thing when the class is dismissed. When you meet the principal or the teacher outside the school you must salute him.

10. Love your schoolmates earnestly. Help one another and be united.

11. Respect and love your parents. Love and protect your brothers and sisters. Help your folks in housework.

12. Respect the older generation, and old people. Love children and care for the weak and the sick. Yield your seat on a train and your right of way on the street.

13. Be earnest, humble and polite. Do not lie, do not curse, do not fight. Do not disturb other people's work, study or sleep.

14. Do not smoke, do not drink liquor, do not gamble, do not take other people's articles without their permission. Do not do things harmful to yourself and others.

15. Positively drill and strengthen your body. Keep your body, clothes, room and the public places clean.

16. Obey public orders. Love and protect public property.

17. Love and defend the honor of your class and school.

18. Carry your student card with you all the time and take care not to lose it.

876 Discipline in schools had tended to become harsh before the
*668 promulgation of these rules. For instance, in Tso-shui, Shensi,
a grade school teacher ordered tardy students to kneel on the
177 floor and to carry bowls of water on their heads. In Ling-t'an, Kansu, a grade school principal ordered all the children of his school to line up and spit in the face of a child he wished to punish. In some schools, the teachers organized "accusation meetings" to punish the children. In some, "courts" were estab-

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175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
S the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later,
[177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

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B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups

184 Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem
577 throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to
S
N give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation.
[671] But according to V.A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the
[674] night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali
S
N in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that
681 people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted
184 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much
674 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before
S the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a
N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties);
[565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the
N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall:
681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit
184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is
674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

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578 INGROUP ANTAGONISMS--prevalence and importance of antagonisms within the society; sources (e.g., economic deprivation, sexual rivalry, political repression, ethnic and religious cleavages, rigor of socialization or social control); expression in individual behavior (e.g., snobbishness, intentional impoliteness, ridicule, insults, vituperation); prevalence, causes and forms of quarrels; participants (e.g., husband and wife, business competitors, rival claimants to property); manifestations (e.g., verbal exchanges, fist fights, duels); reaction of onlookers; repression and control of aggression; etc.

See also:

Social stratification 56
Family antagonisms 59
Ethnocentrism 186
Economic competition 477
Wit and practical jokes 522
Rivalry in sports 526
Lying 577
Avoidance relationships 602
Moiety rivalries 616
Social control and gossip 626
Informal justice 627, 628
Torts and crimes 673
Slander 683
Litigation 691
Sorcery 754
Cursing 789
Religious persecution 798
Quarreling and fighting by children 857
Control of aggression in children 866

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563 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history,
182 continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual
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N understanding and esteem.
563 Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the
668 minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic
[641] regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the
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N nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities
[177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is
S
N yet to come.
563 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of
829 the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom
S
N implies this basic recognition.
563 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and
668 ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities
578 and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension
669 and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans
S
N (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.
829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission.
S
N The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main
829 and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation
571 among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

B. Population Problems

1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

Of the many problems in regard to the population of Northwest China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese, together with its international complications, is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of, Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

2. The Uighur Autonomy

Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

"Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang, the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
621 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
769 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire
community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting,
and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working
with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
621 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
184 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and
do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have
795 a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-com-
munal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.
[346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is
used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather
[871] at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn
the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read
the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
[785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in
their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they
[796] eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a com-
munal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call
and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded
men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders
may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly
mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to them-
selves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they"
[794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of
the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and
cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it
rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show
more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their
Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by
their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations
between the villagers and the local or county government. The
county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chi-
nese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no
[578] relations with each other. There is always antagonism between
Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
[798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are re-
sponsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious
habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher
population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful.
Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for
628 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

*563 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many
184 years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive
628 industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade.
325 The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is
439 no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by
476 small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese arti-
sans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again
to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article
of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for
the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going
a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be
interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the
*563 Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the
184 general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the
Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which
628 require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper,
369 trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportion-
463 ately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand,
tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the
best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors.
There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems
prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep
and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade
which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang
are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice
a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed
shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly,
with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the con-
ventional design which has been done by their own family for many
generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think
of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least
greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school
teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers,
and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to
184 the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and
Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There
621 is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mix-
162 ture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly
one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost
entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In
the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found
[578] only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese
and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate
or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live
both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number.
In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is
not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

*563 Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted
463 by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon
621 of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational
• 578 opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority
group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

*563 The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized
621 in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chi-
nese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of
184 organization, the village organization is integrated in the county,
and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate.
[651] These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan
villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the
[361] Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predom-
inantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predom-
inantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit
[162] of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average
village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

*563 • Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the
628 Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is
that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without excep-
177 tion, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

/Chinese Moslems/

S
N equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of hi
795 followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divin
792 revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to a
185 questions and appeared to know many things. As the founde
a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by w
his adherents might be distinguished from others. The diff
ences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the fo
lowing passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Kora should be recited once only instead of three times as held b Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised onc instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to ious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for culating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering ly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chine lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat w praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to th dition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, wh the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is al disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria f preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to i ic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

S
N Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem st
795 the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung
792 played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion durir
[669] nineteenth century.

S
N After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in hi
sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma H
• [578] fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi h
advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku,
came an important religious center.

S Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northw
N which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately the
795 not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Su
order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of J
rivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like t
Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally
pised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however
identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriv

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

423 and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's attitude toward land must have been different from that of the people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood.
[556] Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might mean nothing.

*563
578 Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This complication influenced not only political and social affairs but also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in the province of Chinghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from China Proper, chung-yüan. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrimination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political, economic, and military positions and they were the predominant group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese toward the Moslems.

*563 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou,
181 Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in
183 Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They
829 praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the
(674) characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communities stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or
*563 robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express
181 their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and
526 bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized, however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is , "the religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law. The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,... We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic world outlook... The youths should thus be given an ideological foundation... to make them into...atheists and the heroic fighters of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

The Communists believe that by turning the young people against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expediency. In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lamaism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Moslems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First Field Army, Pleng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well. In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen. (see above).

Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist Constitution are restricted. Mao Tes-tung's statements in his "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this point.

E. Practices

Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls of rice to eat, you will not have peace." Because of this, Vice-Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Education of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party magazine, Hsüeh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious purge took place.

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

I. Historical Background

Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of attempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

in curbing the hostility of segments of the population towards the Communist regime. Sabotage as well as open rebellion continued unabated, as the following items, culled from Communist papers, show:

Item: November, 1951, arsonists set fire to the Urumchi Fur Factory causing a loss of two billion yuan (US $100,000).
Item: April to July, 1952. Revolt of Chinese Moslems in Kansu, who killed over 3,000 Communist cadres and many government officials and seized control of three districts.
Item: March to June, 1953. 1,380 "bandits" reported annihilated in southern Kansu.
Item: December, 1953, Suppression of "bandit" forces under Ma Liang in the Kansu-Chinghai-Szechwan border region.
Item: First half of 1954, 3,420 counter-revolutionary cases unearthed.

IV. United Front Work, 3. The Cadres

A. Recruitment of Cadres

The placement of non-Communist and non-Chinese leaders in the government and the organization of the people, while important, were but subsidiary tasks. The principal task was the reform of the old cadres and the recruitment of new cadres to serve as the work forces of the party and the state. The job, which was a part of the building of the "democratic United Front" since it concerned the integration of Communist with non-Communist employees, was handled by two agencies of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP: the Department of Organization, headed by Ma Wen-jui, which was responsible for party expansion, and the Department of United Front Work, headed by Wang Feng, which was responsible for recruiting and integrating non-Communists and non-Chinese functionaries in government and party work.

The shortage of trained cadres and the need for more were felt by the Communist authorities from the beginning of their rule over the Northwest. In November, 1949, barely a month after the Communists took over the vast territories of the Northwest and two and a half months before the formation of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, Ma Wen-jui, who had already set up his Department of Organization, declared that the main problem facing the Chinese Communist Party was the training and employment of new cadres (JMJP, January 4, 1950). The need was particularly urgent in view of the depletion of trained men due to the transfer of many of the veteran cadres of the old Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region to other parts of the country and the reluctance of the local youth to become cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün, secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that the number of men who had

in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA January 8, 1952).

A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's governments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in government service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200. The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, section chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).

B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres, both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-N nghsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950),that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

*175 rather low, their conception about the party is not clear, and they
*668 are not qualified, or completely qualified, as party members.
• 578 They take little interest in party work, consider the exemplary behavior of other party members in leading the masses as a 'disadvantage,' take no heed of the phenomena detrimental to the interest of the people."

Ma went on to state that bad elements had infiltrated into the party: "Some of the veteran party members in the face of the nationwide victory, display laxity, are arrogant and think of themselves as heroes. They are steadily losing or have already lost the sense of responsibility and positiveness that qualified Communists should have. They pay little attention to study and improvement, take little interest in politics, lack a serious attitude towards their work, do not seek to develop the work but simply carry out routine, and some of them are not prepared to continue with the revolutionary struggle, reject any difficult tasks assigned them by the party, and even degrade themselves to corruption, moral disintegration and estrangement from the masses, and are against party discipline." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, October 8, 1951).

Two months later, at another conference of cadres, Hsi Chung-hsün also deplored the deterioration of party discipline. "Diverse non-proletarian ideas have infiltrated into the party," he said, "and some of the elements whose class standpoint is not firm and whose political consciousness is not very high cannot stand the test and become degenerated." (NCNA December 2, 1951). In May, 1952, Chang Chia-fu, director of the Department of Propaganda of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, declared: "Since they entered the cities, the Northwest Literary and Art Workers, owing to corrosion by bourgeois thought, have wavered more or less in carrying out Chairman Mao's literary and artistic policy." (NCNA May 25, 1952).

2. Poor Quality of the New Cadres: The large numbers of students and former government employees who were incorporated into the ranks of the cadres were not men of high caliber and they quickly followed the examples set by the old party cadres. At a speech at a conference of cadres at Sian in May, 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün charged that there were glaring shortcomings in the United Front Work because the new cadres, who make up 90 per cent of the total number of cadres, following the practices of the old cadres. They were arrogant, they entertained non-proletarian thoughts, and, because of their behavior, there were flagrant cases of bureaucratism (which he defined as estrangement from reality and isolation from the masses) and commandism (just going through the motions of carrying out orders). He pointed out that in the muni-
[681] cipality of Sian, for example, eleven hundred residents were
[651] arrested and punished for the mere crime of possessing bicycles, and that in the countryside, the cadres resorted to threats, arrests, and tortures in the collection of taxes.

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*175 arrests, and tortures in the collection of taxes. (Nan-fang jih-pao,
*668 June 9, 1950). P'eng Te-huai, chairman of the Northwest Mili-
• 578 tary and Administrative Council, declared that bureaucratism and commandism were the greatest dangers to the Communist administration of the Northwest and that the cadres in general showed marked tendencies of ostentatiousness and averagism.

3. Friction between party cadres and non-party cadres: The old cadres, men who had lived through the dark years of privation and danger during the war with Japan and the civil war that followed, were jealous of their prerogatives as veteran party members and as victors, and they regarded the new cadres as interlopers and the people of the Northwest as a conquered people. As a result, there were widespread clashes within the ranks of the cadres.

At the conference of cadres in August, 1951, Wang Feng, director of the Department of United Front Work, chastized the cadres for their haughtiness and their indifference to the alliance with non-party workers by saying: "Some of our cadres in the party, having inadequate understanding of the new situation and the nationalities and classes in the immense new areas of the Northwest, and having acquired a self-complacency and arrogance through victory, are not warm-hearted enough to the large number of non-party cadres and so there arose certain discords in our work. On the other hand, non-party cadres, working for the first time with the Chinese Communist Party members and having inadquate understanding of various policies, cherished suspicions and adopted an attitude of self-preservation entirely incompatible with the attitude that a master of a new country should adopt."

This situation, he said, was caused by the fact that "In the past two years, the United Front Work within our own party has not been sound enough and we have not sufficient knowledge of United Front Work in our government organs and the education of party members within the government organs has been poor." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, October 11, 1951).

*175 4. Friction between Chinese and non-Chinese cadres: The age-
*668 old antagonism between the native population and the Chinese in
578 the outlying regions of the Northwest persisted and was further
*563 aggravated by the arrival of the Communists. The party cadres, who were arrogant and overbearing, treated the native recruits with contempt. As early as 1950, General Wang Chen, commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang, expressed concern with the animosity between the Chinese and the non-Chinese population. The Chinese party cadres, he said, were still under the influence of Great Hanism and the local national minority cadres still suffered from the influence of Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism. As a result, he said: "Certain of our cadres, failed to pay adequate attention to national differences and failed to consult with the minorities. They resorted to commandism and

*175 bureaucraticism and isolated themselves from the masses. Various
*668 national minorities adopted narrow nationalism as a means of pro-
578 tection against the ruling race (i.e., the Chinese)" (JMJP October
*563 1, 1950).

The conflict between Han Chinese cadres and national minority cadres, became so serious that in September, 1953, following the promulgation of four documents on the policy towards national minorities, the Government Administration Council and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a joint order to local party committees to investigate the implementation of the nationality policy and to cadres to carry out self-criticism and mutual criticism. The Jen-min jih-pao in its editorial (on October 10, 1953), also inveighed against the ideology of Great Hanism among the Han Chinese cadres and the "ultra-nationalism" of the minority cadres.

C. Cadres Reforms and Purges

*175 The remedy the situation, the Communist high command insti-
*668 tuted a series of reindoctrination conferences, the screening of
661 government personnel, and wholesale arrests and purges to improve
578 the quality of the cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün headed the panel of Chinese Communist Party and government speakers who harangued the cadres at mass meetings, held in May, 1950, in August-September, 1951, and in May, 1952, castigating them for bureaucraticism, commandism, incompetence, and corruption. The conferences of cadres were convened upon instructions from Peking. Following the speech of Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in April, 1951, urging Communists to take the lead in rallying non-Communists and Han Chinese cadres to check their growing tendency toward "Great Nationality ideas," the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party, at the conference of the cadres held in August-September, 1951, adopted a program for the reform of the cadres, to be in three stages. Stage one, to begin September 21, was for a two and a half month study of Chinese Communist and Soviet Communist Party documents; stage two, beginning December 6, forty days for the registration, re-examination and selection of cadres on the basis of their qualifications; and stage 3, to begin January 16, 1952, thirty days for the reform of branch organizations. (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, October 8, 1951).

This was the occasion for the screening and dismissal of large numbers of cadres. But more drastic action was still to come. At the fourth plenary session of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, November 22-29, 1951, the program of party reform was merged into the campaign for production and austerity. Article 5 of this program was "to simplify and retrench the

*175 government structure and to promote work efficiency," and article
*668 6 was "to strictly enforce austerity, to develop the struggle against
578 corruption, waste, and bureaucratism." (NCNA December 2,
661 1951).

The announcement of the "simplification and retrenchment" program was the signal for the purging of additional thousands of cadres, but this was still only the beginning. A month later, in January, 1952, Hsi Chung-hsün convened a conference of the Production and Austerity Committees in government organs throughout the Northwest, attended by cadres above the rank of deputy chief in the party, the government, and the military district. At this conference, Hsi Chung-hsün made a blistering speech charging that the campaign in the Northwest was not satisfactory, not penetrating, not broad enough, not directed to the main target and did not have concrete results. The leaders were sleeping, he ranted on, and the masses lacked leadership. The middle and minor officials were guilty of corruption, waste and decay. The top officials, he concluded, should assume responsibility and proceed actively in a militant attitude. (NCNA January 10, 1952).

The result of the purges, known as the Three-Anti Movement (anti-graft, anti-waste, and anti-bureaucratism), which was launched throughout China in 1952, and which, with its companion campaign, the Five-Anti Movement directed at businessmen, became a reign of terror unprecedented in magnitude and in horror. Untold thousands of cadres, Communists as well as non-Communists, and officials in the middle and lower grades of government, were arrested, tried and convicted in "people's courts," and executed while thousands more were jailed or condemned to corrective labor camps.

However, terror and persecutions did not accomplish the desired end of bringing the cadres in line. By spring of 1954, the demoralization of the cadres and the friction among them became so serious that a series of conferences was convened by the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party at Sian. They were convoked upon orders from Peking, following the 7th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and in pursuance of its "Resolution to strengthen party unity." The speeches of the leaders all indicated that the demoralization of the cadres was worse and the differences and clash of interests between Communist and non-Communist cadres and between Chinese and non-Chinese cadres had increased. The cadres in general were charged with "conceit, departmentalism, dispersionism, exaggeration of seniority, boasting of achievements, concealing of defects, and suppression of criticism." (NCNA April 25, 1954), and the party cadres, in particular, were charged, at a later party conference, with "bourgeoise individualist ideas, conceit, sectarianism, parochialism, dispersionism and egotism." It was stated that "the low level of Marxist-Leninist consciousness

*668 is evident that loopholes are open everywhere for sudden changes in tactics and policy. Overnight, a most loyal attitude may change into subversion.

*668 578 The Communists themselves admit that tensions exist even within the ranks of the cadres. Not only do Chinese and non-Chinese cadres confront each other with antagonism, but friction also exists between the old veteran cadres and the newly graduated younger men, as well as between party cadres and non-party cadres. Personal jealousy and ambition, mixed with the fear of sudden purges, have hardly diminished over the last few years and will probably continue to hamper the efficiency of the Communist administration. (See Political Dynamics.)

2. Effect of the campaigns

*668 661 578 Nation-wide drives and campaigns are felt as strongly in the border regions as in China Proper. The effects of the Three-Anti and the Five-Anti movements were especially violent when they hit the people of the Northwest in 1952. Countless cadres, officials, and ordinary citizens of the merchant class were charged with graft, waste, bureaucraticism, tax evasion, bribery, cheating in government contracts, theft of economic intelligence, and stealing of national property. Many were imprisoned, sent to corrective labor camps, or sentenced to death. It is difficult to gauge, however, to what degree the Communist charges were true, or, on the other hand, how much the policy of terror increased resentment against Communist rule. But it goes without saying that the result of such spiritual and physical control makes for continual intimidation and fear. While it makes concerted opposition impossible, it foments the bitterness and unrest upon which eventual open resistance is based.

*668 578 [701] Undoubtedly, the role of the army in carrying out government policies causes much tenseness. It heightens the intensity of terror involved in the implementation of such campaigns as land reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. (Union Research Service, September 27, 1955.) To compensate for the lack of man-power in agriculture and industry, the Communist government has sent large numbers of "reform workers" to the Northwest. According to one source, a subversive potential has been created as "reform workers and minority peoples whose interests are identical, have banded together to oppose Communist rule," and that "cases of resistance have been more numerous than has been imagined." (Ibid.)

3. Effect of economic measures

*668 177 The Chinese Communist government hopes that the Northwest will eventually play an important part in the industrial growth of the entire country. For the moment they are still concentrating on increasing the agricultural output and developing animal husbandry. The initial pressure on Northwestern farmers to

000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

452 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, ex-
474 tensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under
*668 the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realization of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 The State has taken measures to increase livestock production
232 by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral
*668 people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas
[476] to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from
[177] the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a
*668 scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire technicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where
[177] the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand
*668 existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese
*668 Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing
[433] the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the
[242] introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming.
[474] However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.

[918] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders, "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralization of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Hu-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 20, 1954).

V. Political Structure and Political Progress

A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were also established in the five provinces then comprising the Northwest: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang.

While the members of the Military and Administrative Council were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the members of the provincial and municipal people's governments were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by conventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities. Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

SUBVERSIVE POTENTIALITIES

I. Introduction

The history of China's Northwest has been a great number of insurrections and revolts against the established order. Spontaneous outbreaks, however, occurred only as a result of desperation. The forces that ruled the people remained unchallenged until the misery and poverty which surrounded them became unbearable. Even then, the people would not strike out blindly against their oppressors, but would look to their own tribal chieftains and priests for leadership (see section Political Dynamics). In more recent times, intellectuals, army men and even bandits have taken the place of the old leaders, but it would be incorrect to say that the people themselves have the political consciousness which changes governments or overthrows regimes. On the other hand, the persistent nationalism combined with the strong religious tradition that exists among the Moslems of the Northwest, and the tribal and nomadic past of the peoples of Turkestan and Central Asia, could always be aroused by ambitious and popular leaders in opposition to alien penetration. Throughout the centuries, hostility has existed both against any foreign rulers and among the tribes and minority groups themselves. Three major sources of conflict will be mentioned here: 1) The traditional friction among the tribes of Northwest China due to religious and economic differences; 2) wide-spread resentment on the part of the native peoples toward Chinese rule; 3) dissatisfaction with the Communist regime.

II. Friction among Northwestern Peoples

In the first place, because of its geographical position, Northwest China stands at the crossroads of conflicting political ideologies and religious beliefs, originating from the Middle East, India, China and Russia. In an area like Sinkiang, there have lived in uneasy proximity Buddhists, Mohammedans, Greek Orthodox Russians, unorthodox Chinese and atheistic Russians, as well as believers in the most primitive religious practices. Economically also there has existed great contrast: the nomadic tradition of the Kazakhs and Mongols, the oasis economy of the peoples of Inner Asia, the methods of Chinese agriculture, the alpine economy of the Kirghiz of the Tienshan, the economy of the Arikolis who live on the high plateaus of the Pamirs, alongside of which a very young industrial and commercial economy is developing. Friction has always existed between the settled farmers of the oases and the nomadic herdsmen, while within the farming communities, conflicts over water rights, the use of forests and roads, were permanent features in rural life.

N III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

*563 These internal differences have made it impossible for the
• 578 people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united
action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated govern-
S ment of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is
[162] non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which
at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to
transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary move-
ment and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

N
The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the
*175 system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China,
657 but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung-
*563 t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as
578 an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his
S own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social struc-
175 tures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing
657 Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He
563 considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large
578 numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mongols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them, while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs; they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

S In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion
175 are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have
669 been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short
648 period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control.
668 Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the
ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

*668 and are closer to the Chinese capital. Thus they are more easily
669 controlled than Sinkiang with its largely non-Chinese population and its remoteness which always have posed a greater problem to Chinese administrators. It is probably safe to say that a certain amount of subversion does exist in the Northwest and that a certain amount of truth underlies the Communist accusations.

In their methodical way, the Communists have divided "counter-revolutionaries" into five groups: former Nationalist forces, local forces under Osman Batur, Mohammed Imin Bogllah, Jamin Khan and Yolbars Khan, White Russians, members of secret societies,
*668 and bandits. Aside from the more basic incompatibilities between
• 578 Communism and the traditional ways of life, the present situation gives rise to continual cause for complaints and disappointments.

*563 1. "Great Hanism" and "narrow nationalism"

Apparently, the old grievance against Han domination in the affairs of the Northwest has not been remedied. The Communist Party of Sinkiang, for instance, is still headed by Wang En-mao, a Chinese who has held this high position for many years. (CNA No. 113). On the next lower levels also, cadres holding responsible positions usually are Chinese. It has been estimated that only one-third of the people working in the Party Committees are native born and the rest are Chinese (Ibid.). In the field of trade and commerce, in the agencies handling the exploitation of local products, about 63% of the employees are Chinese.

- 668 The Communist leaders have continually condemned a policy encouraging "Great Hanism." However, they are still more afraid of "narrow nationalism"- a nationalism that eventually may lead to a separatist movement. In an article written by Burkhan, Chairman of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, this theme is elaborated at great length. The ideas of Pan Turkestanism and Pan Islamism are shown to be completely imperialist. Discussing the differences between progressive and reactionary national movements, Burkhan comes to the conclusion that Pan Turkestanists and Pan Islamists are reactionary "in that they were all lackeys of American and British imperialism and the traitors." However, the Kulja movement, "formed a part of the general movement of the revolution of the Chinese people, being arrayed on the side of the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism headed by the great Soviet Union." He concludes that "at this juncture, any national movement which seeks separation from the Chinese People's Republic for independence will be reactionary, since, objectively considered, it would undermine the interests of the various races and particularly the foremost majority of the race concerned, and thus would work to the advantage of imperialism.... for any movement, the prerequisites, time and locale should be coordinated, and what has been regarded as progressive at one time may become reactionary at another time." Thus it

Because Chinghai is a dry region and irrigation works are needed the Communists planned for 5,000 hectares (12,355 acres) of land to be brought under cultivation in 1955. Five teams of irrigation workers arrived at selected places to help extend the area of irrigated land. The plan for 1955 involved improving the irrigation canals, servicing 4,600 hectares (11,367 acres), and the setting up of two pumping stations. The Communists claimed that by the end of 1954, fifty per cent more land was irrigated than before the "liberation."

Chinghai's problems are similar to those that prevail in Sinkiang. Production plans are not fulfilled, especially those plans for oil bearing crops and the improvement of sheep breeds. This is supposed to reflect a lack of responsibility on the part of the cadres toward the State's plans but the real problem undoubtedly lies with the difficulties of intricate planning and the insufficient number of trained, skilled cadres. Excessive spending and waste were attacked and these were blamed on the weakness of ideological leadership. The report by Chang Kuo-sheng goes so far as to say that workers are honest and loyal but it is the cadres who still retain "bourgeois" thoughts, and are to blame. Thus, it appears that the peasants are not being criticized for planning and organizational defects for fear of antagonizing and isolating many of them from Communist rural organizations.

It seems fairly self-evident that as the work of planning in the agricultural areas becomes more complicated and detailed in nature, the number of technicians will have to be increased. In addition to being skillful accountants, agro-technicians, etc., they will have to be ideologically trained so as to faithfully carry out the State's plans. The Communists, then, have a twofold job: to train members of the various nationalities to be technicians and at the same time to turn them into good Communists. The speed at which they are attempting to turn out a large number may mean poorly trained technicians. This will complicate and hinder agricultural planning even more.

Hsijaochiatso, the Vice-Governor of Chinghai, delivered a speech on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress on the progress made in Chinghai, which differed greatly in content from other speeches given by nationality leaders of the various frontier regions of China. While most of the other speeches to the National People's Congress dealt with concrete advancements made in the nationality areas, Vice-Governor Hsijaochiatso's report was devoted largely to acts of sabotage and resistance to socialization in Chinghai. A quotation will serve to point this out. "Because we are carrying out our construction plans very satisfactorily, the enemy both within and without the country has resorted to mad acts of sabotage in various forms. Very recently, in some pastoral areas, the rumor spread to the effect that the organization of cooperatives in pastoral areas is a disguised form

of the nationalization of cattle and sheep." And again, "there are also many counter-revolutionaries who exploit religion for sabotage and such instances are often found in the minorities areas. In certain pastoral areas in Chinghai, for instance, the discovery of heavenly edicts was rumored. These documents stated that the world would soon be destroyed, and the people meet with severe calamities and suffering." (Current Background. No. 356, September 12, 1955.)

Rumors and religious sects are apparently some of the more concrete forms peasant resistance has taken toward collectivization; among the various minority groups, such resistance can greatly hinder Communist agricultural planning.

No doubt there is much room for improvement in the pastoral sections of Chinghai, simply by the introduction of better types of breeding techniques and by showing the nationality groups the proper care of their herds during the winter season. In addition, more irrigation and better farming procedures ought to stimulate greater productivity. But the central problem will remain: whether cooperative organizations will yield benefits or whether they will reduce peasant incentive and thereby, in the long run, weaken agricultural development of the area.

3. Shensi

The following statistics are from a report by Hsieh Huai-teh, Director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry for the Shensi Provincial People's Government on 1954 conditions and tasks for 1955. (No. 1014, March 24, 1955. Supplement. Survey of Chinese Mainland Press.) By the end of 1954, the total output of food for the province was 10,091,790,000 catties (201,835,800 bushels); cotton was around 1,800,000 piculs (119,970 tons) as compared to 65,802 for 1938 (nearly a twofold increase); but insufficient attention was paid to the planting of oil bearing crops in various sections and the total output amounted to only around 117 million catties (70,571 metric tons) as compared to the pre-Communist period average for the years 1931-1939, 212,000 metric tons.

By 1954, 59.4 per cent of the peasant households in the province were organized into some form of co-op, and 13.22 per cent of them had joined permanent mutual aid teams. There were 3,048 agricultural producer cooperatives including one collective farm. All together, around 847 villages have virtually become cooperativized. In Shensi there are a total of seventeen State irrigation canals which have enlarged the irrigation area by 44,112 mou (6,705 acres). The number of wells, water wheels and pipe wells have been increased, and the total area irrigated enlarged by more than 192,000 mou (29,184 acres), amounting to 86.7 per cent of the plan for 1954. The total irrigated area in the province is now over 5,623,290 mou (854,740 acres).

The number of large domestic animals increased to over 2,586,000, that of sheep (including goats) to over 3,003,500 and that of pigs to over 1,825,000. There are four state livestock farms. Compared to pre-war figures, domestic animals and pigs increased twofold while sheep increased nearly twelvefold.

In addition, a campaign for afforestation and forest protection was launched so that in northern Shensi by the end of 1954, some 280,000 mou (42,560 acres) had been afforestated by the State. During 1954, 206,900 mou (31,449 acres) were afforested, nurseries occupied 4,900 mou (754 acres), 856,100 mou (130,127 acres) of wooded wilderness were surveyed, and new forest developments were carried out on 61,500 mou (9,348 acres).

By 1955 it is planned to increase the grain acreage so that it will be 70,150,000 mou (10,662,800 acres) and the total output 1,970,000 piculs (13,002 tons). Oil bearing crops will be increased and plans to develop animal husbandry are underway so that there will be 2,790,000 large domestic animals, 2,008,000 pigs, and 3,515,000 goats and sheep to relieve the shortage of meat and dairy products in the markets. In 1955, the area to be afforested will be 280,000 mou (42,424 acres) and 7,000 mou (1,064 acres) will be used for nurseries. Tea plantations will be strengthened and growing of vegetables in the suburbs of cities will be promoted. All this will be accomplished by increasing the pace of cooperativization for 1955; seventy-five per cent of all households will be cooperativized and agricultural producer co-ops will total 21,000. A spring campaign will be launched also to enlarge the sowing area and improve stock-breeding, and efforts will be made to strengthen leadership over production in hilly regions; technical reforms will be continued and stepped up. Finally, satisfactory supplies of consumer and producer goods will be given to the peasant. The latter (producer goods) include farm implements, fertilizers, draft animals, insecticides, spraying equipment and good seeds.

Some of the defects that crop up in Shensi are particularly serious since it is one of the most advanced provinces in the Northwest, from the standpoint of the large number of co-ops. The following obstacles have arisen to obstruct the campaign to step up cooperativization. So-called rural "capitalist forces" and rumors fabricated by counter-revolutionary elements have brought uneasiness to the middle peasants. Consequently, peasants have sold or slaughtered their farm animals, felled trees, rushed to buy consumer goods, squandered their money. This state of affairs is supposed to have resulted because the correct policy of solidifying poor and middle peasants has not been carried out. Commandism among the cadres is reported to prevail and this has had the over-all result of slowing down cooperativization.

So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to

So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to have operated in several provinces. In Hopei, the public security organs uncovered several cases of "I-kuan-tao" sabotage. The "I-kuan-tao" are supposed to be remnants of KMT officers and several sects like the "Golden Line". These elements had operated in Kansu, Shensi, and Inner Mongolia. They usually recruited former prisoners who had been in Chinese Communist prisons. These elements were supposed to have wormed their way into economic enterprises, rural mutual aid, and co-ops to engage in sabotage. They are blamed for fabricating rumors, and during the unified purchase of grain, they are supposed to have instigated the peasants to put aside grain and not send their surplus to the State.

Another major problem is the assessment of cotton output and the fixing of cotton purchase quotas. What the state does with commercial crops, as it does with nearly all rural produce now, is to send teams out to each household and estimate what the output, consumption, and surplus will be. The amount to be purchased is determined on the basis of these findings. Once this data is collected and examined, other items can be planned such as the amount of thread to be spun, the textile output that will result, and how much cotton cloth can be made available to the rural areas. It is very important, then, that the initial surveys to determine the available surplus that may be purchased by the State be correct in order to fulfill other portions of the plan. If incorrect estimates are made; i.e., lower estimates of output allowing peasants to retain excessive quantities of cotton, this would promote the growth of rural capitalist elements who might carry on speculative activities by selling their surplus cotton at a higher price than offered by the State. The Chinese Communists blamed two factors for incorrect assessments of cotton output; the incorrect ideological approach of cadres and their poor survey methods. In the latter case, some cadres, because they were unpopular among the peasants, thought it advisable to make slightly lower estimates of cotton output. In other villages, local cadres wished, by making lower estimates, to keep an extra supply of cotton for themselves or for their relatives and neighbors. In regard to defective working methods, the cadres did not carry out their estimation of output by first propagating Communist policy and mobilizing the masses; they made investigations without the assistance of the peasants and encountered difficulty in deriving the true output.

If inaccurate estimates of peasants' cotton production are made, it will also have a direct effect on peasants activity for mutual aid and cooperation and will hinder the unity between organized and individual peasants. It seems that the difficulties of estimating cotton output were widespread in Shensi and had given rise to peasant resistance of Communist agricultural

In the Wu-chung Autonomous Chou, in Kansu, Hui and Han groups live together. Today there are 277 agricultural producer co-ops, eighty nine for the Hui and 124 for the Han. More than 3,200 mutual aid teams have been developedp 1,200 are permanent. Future policy stresses increased agricultural production by cooperativization. In a speech delivered by Ma Teng-ai to the National People's Congress however, key emphasis was placed on the correct implementation of solidifying the poor and middle class peasants and following the principle of allowing the peasants of various nationalities to enter the co-ops voluntarily. Such a desire to enter must result from the mutual benefit they feel they would receive. When agricultural producer co-ops are to be formed, namely, consolidating the various permanent mutual aid teams and pooling land, farm implements, etc. special attention is to be given the customs, habits, and religious beliefs of the different nationalities. For instance, if the Hui and Han members of the same cooperative do not want to use the same well, different wells are to be drilled, and used separately. If hogs are raised in a cooperative, they may be attended by the Han members themselves and they are not considered an auxiliary occupation of the cooperative. The Chinese Communists, in dealing with the nationality problem in the Northwest, so far have tread very lightly whenever they wished to promote cooperativization. They have proceeded very slowly, using subtle methods of persuasion to urge the various nationalities to enlist their labor power in the mutual aid and produce co-ops.

Communist administrators complain bitterly of counter-revolutionary activities in Kansu. In a speech by Su Chen-yung, Vice Director of Public Security Bureau, he states: "Counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly wages destructive activities against the Socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With a view to impeding the work of the peasants joining the cooperatives, and to sabotaging agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants, and Taoist leaders to cheat some backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings." (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, p. 43.)

Su Chen-yung then gives as examples the disruption of progress in establishing agricultural cooperatives, the killing of Communist cadres, the burning of supply and marketing cooperatives storehouses, etc. Such admission by Communist officials of overt violence indicates that the Chinese Communists still are encountering peasant resistance, although nearly seven years have passed since their occupation of the region.

C. Conclusion

The Chinese Communists have attempted to control closely

largely attended, as many as eighty men and women registering in one locality. The majority were illiterate. We therefore considered it best to insist on all students becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, resulting in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened, to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

159 the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest. When he was twenty-
701 one years old, Ma Hung-pin started his military career by
serving as commanding officer of the cavalry corps in charge
of the Sining mines in Chinghai Province, and at the same time
he was a member of the reclamation commission and mining
commission of that province. In 1911, he became commanding
officer of the cavalry batallion in charge of the patrol of the
western region of Kansu. His first military merit was achieved
when he pacified the disturbances of the two Mongol banners in
western Suiyuan who were stirred to revolt by the independence
achieved by Outer Mongolia in the first years of the Chinese Re-
public. In 1914, he was the commanding officer of the Seventh
Cavalry Batallion and stationed in western Suiyuan guarding the
Yellow River Bend and keeping a watchful eye against the Outer
Mongols. Because of his meritorious record in the pacification
of bandits in his area, he was awarded several medals and was
promoted to lieutenant general by President Li Yüan-hung of the
[648] Peking Government. Later he also received a medal from the
government of Belgium for his excellent work in protecting Bel-
gian missionaries. In 1920 he was appointed as Defense Com-
missioner for Ninghsia (not a province at that time) and was
charged with the duty of defending the frontier areas. In 1926
he was given the post of Pacification Commander of the Shensi-
Kansu border regions. In 1927, when the Northern Expedition
began, he was the commander of the 24th Division of the Sec-
ond Army Group of which General Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christ-
ian General) was the commander-in-chief. In 1928 he was trans-
ferred as the commander of the Seventh Division.

159 When the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking,
635 Ma Hung-pin was appointed the first governor of the newly or-
ganized province of Ninghsia. This was, so far, the first politi-
cal assignment for Ma. In 1930 he was also made acting gover-
nor of Kansu Province. His political life ended in 1933 when his
cousin, Ma Hung-k'uei, succeeded him as governor of Ninghsia.
159 From 1934-1936, his main task was to pacify the remaining
[579] bandits in the eastern region of Kansu. Because his policy in
suppressing bandits was to win them over rather than annihalate
them, he had won for himself the nickname of "Ma the Kind
[701] Man." In 1937, as commander of the 81st Division and, concur-
rently, defense commissioner for the western region of Suiyuan,
[648] he led his troops in fighting the Japanese invaders in that area.
In 1940 he became commander-in-chief for the defense of Eto-
kuchi, a Mongol Banner in western Suiyuan.

159 When the Communists started their campaign in the North-
669 west, Ma Hung-pin surrendered Ninghsia Province to the Peo-
668 ple's Liberation Army on September 16, 1949. Because of this
drastic move, the whole Northwest was soon lost to the Com-
munists.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

than to make a detour along an easier line. The summit is about 6000 feet high. A little further along this range to the west is the famous Hua Shan, one of the sacred mountains of China. The Chinese call this pass Ch'inling, though as a matter of fact it is not the watershed.

Travel in China always seems to consist either in trekking across infinite plains or of following up and down river valleys and gorges to and from an endless succession of passes.

This pass is the boundary between the districts of T'ungkuan and Lonan, and a better boundary there could hardly be, for one can almost stand with a foot on either side of the range.

From the top of the pass the path drops steeply for a few hundred feet and then continues for 15 li down a picturesque well-timbered valley to the market village of Hsünchien Ssu, a pleasant little place lying at the junction of two clear mountain streams and surrounded by wooded slopes with pheasants calling in the maize fields. Though one is still in the Yellow River basin, i.e. on the headwaters of the Honan Lo, the bare stony mountains and loess plains of the North have been exchanged for the well-watered pine-clad valleys of Central China.

The next day's march, another long one, brought us to Lonan Hsien. The road continued down the wooded valley for three or four hours' march to the market village of Shihchia P'o where rice cultivation appeared (rice is grown up to about 4000 feet in Shensi), and then turned up a side ravine and crossed a low pass in a range of bare hills giving access to the valley of the Lo Ho, which was followed up to Lonan Hsien. The latter is a small place lying well away from the main roads amongst flat open valleys of red clay backed by mountains, a sort of plateau supported between two series of ranges of the Ch'inling Shan. These shallow valleys contain the headwaters of the River Lo (sometimes referred to by the Chinese as the Honan Lo to distinguish it from the Shensi Lo, the chief river of the latter Province), which flows east past Honan Fu (the old Loyang) to join the Yellow River.

A glance at the map showed our next objective to be the district city of Shang Chou, and as there did not appear to

be any main roads leading anywhere from Lonan no difficulties were raised except over the prevalence of brigandage. Brigands are of course almost universal in China nowadays, but they are always supposed to be worst in districts marching with a provincial border line, such as those we were now traversing. But our party was too formidable a one to have anything to fear from local brigands such as these.

A long day's march brought us to Shang Chou. The track follows up the flat valley of one of the headwaters of the Lo Ho for 20 li, and then crossing a low rise, drops over the edge of the red plateau of Lonan into a narrow winding gorge hemmed in by bare mountains of red sandstone, which is followed until it debouches on to the valley of the Tan Chiang a little above Shang Chou.

Shang Chou is nowadays a decayed little place, though formerly quite an important centre, a *Chou* in charge of four surrounding *Hsien*. After the Revolution of 1911 the former *Fu*, *Chou*, *T'ing*, etc. (Prefectures, sub-Prefectures, and so on) were all reduced to the rank of *Hsien*, or district, of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class, the class being determined largely, it seems, by the land-tax receipts, and, as many districts have been entirely renamed, most of the existing maps of China are in this respect out of date. Shang Chou, now called Shang Hsien, is a 1st class district. It lies in the valley of the Tan Chiang, an affluent of the Han River, on one of the most important trade routes in and out of Shensi, that from Hsian Fu to Lant'ien, across the Ch'inling Shan by two low passes, and down the valley of the Tan Chiang to the mart of Lungchuchai, whence boats ply *via* Chingtzu Kuan in Honan to the Han River, Laoho K'ou, and Hankow; though the importance of this route has somewhat declined since the railway from Honan Fu has reached to within three and a half days of T'ungkuan.

At Shang Chou we were in the basin of the Yangtzu, the insignificant rise on the edge of the plateau of Lonan being the Yangtzu Yellow River watershed.

We were here quartered in the local school, which, as we usually found to be the case, was easily the best and cleanest building in the place. The existence of a comparatively well-kept school house, with maps and educational

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

pictures on the walls, in practically every district city throughout China (of which there are nearly 2000) evidences the excellence of the principles governing the administration of the country. In the middle schools English, the official "foreign" language, is taught. Unfortunately in too many cases the local school does little more than represent the principle of education. The Chinese have a well-known saying *Yu Ming Wu Shih*, which means "theory without practice"; this saying holds good of most things in China, especially those connected with the Government of the country.

The magistrate of Shang Chou at the time of our visit was rather a remarkable character, and a "Ta Ko" (lodge-master) in the notorious secret society called the Ko Lao Hui. It is improbable that any foreigner knows much about the secrets, the history, doings, and aims of the Ko Lao Hui, but during and since the Revolution it has been the great power in Western China, particularly in Shensi and Szechuan. Originally anti-dynastic, it worked very much in the dark in the days of the Manchus, and for a magistrate then to have been a member would have been an unheard-of scandal. With the overthrow of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui came out more into the open. The revolution in the West was largely their work, and the bands of the T'ung Chih Hui who rose in Szechuan against Chao Erh-feng in August 1911, and whose rising brought about the military revolt at Hankow which ultimately swept away the Manchu Dynasty, were Ko Lao Hui partisans under another name. On the coast the revolution was to a large extent a matter of hoisting republican flags, and whole provinces joined the republican cause with their Generals and Governors at their heads. In the West, thanks to the Ko Lao Hui, the revolution was a real rising of the people, led by some of their least desirable representatives, against their rulers, and was accompanied by much more bloodshed, including the terrible massacre of the Manchus at Hsian Fu.

After the fall of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui reckoned Yuan Shih-k'ai as their chief enemy, and perhaps this was not the least of the latter's many admirable qualities. After his death their power and influence rose almost unchallenged, and at present they are in many parts an absolute curse to

the more respectable inhabitants. At the time of writing nearly all the soldiers and brigands in Shensi, as well as many civil and military officials, and in certain districts a high proportion of the entire adult male population, are members, and the administration of the province is largely in their hands. There may be some good in the Ko Lao Hui, but the writer, who has seen their pernicious influence at work throughout Szechuan, Shensi, and parts of Kansu, has never heard of it. To the ordinary observer the society appears to exist for the purpose of practising blackmail and terrorism, and securing mutual protection in the commission of every variety of crime. Amongst its members are special bands expert in gambling, kidnapping, piracy, highway robbery, and similar pursuits. Others join merely in order to secure immunity from the depredations of more active members. Offences against the rules of the society[1] are drastically dealt with by punishments such as death, mutilation, gouging out of eyes, etc., carried into effect by members specially told off for that purpose; while should these avenging angels fall by some mischance into the grips of the law, the society will see to it that they do not come to any harm and are well supplied with wine and opium while in prison. The Ko Lao Hui has many aliases, Chiang Hu Hui, Hu Kuo Chun, etc., and they are brigands one day, patriot rebels the next, regular soldiers the next, and so on. One of the first reforms to be carried into effect by a strong administration in Western China is to extirpate them root and branch, as the Manchus were always endeavouring to do.

The next stage in our journey southwards to the Han valley was the district city of Shanyang, distant 140 li, two days' march. The trail leaves the valley of the Tan Chiang and strikes into the mountains to the south. For half a day we marched up a winding gorge, and then crossing three sandstone ridges one after the other, the highest about 4000 feet, descended to the market village of Heishan Chieh, 70 li from Shang Chou, where we halted for the night. The mountains in this neighbourhood are most intricate, with streams flowing in all directions, but the general feature seems to be a series of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. The scenery is very agreeable, red sandy

1 [Ko Lao Hui secret society--ANALYST]

descent, the path following along a winding ridge, and then dropping into the valley of a streamlet, which leads after an hour's march to the hamlet of Liangshê, 80 li from Fenghsiang, where we stopped the night. On the following day an easy march of 40 li down the valley, through cornfields full of pheasants, brought us to Linyu Hsien. The latter is a tiny city, the centre of a miserably poor third class district, lost in the brigand-infested loess mountains not far from the Kansu border. It is an isolated little place, lying on an unfrequented mule trail into Kansu *via* Lingt'ai. The magistrate, an intelligent young man of the student class, led a lonely and somewhat miserable existence, apart from the danger from brigands, and admitted that he only looked upon this, his first appointment, as a stepping-stone to something better. Most of the many magistrates we met took but little interest in their work, regarding their posts either as a necessary evil to be endured for a short time as a stepping-stone to something better, or as a means of getting rich quick. And yet their work of administration is really most interesting and affords many opportunities of improving the lot of the people. But they can hardly be blamed for taking so little interest in their districts in view of the present system under which they may at any moment have to make way for another place-hunter. Thus it often happened that we came across magistrates who, never leaving their dilapidated little yamens, had only the vaguest knowledge of the geography and inhabitants of their districts.

Life in Linyu city, as in countless other little Hsiens buried in the interior of China, is that of the middle ages, and the appearance of its streets and walls, with ancient cannon and gingals and heaps of stones all ready to hurl on the heads of an attacking force of brigands, has probably changed but little for hundreds of years. Revolutions, rebellions, and battles in the plains below, in which the contending forces pump lead at one another with modern rifles and machine guns, have little effect in these isolated hills, except that the brigands become more and more formidable from year to year.

Linyu lies on a loess bluff overlooking the junction of two streams from the west and north, flowing in beds of shale and sandstone at the bottom of deep narrow valleys

immediately above the rock on which the loess rests. The regularity of level and depth of the loess over wide areas, the invariable slope of the loess uplands in the same direction as the rivers and streams, i.e. all draining S.E. and the meeting-line of the light sandy loess and the heavier reddish loess, which can often be traced for miles at the same level, may also be noted in support of a water origin; while lastly there is the fact that the loess has nowhere, except in the extreme west, crossed the Ch'inling Shan, a continuous range, whereas it is piled high on either side of other ranges which are not continuous. These lines are written without access to books of reference of any kind, and it should be understood that they represent merely the impressions of a traveller with no scientific training, who has not the least intention of starting a controversy on the subject of a problem which has probably long been settled by competent scientists. But in spite of the fact that we have often seen loess at a height of 6000 feet or more, it is difficult to believe that it was not deposited there by water.

Yao Chou, now a second class Hsien, is quite a large city for Northern Shensi, and about the most prosperous, or rather least miserable, place we came across in that region. It lies, surrounded by indigo fields, in a narrow valley below the level of the loess uplands. We were here joined by a *Lien* (company) of infantry, since the north of Shensi is, at the time of writing, so overrun with brigands, well armed and organized in bands many hundreds strong, that it would have been impossible for a party of Chinese officials to tour those districts with a smaller escort. Curiously enough, owing to the extraordinary change which has occurred in the position of the foreigner in the interior of China since the Revolution of 1911, while no Chinese but brigands, soldiers, or the poorest of coolies can travel on the roads of Northern Shensi without great danger to property and life, a missionary or other foreigner can circulate where he pleases with comparatively little danger of being attacked. We had so far been accompanied by a small mounted escort of a dozen men or so; for though the mountainous districts of Southern and Central Shensi through which we had passed harbour plenty of brigands, these are mostly local robbers who plunder isolated travellers

and levy blackmail on the villages. The north of Shensi on the other hand was at the time of our visit in the hands of organized troops of brigands of a semi-political character, robbers one day, rebels the next, and perhaps successful revolutionaries the next.

At Yao Chou we struck the main trail from Hsian Fu to Yenan, Suitê, Yülin, and the north of the province generally; with the exception of the little known and seldom used track by which we returned it is the only trail connecting Central and Northern Shensi. As far as Yenan and Yench'ang it is passable for carts, having been constructed at considerable cost for the transport of the Japanese oil-drilling machinery to Yench'ang in 1906, and again repaired by the Americans during their oil-drilling venture eight years later. This road might at comparatively small cost be made passable for motor traffic, and had the American enterprise succeeded would doubtless long since have been made so. As it is, it nowadays leads into a depopulated, brigand-infested region where there is no trade and traffic, and is gradually reverting to the condition of an ordinary Chinese trail. But it is an example of the ease with which a comparatively good cart track can be constructed through mountainous country, where, without the stimulus of a foreign interest, the Chinese would for ever remain content with the usual villainous mule trail.

The first stage from Yao Chou is a short one, called 60 li, to T'ungkuan Hsien, and lies up the valley to the N.E., which, except at one point about half-way where it contracts into a gorge, is cultivated and bounded by low hills of loess. T'ungkuan is a little third class district city lying at the foot of the first of the mountain ranges which cross Northern Shensi from N.W. to S.E.

The next day's march is from T'ungkuan Hsien to Yichün Hsien, a distance of 80 li. The track runs up the valley to the north, the loess hills gradually becoming more rocky and less cultivated, for 25 li to the barrier hamlet of Chinso Kuan, where an old wall and fort guard the entrance to a gorge. Here the loess is left behind and scrub-covered mountains are entered through a winding gorge, which leads by an easy ascent after three hours' march to the hamlet of Liehch'uan, lying on the top of the range at a height of

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about 4700 feet. From the pass there is no immediate descent, the track following along a winding ridge in the grass and brush-covered hills for 25 li, and then descending a few hundred feet to reach Yichün, a dilapidated little city, built on the side of the ridge, the centre of a very poor third class district.

The range of mountains crossed on this day's march forms the watershed between the Lo and Wei rivers, the two principal streams draining Northern Shensi, and rises well above the loess covering. Perhaps the soil of no region in the world has been worked by man to the same extent as the loess of Central Shensi, where the Chinese have been scratching, sowing, and reaping uninterruptedly for some 4000 years or more, and the landscape of those plains appears tired and worn out. It is therefore a relief to get out of the loess, with its alternate dust and mud, glaring heat, insufficient and often brackish water, and treeless and monotonous scenery, into these mountains with their clear streams, grassy downs, and brush-covered slopes, haunted by innumerable deer and pheasants. In all our travels we found few spots more teeming with game than the hill sides in the neighbourhood of Yichün, and being now in a country where supplies were practically nil, we bagged quantities of cock pheasants, in pursuit of which it was seldom necessary to go more than a hundred yards from the road. We saw plenty of deer, apparently roe, too, but as we could get as many pheasants as we wanted, we did not trouble to go after them.

This range also marks the dividing line at present between the comparatively peaceful regions of Central Shensi and the brigand infested north. Yichün had been raided but recently, and was generally speaking in a most dilapidated condition from this and previous raids. When leaving the next morning we passed a crowd of the usual emaciated dogs outside the North Gate feasting on the remains of some decapitated brigands, an unpleasant sight at six o'clock in the morning, but one which gave great pleasure to most of the party. For a dead brigand cannot but be a pleasant sight to a peaceful Chinese, and my companions kept on repeating to themselves with real satisfaction *kou ch'ih t'u fei* (dogs eating brigands), as being an entirely

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579 BRAWLS, RIOTS, AND BANDITRY--prevalence and causes of brawls; types (e.g., drinking brawls, gang fights); running amok; incidence and types of riots (e.g., bread riots, race riots, political riots); methods of control; manifestations of mob psychology; incidence of organized violence (e.g., banditry piracy); etc. See also:

Political corruption 66
Strikes 468
Organized vice 548
Police 625
Social control 626
Lynching 627
Feuds 628
Revolutions 669
Punishment of disorderly conduct 689
Martial law 722
Warfare 726
Petty delinquency 738
Children's gangs 857

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

*563 encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives.
221 Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be
[437] found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.
*563 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en
221 masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-
796 winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both
792 pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety
[443] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also
[584] market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.
*563 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable
221 to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of
•579 movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables
[792] in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk re-
[488] lated to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures
423 were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units
621 (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of
619 encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.
*563 These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might
423 form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority.
622 In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local
[792] monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But
*563 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting
622 his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might
628 leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important
614 roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is
[621] not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

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The clan **/The Nomadic Tibetans/**

*563 614 [421] as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates. The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

N *563 648 [651] Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknowledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

N *563 792 Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no political control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

N *563 554 556 Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the N [579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with N [574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S 563 121 175

A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)

Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

*668 violate rules and regulations are stressed as they were in the monarchal days.

[626] Social pressure is also great. With the whole population organized under the Communists' tight control, the entire society can be mobilized to work against crime and political conspiracies. This has been well demonstrated by the various "anti" movements and the study groups.

174 B. Current Problems of Administration

*668 [656] Because of the tight governmental control of news and the distance which separates northwest China from the outside world, very little information has been obtained about resistance activities in the area. However, judging by the meager information offered by the Communists themselves, their rule over the northwest has not been very smooth. The Communists seldom, if ever, reveal their troubles while they are current, but they do uncover some facts when the resistance has been suppressed. By careful screening, one may piece together the picture of subversive activities in the area. Sometimes they were on an alarming scale. To help clarify this general background, some excerpts from the Chinese Communists' own reports and a few indirect quotations are presented as examples.

*175 579 *668 669 1. "During the past year, (i.e. 1950)...we have destroyed more than 69,600 bandits in the northwest. Right now there are still more than 5,400 active bandits. The largest group is the one under the leadership of Osman and Husein who are hiding in the deep mountains along the border line between the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. There are about two to three thousand men in this group. The rest of the bandits are in small groups linked with various underground spies and the rural counter-revolutionary forces. The condition is still very complicated..." (Jen-min ch'u-pan-she: Cheng-fu kung-tso pao-jao, 1950, p. 418, Report on the book of the Government.)

*175 563 *668 669 2. "...the misunderstanding...between the various nationalities has not yet been thoroughly dissolved. Consciously or unconsciously,...the Pan-Chinese idea still exists in our Chinese cadres' mind. Besides, we still have some serious shortcomings and mistakes in our nationality work. When the remnants of the bandits and spies fanned up the feelings of the people, it led to the disputes that occurred among the nationality groups in certain areas after the liberation. In the area of Lin-hsia (in Kansu), the military conflict between the Moslems and the Chinese caused more than one thousand deaths and the dislocation of more than 30,000 people who were forced to leave their homes. The loss in production was even more serious.

"In Ta-t'ung county of Chinghai, the T'ung-hsin-ch'eng of Ninghsia, in the area of P'ing-liang of Kansu, there have been

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*175 military riots on a large or small scale.... The Chinese at Tien-
*563 tzu-wa of Ku-yuan county (in Kansu) were unwilling to be annexed
*668 to Chang-hua-tien where the Moslems were the majority. They
669 repeatedly petitioned to the county government, but the county magistrate insisted on upholding his own opinion.... This ended in the tragedy of the magistrate being beaten and numerous people murdered." (Ibid., p. 444).

3. "(NCNA Sian, December 10, 1950)"

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"Bandit remnants remaining in Sinkiang, native bandits,
175 and special agents working for the US-Chiang elements, led by
579 Ulachibai, Stiga and Pulungchiafu who had been determinedly pur-
668 sued by the People's Liberation Army, were forced on December 1
669 to surrender their force of 127, bringing with them 70 rifles, 4,000 rounds of ammunition, and a number of horses.

"Ulachibai, a Kazak, was formerly the puppet (i.e. Nationalist) deputy magistrate of Chinghua hsien. Stiga, also a Kazak, was Commander of the Kou-mintang Self-Defense Corps at Nanshan. Pulungchiafu, a Mongol, was formerly puppet deputy magistrate of Ashan hsien, and a company commander of the forces of the bandit Osman.

"During the months of June and July, 1950, the aforementioned three bandits, in collusion with the US-Chiang agent, Osman, undertook to shelter special agents and army deserters, and proceeded with an orgy of rebellion, massacre, and robbery, in the Ching-hua, Nanshan, and Yenki areas.

"For the protection of the interest of the people, the People's Liberation Army, after the successful suppression of the bandit gangs led by Osman, Yollbars (Yolbar), and Janimkan (Janim Khan), since July has conducted operations against the bandit remnants of the three bandit chiefs.

"After overcoming many difficulties, the People's Liberation Army finally dealt annihilating blows to the remaining bandits."

An editorial in the Peking Jen-min jih-pao, (December 28, 1950) reported:

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4. "Liu Yung-nien, chief of the technical division of the
*175 Kuomingtang's 'Second Bureau' in Lanchow... is an arch criminal,
669 who, after liberation of Lanchow, planted 1,200 mines and destroyed the Hsiang-t'ang bridge."

5. "In the spring of 1952, the anti-Communists guerrillas in the P'ing-liang area of eastern Kansu started two open rebellions on April 2nd and May 8th under the leadership of Ma Hsiao-tung and Ma Kuo-yuan. They attacked the counties of Hsi-chi, Hai-yuan and spread all over eastern Kansu and continued their activities, commented Lo Chun in "The Construction and Management of the Highway in Northwest China," in Chung-kung wen-t'i, No. 3, p.120.

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6. "(NCNA Sian, September 7, 1952)
*175 The Ang-la tribe is located 300 li southeast of Sining in the
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Chien-cha district in Chinghai province. It is a place in the wooded mountains on the west bank of the upper stretch of the Yellow River, where over 8,000 Tibetans dwell together. After the liberation of Chinghai province, large numbers of the KMT remnant bandits under Ma Pu-fang fled to the Chien-cha district, and instigated Hsiang Ch'ien, chieftain of the tribe, to oppose the People's Government, obstructed the communication lines in the adjoining districts, successively assaulted with force the Tibetans and people of other nationalities in the border regions of Kweiteh, Hwalung, Shunhwa, and Tungjen, and several times attacked the PLA.

"With a view to peacefully solving the problem of the Ang-la tribe, as early as October, 1950, the Chinghai Provincial People's Government appointed Hsiang Ch'ien as a member of the Consultative Conference. From September, 1951, to April, '952, the provincial people's government dispatched personnel 17 times to persuade and convince Hsiang Ch'ien. Chairman of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government Hsi-jao-chia-tso, Vice Chairman of the Consultative Committee Drashi, Deputy Secretary General Ku-chia-sai; Ta-erh-ssu-fa-t'ai-hsia-jung-to-pu, member; Yueh-sai-to-chieh, member of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs; Sang-je-shia-tso, deputy director of the Department of Culture and Education; Keng-teng, deputy magistrate of Kweiteh hsien; Ch'ueh-chi, deputy magistrate of Hwalung hsien; T'ung-ch'u-hu, magistrate of Haiyen hsien; Pa-meng, Vice Manager of the Chinghai Trading Company, and other prominent figures of the Tibetan nationality went in person to persuade him...

"In February and March 1952, Hsiang Ch'ien thrice instigated more than 1,000 persons to invade the border region of Kweiteh and other hsien, and attacked the PLA forces at the locality. Furthermore, he dispatched personnel to infiltrate into Tungteh, Hsinghai, Tulan, and other hsien with the intent of instigating and expanding the rebellion...

"In early May, under the assistance and cooperation of the Tibetans and the people of various nationalities, the PLA of the Chinghai Military District carried out an annihilation campaign in the Chiencha district. Most of the reactionary armed forces surrendered at the locality, while Hsiang Ch'ien himself fled and hid in the mountains, bringing along a small number of persons and horses....Hsiang Ch'ien's family was protected by the PLA...

"Chou Jen-shan, director of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Chinghai Provincial Committee, Sang-je-chia-tso, deputy director of the Department of Culture and Education of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, Yuch-sai-to-chieh, member of the Committee of Nationalities Affairs, Yu-chia-sai, Secretary General of the Chinghai Provincial Consultative Committee, and Ch'ueh Chi, deputy magistrate of Hwalung hsien also went to comfort them...

"Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and arrived at Sining on July 31....

"The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:

"During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

"(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Administration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23, to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. Instead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"

The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances. Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to pacity the resisting minorities.

9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)

"According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

"The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research together with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sentences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the criminal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two special districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two municipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

"Judging from the events that have taken place in our province during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habitual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

and the so-called Four Ma, all of Moslem religion. Ma Hung-k'ui is one of them. His father, Ma Fu-hsiang (literary name, Yun-t'ing), served in the early years of the Republic as the High Commissioner for Chinghai, commander of the Guards Division for Altai, and later in the second year of the Republic, 1913, the Commission of the Guards Division for Ninghsia.

When the Revolution of 1911 broke out, Ma Hung-k'uei was studying at the military school in Lanchou, Kansu. He played a small part in the revolution by mobilizing the students of the school and trying, unsuccessfully, to take over some strategic points in the city.

He started his military career when he followed his father to Ninghsia as a batallion leader. In 1921, when his father was transferred to be the garrison commander of Suiyuan, he was promoted as commanding officer of the Fifth Mixed Brigade. During the war between Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria and Wu P'ei-fu of Chihli (Hopei) Province, he was appointed as the commander of the cavalry in Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces. After the war was over, he followed the victorious General Feng Yu-hsiang to Peking. In 1926, when the Northern Expedition started, he followed General Feng again, taking part in the expedition. At this time his troop was reorganized into the Fourth Army of the First Army Group, and he became the commander of the Fourth Army. In 1928, he fought the war in North China and his troops suffered a great loss. When the situation was settled, he regrouped his troops into the 17th Division, and was put in charge of suppressing the bandits in the western part of Shantung Province. In April, 1929, when General Feng Yu-hsiang revolted against the Nationalist Government headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Ma remained loyal to the Nationalist Government. His troops were again reorganized into the 11th Army. In 1930, his army was enlarged into the 15th Army Group and was in charge of patrolling the Lung-hai and Tientsin-Pukou Railway lines. In the winter of 1932 he was ordered to go to Ninghsia, and on January 1, 1933, he was appointed governor of Ninghsia.

When Ma Hung-k'ui took over the administration in 1933, the province of Ninghsia was in a deplorable situation, suffering from floods and the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. To restore peace and prosperity to the people, Ma Hung-k'uei first mopped up the remnants of the bandits in his province. He introduced the Pao-chia system by which the people were organized to insure against the recurrence of banditry. Third, he adopted measures to put a gradual end to the planting and smoking of opium. Fourth, he stabilized the currency within Ninghsia and improved the taxation system. Simultaneously, he followed the policies of improving land administration, encouraging

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suitable and satisfactory state of affairs. Unfortunately my enquiries showed that these decapitated bodies were not those of the real brigands of these regions at all, but of some strangers who arrived at the city gates and could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and who had accordingly been executed so as to be on the safe side.

Most of the magistrates in Shensi are now natives of the province, young students and military officers of the new school, but in one of the districts on this road we met an official of the old type of magistrate *de carrière*, a Hunanese who had just come down from Chinese Turkestan where he had been serving for years. Though the virtues of the new type of local official in China may be great, it was a pleasure to meet a gentleman of the old school with his many and varied experiences, and we had a long talk about mutual acquaintances serving in the deserts of the far North West.

From Yichün the path follows down the ridge descending gradually for 35 li to the village of P'iench'iao, where the mountains give way once more to loess hills and the ridge flattens out into a plateau. The track continues across this tableland, winding to and fro to avoid the usual rifts in the loess falling away into the valleys on either side, and then descends steeply for the last five li to reach the district city of Chungpu lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east.

We were now once more in the loess with its glaring dry heat and choking dust. The season of the year was early June, when all over North China there is a spell of very hot dry weather, corresponding, presumably, to the heat of Northern India before the monsoon. In July and August the rains break, and though the steamy heat is then trying enough, and the loess is turned into slimy mud, the change is a great relief.

At Chungpu we were met by the Taoyin of Northern Shensi, whose seat is at Yülin Fu on the edge of the Ordos. His post is at present a most difficult one owing to the northern districts being so overrun with brigands. He told us that the extreme north of the province was much less desolate and more prosperous than the districts we were now traversing. We had heard much of the terrible "bitter-

this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here containing a considerably less volume of water than where crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between. Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings one to Fu Chou.

Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city, is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact that it had been sacked four times by brigands during the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The official of one of these cities informed me that it was inadvisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

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place having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there would be nothing to attract another raid provided there were no modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver, opium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go for. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou was a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain behind the town, built by the magistrate and the few remaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In the centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient bronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang Dynasty, the only object of value which survives the periodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to Ch'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west trails in these parts.

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 to 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through poor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The loess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the whole region gives the impression of turning into desert. Several miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of caves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts built of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity of wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for constructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably the people are so used to living in caves that they do not feel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is not to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in winter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage which is always going on in the loess these caves are constantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct when it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan is a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a city.

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River and follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after three to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass (4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen Shui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously enough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent and descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy downs. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

the south, runs for two hours' march across the flat-t hills, descending finally by precipitous zigzags to rea city of Yich'uan lying in the narrow valley of a s flowing east to join the Yellow River. The country c on this march is again pure loess, very sparsely popu and with innumerable grass-grown terraces which hav out of cultivation and render evident the depopulat the region.

Yich'uan Hsien, lying at the junction of two n valleys in the loess, is the capital of a second class di and was evidently a comparatively large and prosperou in the past. At the time of our visit it was practically e and lying in the heart of that wild and little frequented r which contains the chief haunts of the brigand ban Northern Shensi, it is at the present time uninhabitab any but the poorest classes. Northern Shensi, depop by the Mahomedan rebellion fifty years ago, and probably undergoing a process of desiccation, is losi few remaining inhabitants of the better class throug devastations of the brigands, many having moved acro Yellow River into Shansi, where conditions are much b Recently a large band of brigands, perhaps finding Northern Shensi was getting rather bare, also moved a the river; but prompt military measures were taken b Shansi authorities and they were soon driven back to original haunts with great loss. The question nat arises, why should these brigands be left apparentl molested by the authorities of their own province?

The answer is provided by the history of even Shensi during the years since the revolution of 1911, is outlined in another chapter. The brigands of Nor Shensi are mostly ex-soldiers and Ko Lao Hui men are composed of the same material as the provincial tr with whom they exchange rôles from time to time. therefore not possible to use the latter against them. Fu they constitute in a way the reserves of the provincial which are thus maintained without cost to the prov Government. The Shensi soldier usually owns his Mauser and as much ammunition as he can carry w round and round his body in a cloth bandolier, acq in the course of some previous rebellion or brigand

and thus equipped serves either as a soldier or a brigand 701
according to his own tastes and the military requirements of 579
the local Government. In either character he is about equally obnoxious to the people. Both rôles too have their respective advantages; the life of a Chinese brigand may be rather lean at times, but there is always the possibility of a good haul; the life of a soldier in Shensi may be dull, but he is fed and paid without being asked to do any work. This kind of soldier of fortune is known locally in the province as a *Tao K'o* (guest of the sword); most of the better-class brigands and soldiers are Tao K'o, which is considered a title to be proud of. The Shensi soldier differs widely from and compares unfavourably with his colleagues in the well-organized and disciplined armies of the North (Chihli, Shantung, Anhui, and Honan provide most of the sturdy men for those fine Northern armies on which the power of Peking rests); but it is not his fault, for he is the victim of circumstances and of the Ko Lao Hui. I have been in close contact for months with Shensi soldiers, who were, to use the Chinese euphemism, *Kuei hui pei shan* ("returned from the Northern hills"—a polite way of referring to an ex-brigand locally), and always found them excellent fellows as far as I was concerned, though behaving tyrannically towards the people.

The difficulties of suppressing brigandage in the wild and pathless mountains of Shensi are in any case very great. Measures for the satisfactory pacification of the region would include the complete reorganization of the provincial army, or the garrisoning of the province with three or four brigades of good Northern troops. But the latter is not at present practicable, as the people of the province not unnaturally are great believers in home rule and like to manage their own affairs. Another very necessary but difficult reform is the disarming of the people and the recovery of the large
stocks of rifles at present in private hands. In modern China 579
the brigand without a rifle is a negligible quantity. It is
chiefly through the various rebellions that these arms have 669
become scattered over the country with such disastrous 701
results, and brigandage grows steadily worse with every such outbreak of civil war. A rebellion is engineered (in Shensi at any rate) by collecting funds and enlisting brigands and

669 secret society men as soldiers; after the rebellion is over, whether it succeeds or not, the soldiers are disbanded and
579 scatter with their arms over the country, with the inevitable result of increased brigandage. The growth of brigandage in
701 Shensi may easily be traced since 1911, the revolution of that year, the rebellion of 1913, the White Wolf rebellion in 1914, the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916, the troubles of 1917, and so on.

133 From Yich'uan Hsien to Hanch'eng Hsien is a distance of about 240 li, three hard days' march by a difficult track
487 through the mountains which here hem in the Yellow River. All the way from Yench'ang south to the plains of Central Shensi, which are reached at Hanch'eng, the traveller is crossing a series of parallel ridges trending east and west across his path; but while between Yench'ang and Yich'uan the intervals between these ridges are filled by loess which provides comparatively easy slopes, the region between the latter place and Hanch'eng is covered by mountains which are practically free from loess and entail the crossing of a series of precipitous little passes. The trail slants across these mountains towards the Yümen K'ou, the point where the Yellow River emerges from its gorges on to the plains; the river itself is not touched, though glimpses are caught from the tops of the passes of its huge trough in the mountains.

From Yich'uan the trail runs up the valley to the S.W. for a few li and then turns up a gorge to the south, which leads after a couple of hours' march to the foot of the barrier range which bounds the Yich'uan valley on the south. A steep climb leads to the pass, the Lut'ou Ling (5100 feet). This range and the valleys and spurs leading up to it, though covered with loess on the northern side, are uncultivated and uninhabited. On the southern side there is practically no loess, and the latter is not met with in any quantity again till the path debouches on to the plains of the Yellow River above Hanch'eng three days later. The absence of loess in the low-lying valley bottoms of these mountains is rather curious, and one may speculate whether perhaps the Lut'ou Ling range, which before the existence of the Yellow River was probably joined to the mountains of Shansi, did not form a barrier keeping the floods which deposited the loess from reaching this region, which con-

ably become detached, and had then fallen down. 000
Such an incident would, of necessity, be viewed by the Chinese with dismay, the only possible course open, in order to avoid calamity, being to spread a feast before the gods, and then restore the tablet to its place of honour. The gentleman had, however, in the meantime become a Christian, and on making enquiry found that the day on which he first entered the Mission premises at Suchow was the self-same day on which the tablet had fallen. His answer, therefore, to the priest was as follows: 'You may act as you please with your own temple, but as for me and my house we will serve the Lord.'

On the evening of our departure from Chikinpu, so 484
as to shorten the journey, we decided to follow a side- 777
path leading over rough ground, and also across a river, before rejoining the main, desert track. When we had gone about three miles our servant suddenly discovered the loss of a large packet of books, which had, apparently, fallen from the back of the cart. Ineffectual search was made until sunset, by which time the carters became reluctant to pursue a strange path by the fading light, so they suggested that, by adding five miles to the journey, we could follow another route which was more frequented than the shorter one. We, however, decided to return to the inn, although we knew that by so doing we should violate every Chinese instinct, the popular idea being, that to retrace one's
steps is to court ill-luck. But the next day, both 579
Christians and heathen alike recognised the fact that we had been protected by a Divine Power, for we then learnt, that had we proceeded on our way we must inevitably have arrived at a certain spot just when a band of brigands, sweeping down from the hills, had
attacked the caravans travelling that night. We were 000

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from the Chinese way, but the clothes of the men were different. 563
They preferred small octagonal blue, white or black caps and long garments which were worn like a caftan. It became more and more evident in all the faces we saw that foreign blood predominated here. The color of their skin had grown lighter. More and more often I saw red cheeks, brownish mustaches which were trimmed somewhat, hooked and somewhat narrower noses, eyelids with an at least horizontal axis and a much more pronounced arcus superciliaris than in
the Mongolian type. The region around Ho tschou is densely popu- [361]
lated; countless villages are scattered all over and in all of them the Mohammedans strongly predominate. (1) And no wonder! For I

1. Today no Mohammedans are permitted to live in and around the city of Di dao tschou; their settlements begin on the other side of the Tao Ho. On the way from Di dao to Ho tschou I saw many goiters, otherwise North China does not have many cases of it. Goiters begin to appear in the valleys of the Tsin ling, and in certain places there they are so frequent that almost every adult and especially all women carry around such an appendage.

was now nearing the stronghold of Mohammedanism in China proper.
What stories the Chinese soldiers who escorted me knew about the 563
towns along the way and the year 1895 when the Hui hui had re- 579
belled! What hair-raising deeds had been committed on both sides! Whenever they fell into each other's hands, no matter what age or what sex, they killed one another. Whole communities were exterminated. The rebellious bands of Mohammedan farmers moved along from village to village. But the leading mullahs acted thoughtlessly. Their troops were so poorly armed that even smaller town walls stood firm if they were half-way decently defended.

It is astonishing that there are still so many Mohammedans in 563
existence after all the rebellions which were always quelled amid 779
rivers of blood. /161/ When I approached the city of Ho tschou itself I thought I was in a Mohammedan country. From the tops of the many minarets the muezzins were calling the hour of prayer. Well-spoken Arabic syllables reached my ear; countless old mosques /dscha mu (Arabic-Chinese)/ stood among groups of beautiful trees and many bearded mullahs without pigtails moved about in the throng.

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free spot to be found. We were soon tired of searching and so we 485
set up our tent in a quiet corner and drove the ponies into an empty, unclaimed courtyard, of which there are a great many since the last Mohammedan rebellion. We set up the tent in order to "make the face attractive," as the Chinese say and so that people would not say: the European lay down in the street. But the wind kept blowing the tent down and so we lay in the open street after all; on top of everything, the temperature was 20°.

In the early morning we then found an inn (Plate XXXVIII). We were even obliged to call it a good one because the doors could be locked, but of course the guest had to bring his own lock. I immediately handed out a list of the things we still needed. Even tall Tschang hurried forth to do errands, although it would perhaps be more accurate to say he deigned to set out in order to look for things. He always undertook only those commissions that gave promise of the most profit for himself. Another servant repaired the windows of my room so well with tissue paper that the smoke from the wood fire which was lit on the floor of my room, presumably to warm me,
made the tears run down my cheeks. Thus, the rare advantage of a 354
hotel room with a door that locked was rather illusory. In the end it 132
was better to warm one's hands at a blazing wood fire in an open court. In Dankar there is /177/ neither coal nor charcoal to be had, I might almost say, a proof of the fact that one is no longer in China. I need not say that nobody knows how to build a stove. The people of Dankar, Hsining and other places in highland China and Tibet have the sun to keep them warm in winter. Every day, even in December and January, women and children can be seen in a sheltered corner beside a wall, going about their usual business. Even though the air is several degrees below freezing, the sun is so warm that one does not feel the cold. Little children play out of doors from early morning on, dressed in only a short jacket with perhaps sock-like shoes on their little feet. But you never hear them complain about the cold. If you enter a yamen, you see the secretaries carrying their tables and chairs out of their offices and painting at their legal documents in the warmth of the sun.

At noon I had a call from the ting of Dankar, a friendly, middle- 579
aged gentleman from South China. The major of the town had called earlier and taken the occasion to offer me for sale a very lean pony. The ting came on behalf of the amban of Hsining in order again to confer with me about my journey to the Koko Nor. The amban I was told, requested me to wait another few weeks until

[text continues on p. 294]

C 579 after the Chinese New Year. The ting then proceeded to entertain me with the most hair-raising stories about robbers. In the summer of 1905 he had been in the Tibetan highland with 45 men, on behalf of the amban and the viceroy of Lanchow fu, in order to demand of the Denang-Ngolok (1) who live beside the tribe of Hantsien

T 619

1. In Northeast Tibet there are many tribes of tent Tibetans who are quite independent of each other. An oft-mentioned but today more historical division of the tribes makes the following distinction:

1. Banagkaksum, the black tent tribes of the Koko Nor (Rockhill's Panaka which, according to him, means eight Na tribes /?/). Baner (Banag) or Waner are the names of all Tibetans living around the Koko Nor, probably because of their black tents. But they are divided into various tribes who plunder and quarrel among themselves. The mightiest chief in Banagkaksum is the ts'ien hu, i.e., the head of an aggregate of a thousand from the tribe of the Wanschdäch'e. Besides him there are a number of other tribal chiefs who regard themselves as nearly as powerful, for instance Gan ts'a, Rengan, Tschamri, Lhardi, Tschebts'a. If they are recognized by the Hsining amban, they are given blue or red official buttons and - what is most important to them - an annual gift of grain. The new republican regime sought to win them over by giving them decorations resembling European ones. It is possible and probable that the Baner are those Tibetans who were once ruled by the Mongols. In contrast to the Ngolok, they wear pointed caps with a fur border, which are very similar to those of the Koko Nor and Tsaidam Mongols.

2. Ngolokhkaksum (Golokasum). These tribes, also nomads, live south of the Baner and around the upper course of the Hwang Ho. They consist of a number of large tribes who are completely independent of the Chinese and wage the most violent warfare among each other. The largest tribe of the Ngolok Tibetans is that of Ardshün whose chief even calls himself dyalbo (rgyalbo), i.e., "king" (from 1904-1909 a very war-like woman in her twenties was at the head of this tribe).

3. Mah'ah 'kami (Mah'ari). Those nomad tribes who live south of Kue de ting and the Hwang Ho are grouped

together in Hsining and on the Koko Nor as the Mah'ah'kami, i.e., "those living beyond the Machü." Their chief /178/ is the Ts'ien hu of Lu tsang. But this chief, too, cannot by any means hold together and rule all the tribes round about him. T 619

Everywhere in Tibet there is a tendency toward splitting-up and separating into tribes and sub-tribes, an eternal feud, much worse than in the Middle Ages in Germany. But that is the very reason why the Chinese still have some power there; the Chinese like to see quarrels going on. They fill the pockets of officials and make ruling easy. Even in the year 62 B.C. in a report from the throne by General Tschao, the policy to split up the Tibetans is developed and recommended.

/178/ Doba on the upper Hwang Ho, repayment of stolen goods. C 579
Twenty-five people from Lhasa, merchants and representatives of the most sacred monasteries of Central Tibet, had been attacked and robbed near the source waters of the Hwang Ho. The Tibetan Lhasa government placed the loss at 26,700 taels (according to the then rate of exchange in silver: 70,000 marks) and the Lhasa-Tibetans sued the Chinese government. (1) The Ngolok tribe had perpetrated the

1. From this we may draw some conclusions as to the extent of the trade between Central Tibet and Dankar. Each year two such caravans go from Lhasa to Dankar and vice versa. The value of these would altogether amount to no more than 100,000 taels. The value of the animals should in part be included, for they are also commercial goods. The yaks used as pack animals are largely sold in Dankar by the people from Lhasa as well as from K'am and mules bought in their place, which they in turn sell at a profit when they get home. The trade of Dankar with the surrounding nomad country is almost three times as large, so that we arrive at a total of little more than 1,300,000 marks for Dankar's imports and exports. (Rockhill in The Land of the Lamas, p. 111 estimates the total value of the trade in 1889 at 150,000 taels.) C 439

attack and that is why the ting of Dankar was obliged to travel to Denang. C 579

581

581 BASIS OF MARRIAGE--theories of the origin, purpose, sanctity, and permanency of marriage; conception of the marriage bond and of the status of matrimony; economic, sexual, and romantic factors in marriage; incentives to marriage; qualities desired in a spouse (e.g., beauty, wealth, industry, skill); relation of marriage to the family; etc. See also:

Family organization 59
Sex 83
Marriages of convenience 587

THE FAMILY

S N I. Introduction

121 59 563 Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must S N [589] enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589] The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183 Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. S N [829] A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593 In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable. Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Monogamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modifications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accordingly. The most common and least complicated arrangement in this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried children. The family may also include several grandchildren born to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage, and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with their parents. A daughter also may bring her husband into her family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons. The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own, severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more additional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son marries, and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the continuity of the family . There is much greater degree of stability and permanence in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

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582 REGULATION OF MARRIAGE--minimum and average age at marriage for each sex; postponement of marriage (e.g., for economic reasons, to enable an elder sibling to marry first); marriage laws and regulations; physical and mental bars to marriage; endogamous and exogamous restrictions; primary marriage preference and practice (e.g., with a cross-cousin, hypergamy); explanations and rationalizations of marriage restrictions; tests of marriageability (e.g., of skill, prowess, fertility); etc. See also:

Marriages between members of different social strata 56
Kin group exogamy 61
Preferred secondary marriages 567
Polygamous marriages 595
Local exogamy and endogamy 621
Sex and marital offenses 684
Incest taboos and privileged sex relationships 835
Premarital sexuality 836
Puberty ordeals 881
Definition of majority 884

degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country. The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes. Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chinese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife. The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest, offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese community. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan communities.

The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a generation of two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him. Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

avoid increased assessments.

The relationships between husband and wife have no religious basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Frequent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are concerned with and derive a living from a common property. They all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan system but they do have some regulations influencing their relationships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind, he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Government schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church. Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

583

583 MODE OF MARRIAGE--wife-capture (e.g., actual, ceremonial); marriage by exchange (e.g., of sisters); wife-purchase; marriage by payment of consideration (e.g., substantial bride-price, token bride-price, dowry); bride-service (e.g., premarital, postmarital); marriage by gift exchange; marriage by formal or informal initiation of common residence; temporary and trial marriage; elopement (e.g., motives, subsequent adjustments); prevalence and prestige of each mode; relation to rules of residence; conceptualization of bride-price or dowry (e.g., as purchase price, as compensation for loss of services, as guarantee of marriage stability); content and mode of payment of consideration; contributors and recipients; etc. See also:

Gift giving . . . . 431 Residence rules 591
Differential modes in secondary marriages . . 587

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable. Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Monogamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modifications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accordingly. The most common and least complicated arrangement in this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried children. The family may also include several grandchildren born to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage, and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with their parents. A daughter also may bring her husband into her family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons. The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own, severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more additional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son marries, and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the continuity of the family . There is much greater degree of stability and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

The bridegroom's family sends gifts to the bride's family. The acceptance of the gifts implies that the daughter's hand is promised. The day is then set for the wedding.

Those who marry by their own choice do not have to go through this complicated procedure. If the parents consent to their children's choice, the regular ceremony will take place.

After the wedding date has been set the bride's family starts preparing her dowry. On the wedding day both families invite lamas to their homes to chant sutras. The groom's family asks relatives and friends to go to greet the bride at her home. When the bride is properly dressed in her best clothes, she follows the greeting party back to her fiance's home. Members of her own family accompany the bride halfway and then return. When the bride reaches the groom's family, she occupies a humble place in the tent. The relatives and friends drink and feast for a few days. On the third day, the young couple go to visit the bride's family. The latter then summons their relatives and friends and celebrates for a few days. When a groom is taken into the bride's family, the ceremony will be similar, but he will occupy the place of honor in the tent.

If the young couple marries without parental consent, they may go to live in the home of some relatives for a few days. Then the young man will return to his home to negotiate the matter with his parents. If his parents finally give their consent, he then goes to discuss the matter with his wife's parents. The couple will live with the family that has approved of their marriage. If both families object and the two are determined to continue their life together, they may leave their families and form their own household.

The wedding ceremony is not always performed. Many of the poor people have no wedding ceremonies at all. A decision to get married and form a family will suffice.

Once a marriage is concluded it cannot be annulled by outsiders. Regardless of whether it be the man's or the woman's parents who protest against the marriage, they do not have the legal right to annul it. They may withhold wealth and property from the couple, but they cannot take other steps.

Divorces are not too hard to obtain. They occur, however, with much less frequency than among the Turks of Sinkiang. If, the couple does not get along well, or if the wife proves barren, she can be sent back to her father. The husband will have to pay her father a price in horses, yaks, tea, or cloth. The young husband may treat his wife badly and she may complain to her father who sends for a middle man to arrange the matter. If the middle man, after talking to the husband, learns that he insists on a divorce, he will report it to the wife's father. The matter then becomes one of bargaining. The middle man sits with the father and the husband while the two dispute the price of the divorce, and he usually helps them reach an agreement. If there are children,

right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

that two hundred thousand people had perished in the disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had also been constructed with famine relief funds, and which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled for seven days before touching another Mission station —a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our litter-men was a *Moslem*—proud and cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose between this man and the others, on the subject of the choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected

/The Tibetans/

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/The Tibetans/

*563 are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets
• 585 and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to
sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of
friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides
a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of
both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the for-
mality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratula-
tions and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders
are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status
are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with
a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they
have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both
families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the
monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for
three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

*563 The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the
844 third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally
852 preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity
[562] of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make
him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein
[751] of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to
Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ail-
[853] ments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the
same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

*563 The child receives a name when it is one month old. The
553 name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama.
852 With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between
names for males and females. High lamas always give their
[793] own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-
giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to
give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily cele-
brated.

*563 "Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic
764 areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat,
the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the
stomachs of the birds.

*563 When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant
sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the pa-
[756] tient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant
[793] sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity."
*563 Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bun-
763 dle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the
769 tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed be-
side him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant
prayers.

*563 Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women
764 are not permitted to attend.
562

586

586 TERMINATION OF MARRIAGE--methods (e.g., desertion, separation, annulment, divorce); prevalence of each; reasons (e.g., cruelty, infidelity, laziness, sterility); initiative and rights of each sex; procedure; residence readjustments; allocation of children (e.g., to mother, to father, to parent least at fault, division by age or sex); property arrangements (e.g., return of bride-price, alimony); subsequent relations of divorced spouses; social attitudes toward separation and divorce; etc. See also:

Sex status	562	Termination of marriage following the death of one spouse	768
Sex and marital offenses	684	Adultery	837
Dependency	736	Barrenness and sterility	842

it. But in Hsining and environs I found very few Chinese who really knew Tibetan. On the other hand, I did not succeed this time in getting the services of even one trustworthy Tibetan. There were six Tibetans who were willing to accompany me as far as the Koko Nor Lake, but they would not promise to go a step farther. They feared the dangers much more than the Chinese. Of my old companions, Da Tschang again entered my services.

In the meantime he had again got married. It was the fourth time that the less than thirty year old man took a wife. He proudly declared that not a single wife had ever died on him and that he had never had to pay the high cost of a funeral. He was fortunate enough always to get rid of his wives when he got tired of them. On the other hand, he constantly complained about how expensive it was to get married in Hsining, much more so than farther down in the real China; for a halfway pretty virgin one had to hand over at least 100 taels (300 marks) in his homeland. And, in fact, Chinese women are very much in demand in the Hsining valley. Because the cost of living is very low, all the wealthier men have several women and thus lessen the supply still more. I never heard anything about the killing of girls, for it pays to rear them here. It is almost impossible to find a woman of 20 who is unmarried. After she is once married, however, a woman rapidly decreases in value, in the eyes of the men.

In front of the door to my inn I once witnessed a case that was typical among the lower classes. A peasant loaned a soldier 20 taels and the latter had to pledge him his wife, because he had no other possessions. The soldier again needed money and the peasant gave him another 20 taels with the firm understanding that the wife now belonged to him exclusively and that the soldier renounce all right to her. The peasant even took the child which the soldier had by the woman, because he said he had already given the soldier much too much money. It is possible that Hsining, being a garrison town on the border, may present particularly extreme conditions. For instance, women are also exchanged; in short, every conceivable liberty is taken by the men. And no one bothers to consult the women much in all these matters.

One evening a farmer brought two mules into my courtyard. He wanted to sell them immediately and so I finally bought them very reasonably. I was struck by the farmer's haste, because it is characteristic of Hsining that, when it comes to selling, people always have all the time in the world. So I asked the horse dealer who /97/ negotiated the sale why the farmer was in such a hurry. My man smiled

and without a word he took me by the arm and led me along behind the farmer, to a house a few doors away. There the farmer threw the silver he had got for the mules on a table and roughly seized a middle-aged woman who protested in vain and who had evidently been sitting in front of the door, quite unsuspecting. He quickly lifted the woman onto his horse and hurried off with her toward the nearest city gate. Twilight had already descended. He escaped just before the gates were barred. The Chinese who witnessed the drama laughed aloud while the woman covered her face with her hands and sobbed loudly and bitterly. My guide explained to me, laughingly: "For your two mules the man has got himself this faded woman, a widow." It is not considered respectable to marry widows, and so no wedding is celebrated, nor guests invited. The new husband pays a certain price to the family of the deceased or to whomever the woman belongs, and departs with her from her old home, if possible in the dark and without causing much stir. If the widow is self-respecting and well brought up, she leaves her old home with tears streaming, even though she may be heartily glad to get away from it.

Around the same time there occurred another incident which is typical of the sense of justice of the Hsining people. The secretary of a yamen owed a certain bank five tael and left this small debt unpaid in spite of repeated admonishment. The owner of the bank thereupon sent one of his employees who demanded payment. But since the man either could not or would not pay, there was a lively altercation and the debtor suddenly took a knife and cut off a finger of his left hand, threw it to the young man and said "There's your money!" I was told that the blood balanced the debt. However, both parties were now so aroused that the quarrel continued and the employee was thoroughly thrashed by the secretary and members of his family. In his distress the employee kicked the secretary in such a way that the latter collapsed unconscious and died two days later. The wife of the secretary then went to the hsien and accused the bank employee of the murder of her husband. The hsien had the young man seized and would probably have beheaded him if his family had not demanded payment of 2,000 tael by the bank for the loss of their son. Finally the hsien (the father-mother-mandarin) decided that the bank should pay the secretary's widow 600 taels and thus redeem the young employee. Inasmuch as the "bank" had to pay the hsien for court expenses besides, the owner of the bank was on the point of bankruptcy when I left Hsining fu - all for 5 taels.

584

584 ARRANGING A MARRIAGE--marriage preliminaries; courtship (e.g., opportunities, methods); initiation of negotiations (e.g., by youth, by girl, by parents of either); conduct of negotiations (e.g., by parents, through a go-between); marriage brokers; proposal of marriage; methods and consequences of rejection; requirement of consent (e.g., of youth, of girl, of parents, of chief); betrothal (e.g., conceptualization, announcement, ceremonial, symbols, duration); status and behavior of betrothed persons; infant betrothal (e.g., prevalence, procedure, nullification); breaking an engagement (e.g., reasons, procedure, consequences); adjustment to death of betrothed (e.g., substitution of a sibling); etc. See also:

Sex status	562	Sexual overtures	832
Contractual relationships	675	Adolescent activities	883

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching. The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time. Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property. These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

avoid increased assessments.

The relationships between husband and wife have no religious basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Frequent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are concerned with and derive a living from a common property. They all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan system but they do have some regulations influencing their relationships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind, he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

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d. Customs

On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

585

585 NUPTIALS--wedding (e.g., preferred time and place, ceremonial, persons attending and officiating); symbolic rites; means of assuring publicity and legality (e.g., banns, licenses); civil and ecclesiastical weddings; variations dependent upon status; associated property transactions (e.g., transfer of gifts, of bride-price); homecoming of bridal couple; consummation (e.g., immediate or deferred, private or public); defloration rites (e.g., jus primae noctis); concern for virginity of bride (e.g., exhibiting tokens); postwedding events (e.g., honeymoon, exchange of visits); status and activities of newly married persons; etc. See also:

Marital sexuality . . . . 83 Residence in marriage. 591

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

The bridegroom's family sends gifts to the bride's family. The acceptance of the gifts implies that the daughter's hand is promised. The day is then set for the wedding.

Those who marry by their own choice do not have to go through this complicated procedure. If the parents consent to their children's choice, the regular ceremony will take place.

After the wedding date has been set the bride's family starts preparing her dowry. On the wedding day both families invite lamas to their homes to chant sutras. The groom's family asks relatives and friends to go to greet the bride at her home. When the bride is properly dressed in her best clothes, she follows the greeting party back to her fiance's home. Members of her own family accompany the bride halfway and then return. When the bride reaches the groom's family, she occupies a humble place in the tent. The relatives and friends drink and feast for a few days. On the third day, the young couple go to visit the bride's family. The latter then summons their relatives and friends and celebrates for a few days. When a groom is taken into the bride's family, the ceremony will be similar, but he will occupy the place of honor in the tent.

If the young couple marries without parental consent, they may go to live in the home of some relatives for a few days. Then the young man will return to his home to negotiate the matter with his parents. If his parents finally give their consent, he then goes to discuss the matter with his wife's parents. The couple will live with the family that has approved of their marriage. If both families object and the two are determined to continue their life together, they may leave their families and form their own household.

The wedding ceremony is not always performed. Many of the poor people have no wedding ceremonies at all. A decision to get married and form a family will suffice.

Once a marriage is concluded it cannot be annulled by outsiders. Regardless of whether it be the man's or the woman's parents who protest against the marriage, they do not have the legal right to annul it. They may withhold wealth and property from the couple, but they cannot take other steps.

Divorces are not too hard to obtain. They occur, however, with much less frequency than among the Turks of Sinkiang. If, the couple does not get along well, or if the wife proves barren, she can be sent back to her father. The husband will have to pay her father a price in horses, yaks, tea, or cloth. The young husband may treat his wife badly and she may complain to her father who sends for a middle man to arrange the matter. If the middle man, after talking to the husband, learns that he insists on a divorce, he will report it to the wife's father. The matter then becomes one of bargaining. The middle man sits with the father and the husband while the two dispute the price of the divorce, and he usually helps them reach an agreement. If there are children,

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

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/Tibetans of Chinghai/

the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

N.W. China ... Kalmyk

the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this. 000

From the Dsun yurts where we first met people again, we took an 361 easterly course and after two more travel-days we came to Barun kurä. In the belt of meadowland which we followed there stood yurts in groups of three and four of first Dsun- and then Barun- Mongols. Like the old Jew who sold ribbons in the market of my home town, I extolled my wares in the tents. I exchanged butter, barley and sheep for my hardware and my silver. The people were always friendly to 609 us. We slept and ate in their dwellings. At first they seemed sullen, but they warmed up after closer contact and they laughed and sang with Han and Tsch'eng. Most of the men spoke Tibetan as well as [191] Mongolian. I became acquainted with their happy-go-lucky way of living. Their liquor plays a great part in their lives, and they make 273 it from mare's milk. The men travel from one tent to another, drink and sing, while the women have the duty of taking care of the work and of the herd animals. But although the women are obliged to 562 shoulder the burden of the household, and increase the fortunes of the family, they are by no means the slaves of the men. One old man who wanted to sell me a few sheep on my visit from yurt to yurt was given such a severe lecture by his wife who did not agree to the sale, the lecture even being punctuated by a raised stick, that my companions were forever cured of their initial great enthusiasm for Mongol women. The Mongol woman, it is true, enjoys great freedom compared to the Chinese woman. The women of the Dam Mongols have an astonishing amount of authority for Asiatic women!

The Tsaidam Mongols (Chinese: Dam men gu) do not have high 428 moral standards. As in many other parts of Tibet, the son, when he has reached his majority, gets the family property even though the father is still living and the parents get a certain share set aside for them. This is a very old custom. It was said to have arisen during the times when people still set out on wars of conquest. The men capable of bearing arms, who set out to war and who were able actively to protect their families, were also /349/ the owners of the family property. Now, however, the young Dam Mongols try to shirk their 888 responsibilities as much as possible. Today they are little more than warriors and, besides, they give their old parents barely enough to live on. I often saw two old people behind a protective wall that was full of holes and squatting on a dung heap like beggars while their son lived beside them in a fine yurt.

Marriages of the Dam Mongols seem to be entered upon as casual- 586 ly as they are dissolved. After a couple has lived together for a while

N.W. China AF13
Kalmyk

586 they are considered man and wife, and the woman then gets a dowry from her family. If she is no longer satisfied with the union, she may choose a new spouse at any time. The children who immediately after birth are given some animals from the herd, remain with the wife. Often the women change husbands so frequently or 837 have so many lovers at once that one is tempted to speak of polyandry or pangamy.

The town of Barun kurä lies between swamps and in the middle 361 of a scrubby wood. It consists of a few miserable huts, and crumbled gates of which there is just enough left so that one can see they are Chinese in style, and chiefly of the dsassak's houses enclosed by an extensive courtyard. (1) The buildings of the town serve the Barun

1. Rockhill, Diary, p. 165, discovered that the town was built as late as 1846 and was largely destroyed around 1886 at the command of the one-time major domo of the dsassak, Dowe, because the house owners refused to pay taxes to the dsassak.

chiefly as storage places for everything which they cannot take along on their frequent journeys. Among the permanent residents, there are only a lot of old women as well as old men who no longer care to live with their families, besides Chinese merchants who are in debt, and orphans who have been forgotten by their parents.

643 We lived in a tent in the dsassak's court. After we had set up 342 our tent and got settled, we were invited to have tea in the dsassak's reception room. This was a low room measuring three by four 574 meters. The dsassak sat down on a thick cushion on the rear wall, while at his right sat an elderly lama from the Gum bum lamasery, a Mongol from East Mongolia, who was the priest of the house. The rest of us sat in a circle around the coal brazier which stood in the middle of the room. I was seated alongside the lama. To the left of the dsassak sat his brother who was also a lamaistic priest, beside him sat the wife of the dsassak, and farther down, near the door, my companions and the prince's retinue. The room was more than simple. The walls, like those of all the houses of the village, consisted of stamped loess-loam and dried bricks, and the furnishings consisted of a few cupboards of the most slovenly kind of Chinese workmanship and dirty, pulo-canvas-covered pillows that served as seats. The room was lighted by the door opening and a small latticed opening without a paper window, high up on the wall.

587

587 SECONDARY MARRIAGES--remarriage of widowed and divorced persons; differential rules governing secondary marriages (e.g., preference for relative of first spouse, reduction in bride-price, curtailing of ceremonial); levirate and sororate unions (e.g., prevalence, preferences, procedure); etc. See also:

Status and activities of widows and widowers . . 589 Polygamous unions. 595

hsien (Plate XXXVI) turned out to be an admirable cheat in dr
He constantly drank to the health of others, but, cautious man
diplomat that he was, he never touched a drop himself. It wa
interesting to watch the sophisticated way in which this Hupeh
Chinese practiced his art. Once when I invited him to an affa
was giving in a temple (1) he bribed my servants not to fill his

1. In the temple in honor of the notorious Tung fu
which the grateful city built in 1899 in his honor,
its liberation from the Dungan, and in which ince
was burned for him even during his lifetime. The
temple was the most beautiful in the city, for it w
still new. But since Hsining condones the widesp
Chinese custom of donating an entirely new temp
rather than providing annual sums for repairs, this
building will probably stand in ruins in another fe
decades, just like the other temples of the city.

but only to simulate the act of pouring whiskey into the little
porcelain bowls out of which the Chinese drink.

Since I was the only person who took photographs in Hsini
was also kept busy at this time taking pictures of the officials
wives and daughters. Day after day I was asked to do this. I
process the wives were treated like commodities, albeit prec
ones. In my presence husbands and fathers never addressed th
wives and daughters, nor was I, of course, permitted to addre
women in the presence of their husbands. Among the Hsining
Dankar Chinese it is even regarded as improper if the man sp
to his brothers' wives. The brother-in-law must treat their si
in-law like air, even when the family property is shared and
all live together in one household. (2) On the other hand, it

2. Even in the oldest classical moral teachings it is s
brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law must not touch eac
If the brother-in-law must give his sister-in-law som
as for instance money, he places it on the floor or th
in front of her.

customary, especially among Mohammedans, that if a broth
the next eldest of the family takes over the widow as his wife
"inherits" her as it were, for she has cost the family cold ca

589

589 CELIBACY--prevalence of bachelors and spinsters; reasons for celibacy; status and activities of unmarried, widowed, and divorced celibates; etc.
See also:

Religious celibates 79
Care of widows 736
Mourning 765
Chastity 831
Premarital adulthood 885

THE FAMILY

I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

59

59 FAMILY--general statements dealing with several specific aspects of the family. The family is a social group consisting of two or more adults of different sex who are married to one another, and of one or more children, own or adopted, of the married parents. It is to be distinguished alike from marriage, the social relationship uniting the parents of opposite sex, and from the household, the social group occupying a dwelling or other domicile. Hence, strictly speaking, a married but childless couple or a widowed or divorced parent with children may form a household but not a family.

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V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

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rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually
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head of the house.

*563 Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the
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such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

*563 The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the con-
593 tinuity of the family. There is much greater degree of stability
182 and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic
family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

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591 RESIDENCE--prevailing rule governing the place of residence of a married couple (e.g., matrilocal, avunculocal, patrilocal, neolocal); existence of combined rules (e.g., alternating, bilocal, matri-patrilocal); occurrence of alternative rules under special circumstances; extent to which marriage normally involves the removal of bride or groom to another community (e.g., local exogamy, local endogamy); residence changes by children or unmarried adults (e.g., removal to home of grandparents or maternal uncle); residence changes made late in married life; evidence bearing upon former or current changes in residence rules; etc. See also:

Dwellings	342	Residence readjustments after divorce	586
Settlement patterns	361	Organization of the community	621
Bride-service	583	Residence changes by widows and widowers	768
Postmarital visits	585		

degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country. The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes. Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chinese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife. The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest, offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese community. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan communities.

The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a generation of two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him. Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable. Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Monogamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modifications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accordingly. The most common and least complicated arrangement in this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried children. The family may also include several grandchildren born to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage, and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with their parents. A daughter also may bring her husband into her family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons. The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own, severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more additional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son marries, and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the continuity of the family. There is much greater degree of stability and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

avoid increased assessments.

The relationships between husband and wife have no religious basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Frequent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are concerned with and derive a living from a common property. They all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan system but they do have some regulations influencing their relationships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind, he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

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592 HOUSEHOLD--typical composition (e.g., nuclear or polygamous family, joint or extended family, clan); range, types, and incidence of variations; extent of inclusion of servants, retainers, and dependent relatives (e.g., aged grandparents, parents-in-law); physical seat (e.g., a single small or large dwelling, a cluster of adjacent huts, a compound); functions and cooperative activities of the household unit as such (i.e., irrespective of variations in family composition); locus of authority; rule of succession; mechanism for adjusting disputes within the household; ownership of dwelling, food stores, and household possessions; etc. Functions associated with particular forms of the family rather than with the household as such will be found in separate categories.

See also:

Property 42
Type of dwelling 342
Servants 357
Cooperative labor 476
Slaves 567
Care of aged 737, 888

S 563 631 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. S [565] The aristocracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

S [668] [565] [177] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N *563 184 In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

N *563 621 [592] The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede and join another encampment. N [622] According to Ekvall (1939) most frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

N *563 592 Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man, his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. N [562] [422] Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants consist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the 000 herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

Under the Manchu system the Bĕks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bĕk-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bĕk -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bĕk - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bĕk - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bĕk - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bĕk - Superintendent of Agriculture.

As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bĕk was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bĕk who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Bĕks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

B. The Sedentary Tibetans

Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

C. The Mongours

At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

THE FAMILY

I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

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The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Frequent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are concerned with and derive a living from a common property. They all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan system but they do have some regulations influencing their relationships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind, he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of service to its members and had a much stronger control over them than did the local government. To a great extent it had trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had created considerable resentment and suspicion among the authorities and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

Though subscribing to all important religions in varying proportions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. However, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary significance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their memory always present. Those living now are only the present custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household together with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

"At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be, is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely correct order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulously observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon, in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices, to the Queen of Heaven.

problem is no longer one concerned with opposition
ism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to coopera
Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big fa
opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of natio
(C̄MJP October 2, 1951).
3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there
of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the No
45 per cent of the total number of peasant households
jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number
peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Si
33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organi
the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average per
whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorabl
77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.
The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming
the Northwest, which were organized into farmers a
and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, ba
tics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in
are computed from percentages given of the total).
4. An important factor, too, was the special positic
Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeede
foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administrat
Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant
withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Sov
stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and co
actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests w
in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in
to which were attached two codicils providing for the
of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation
mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the po
mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet
implement these agreements, large numbers of Sov
arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and
Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary
research, the operation of trucking lines and state
production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (N
with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27,
face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficul
China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that r
It was with the death of Stalin that there was, o
reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist Chi
visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Pe
1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was re
it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders,
Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a r
Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in th
stock companies to Communist China, transforming

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang AI1

Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
(Based on Communist statistics)

	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households Number	Organized Farming Households Percentage of total farming households	Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Number	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Percentage of Total No. of Teams	Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
Northwest China	35,358,000	2,800,000	45 %				305	
Shensi	15,881,000	1,424,800	47 %	280,848	34,381	12.2%	234	93
Kansu	12,929,000 (including Ninghsia)		45 %	194,400	19,400	10 %	32	50
Ninghsia (721,000)			53 %	13,615	2,535	16 %	19	-
Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

N *175 592 162 494 496 495 S 175 592 162 494 496 495

593

593 FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS--patterns of behavior between spouses, between parents and children, between siblings; rights, privileges, and powers of husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, brother, and sister; family law; emotional attachments; evidences of ambivalence; etc. See also:

Kinship terminology and patterned behavior between secondary and remoter relatives	60	Division of labor by sex	462
Marital sexuality	83	Sex status	562
Care, status, activities of children	85	Quarrels	578
Socialization	86	Conception of marriage	581
Personality traits	157	Incest taboos	836
		Theory of paternity	842

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each
*563 wife must have her own tent which will be within the area of the
595 encampment assigned to the husband. Within the tent the wife
• 593 frequently has full authority. It is she who welcomes and looks
594 after the guests and to whom farewells must be formally made.
As is the case with most of Tibet, the problem of polyandrous
*563 unions remains unclear. One authoritative source assigns such
595 unions to the nomads, and another will insist that it is a phenom-
114 enon of the sedentary Tibetans. Each produces logical explanations for its appearance in the one and not in the other. Moreover, the Tibetans themselves will state arbitrarily that it is commoner in one group or the other, but again there is no unanimity of opinion. Out of all the conflicting accounts, it can be deduced that polyandry exists, probably, in both nomadic and sedentary Tibetan populations and that peculiar local situations account for its prevalence in one or the other area. However, it is doubtful that it is uniformly practiced by any section of the population. Side by side with polyandrous families, moreover, polygynous unions are also found. Most common, is a more or less brittle monogamy.
*563 Since the people of the black tents practice transhumance,
233 their nomadic activities are measured in terms of elevation,
221 rather than actual distance covered. From late spring through fall the encampments as units climb to successively higher pastures and then descend again. Winter finds them at their lowest elevation and the group is no longer a tent-circle. Instead of the
[342] regular circular arrangement of the yak-hair tents, the winter
[361] settlement may consist of sod-covered huts, which may be of wattle and daub construction, rammed earth, tent-roofed sod walls or similar materials. There is no regular arrangement of the huts, because the factors which led to the arrangement of the campsites are not operative.
The different activities around the year help dictate the limits of communal action. The short growing seasons of the successive pastures, necessitate frequent shifts. Thus eight or nine movements between winters are not uncommon. The tasks of striking camp, keeping the herds along the route and reestablishing the circles involve maximum cooperation from all involved. None can travel with impunity ahead or behind the others. The encampments represent military units because raids and stealing herds are recognized as rungs on the ladder to success.
*563 In winter, the activities are more diversified. Gone is the
221 constant vigilance against human and animal foes. Gone too, is the necessity of frequent, simultaneous uprooting and reestablishment. Life is conducted at a more leisurely and individual
*563 pace. Many of the nomads form trading caravans, which will
221 journey beyond the settlements of the Tibetan farmers to trade
437 their wool, hides, and other products among the Chinese Moslems. These caravans may be composed of some of the men of a single

THE FAMILY

I. Introduction
121 Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities.
59 In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group
563 and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.
For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.
Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one
779 of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essen-
59 tial of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful
183 member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly
581 a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does
[589] not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.
The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family,
59 furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members.
182 The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he
[554] is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is
[589] likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.
Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably
59 best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and
779 Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you
183 sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.
Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or
• 593 wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward
[829] society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.
In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put
592 in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his con-
593 trol completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable. Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Monogamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modifications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accordingly. The most common and least complicated arrangement in this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried children. The family may also include several grandchildren born to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage, and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with their parents. A daughter also may bring her husband into her family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons. The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own, severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more additional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son marries and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the continuity of the family . There is much greater degree of stability and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

avoid increased assessments.

The relationships between husband and wife have no religious basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Frequent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are concerned with and derive a living from a common property. They all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan system but they do have some regulations influencing their relationships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind, he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the participants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son, if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the northern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in matters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the sedentary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

594

594 NUCLEAR FAMILY--degree of emphasis on the social group consisting of a married couple and their children; exclusiveness with which this group is associated with economic, sexual, reproductive, child-rearing, and educational functions; other family functions (e.g., religious, recreational); domicile (e.g., single dwelling, apartment); family authority (e.g., matripotestal, patripotestal); family possessions; etc. See also:

Reproduction . . . . 84 Family budgets 511
Education . . . . 87 Primary groups 571
Size of families . . . . 162 Collective liability 673
Inheritance . . . . 428 Child care 856

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "beks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

595

595 POLYGAMY--relative prevalence of monogamy, polygyny, polyandry, and group marriage; patterning of plural marriages (e.g., prohibited on principle, unpatterned and exceptional, disfavored for economic reasons, confined to persons of wealth or high status, preferential); numerical limitations; prevalence of and preferences for sororal polygyny and fraternal polyandry; distinctive procedures for secondary polygamous marriages; concubinage; organization and activities of polygynous families; relations between co-spouses (e.g., economic cooperation, supremacy of first wife); residential arrangements (e.g., common dwelling, separate quarters for each plural spouse); sexual adjustment (e.g., jealousy, sexual rotation); relations between half siblings and between stepparents and stepchildren in polygamous families; etc. See also:

Levirate and sororate marriages . . . . 587 Cicisbeism 837

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each wife must have her own tent which will be within the area of the encampment assigned to the husband. Within the tent the wife frequently has full authority. It is she who welcomes and looks after the guests and to whom farewells must be formally made.

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/The Sedentary Tibetans/

fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

C. The Mongours

At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

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V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable. Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Monogamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modifications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accordingly. The most common and least complicated arrangement in this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried children. The family may also include several grandchildren born to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage, and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with their parents. A daughter also may bring her husband into her family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons. The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own, severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more additional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son marries and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the continuity of the family . There is much greater degree of stability and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

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avoid increased assessments.

The relationships between husband and wife have no religious basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Frequent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are concerned with and derive a living from a common property. They all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan system but they do have some regulations influencing their relationships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind, he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

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596 EXTENDED FAMILIES--incidence of extended families; prevailing type or types (e.g., matrilocal, avunculocal, patrilocal, and bilocal extended families, fraternal joint families); size and composition; domicile (e.g., compound, single large dwelling); locus of authority; rule of succession (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal, succession by a younger sibling); collective or individual ownership of dwelling, land, food stores, and household equipment; economic cooperation; routine activities; collective responsibility; cohesive and fissive tendencies; etc. See also:

Property and inheritance	42	Class	618
Kin relationships	602	Collective liability	672
Lineages	613	Ancestor worship	769

preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows th
Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose m
main occupation is agricultural work. However
goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also
role. As a group, the Salars are economically
since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow U
small tribe of Turkic origin which is becomin
Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese,
learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen.
the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherd
owners. Frequently one also finds them as lab
farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family ow
sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only
the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

The people belonging to this small Mongoli
becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsme
Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Cl
exists and the migrational units are the single
economic centers, however, are their Buddhi
for it is the monasteries who own the herds a
dividual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks,
Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibet
the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of
that shifted successfully from nomadic pastor
They learned farming and the use of their ag
for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, et
Chinese. However, livestock still plays an im
the second important economic resource. Whi
mules, and pigs are economically important,
only because to own horses is a mark of pres

The basic social and economic unit of the
extended family which is patrilineally and pat
oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfat
authority over all members of the family. Pr
ively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is hea
whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the
Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain
head of a number of extended families, whose
directed and whose highest duty was the mili
the clan through organization and training of

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The bridegroom's family sends gifts to
*563 the bride's family. The acceptance of the gifts implies that the
584 daughter's hand is promised. The day is then set for the wedding.
[431] Those who marry by their own choice do not have to go through
this complicated procedure. If the parents consent to their children's choice, the regular ceremony will take place.

*563 After the wedding date has been set the bride's family starts
585 preparing her dowry. On the wedding day both families invite
[583] lamas to their homes to chant sutras. The groom's family asks
relatives and friends to go to greet the bride at her home. When the bride is properly dressed in her best clothes, she follows the greeting party back to her fiance's home. Members of her own family accompany the bride halfway and then return. When the bride reaches the groom's family, she occupies a humble place in the tent. The relatives and friends drink and feast for a few days. On the third day, the young couple go to visit the bride's family. The latter then summons their relatives and friends and celebrates for a few days. When a groom is taken into the bride's
[583] family, the ceremony will be similar, but he will occupy the place of honor in the tent.

*563 If the young couple marries without parental consent, they may
585 go to live in the home of some relatives for a few days. Then the
young man will return to his home to negotiate the matter with his
593 parents. If his parents finally give their consent, he then goes to discuss the matter with his wife's parents. The couple will live with the family that has approved of their marriage. If both families object and the two are determined to continue their life together, they may leave their families and form their own household.

*563 The wedding ceremony is not always performed. Many of the
585 poor people have no wedding ceremonies at all. A decision to get
[184] married and form a family will suffice.

Once a marriage is concluded it cannot be annulled by outsiders.
[586] Regardless of whether it be the man's or the woman's parents who protest against the marriage, they do not have the legal right to annul it. They may withhold wealth and property from the couple, but they cannot take other steps.

*563 Divorces are not too hard to obtain. They occur, however,
with much less frequency than among the Turks of Sinkiang. If,
586 the couple does not get along well, or if the wife proves barren, she can be sent back to her father. The husband will have to pay her father a price in horses, yaks, tea, or cloth. The young husband may treat his wife badly and she may complain to her father who sends for a middle man to arrange the matter. If the middle man, after talking to the husband, learns that he insists on a divorce, he will report it to the wife's father. The matter then becomes one of bargaining. The middle man sits with the father and the husband while the two dispute the price of the divorce, and he usually helps them reach an agreement. If there are children,

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

The ancestral residence of the Tu family was typical of many such in Kansu. In the midst of widespreading fields an ancient walled citadel had been built, like an old baronial castle. A heavy, wooden door guarded the numerous courtyards, in which a colony of over thirty people, covering four generations, made their home. There was no access here for the Missionary unless by special invitation. Half a dozen Tibetan dogs guarded the entrance, keeping all strangers and intruders at bay. Within this fortress dwelt a family whose minds were as strongly barricaded against new thought or new light, as was their castle door against the unwelcome stranger. When the message had reached the mother that her son was accepting the hospitality of a Kanchow Christian doctor, who also gave him medical attendance, her mind was instantly filled with fears that misfortunes of every kind would follow this rash behaviour. Acting on the advice of her mother-in-law and senior relatives, a letter was at once dispatched urging him to return, even suggesting that if he delayed the consequences might be serious to his mother's health.

A visit from Dr. Kao did much to ally suspicion, so that when we accepted the invitation to call on Mrs. Tu we were politely received and hospitably entertained. She had not taken this step, however, without consulting with the senior members of the clan, who had promised to be there and to give her their support in the event of our coming. We approached the house by an avenue of poplar trees. In an adjoining field a flock of herons had alighted, and stood at attention in every attitude of angular grace. Mr. Tu and his elder brother came out to meet us, and escort us past the kennels, where fierce dogs tugged at their chains. In the outer court stood the camels lately brought down from the pasture, in preparation for their annual trip

to Peking, where local goods would be exchanged for cheap Japanese merchandise. Many mules were feeding in the spacious stables, and a flock of a thousand sheep were spread over the fields around.

A crowd of about fifty women and children dressed in their best came forward to meet us, and in a moment the tense atmosphere of suspicion palpably cleared as they discovered that we were dressed like ordinary Chinese women, and were also able to hold conversation with them in their own language. An aged dame, the most worldly-wise of the party, was deputed to sit at table with us, to report upon our manners. Her cordiality increased every moment on perceiving that we knew perfectly well when and how to respond to each gesture that the etiquette of well-bred Chinese society, of the last generation, demands. We were tactfully cross-questioned as to the reason of our being in China, and the old lady tried hard to elucidate the ulterior motives which had brought us so far from kith and kin! Amid many head-shakings, they all finally reached the decision that the desire for 'spiritual merit' was our ruling passion; and on this ground, understanding our motives, they gave us whole-hearted admiration. We realised, however, the force of the inexorable family decision, that neither the son, his young wife, nor any member of the circle, should be the *first* to break away from the age-long tradition of idolatrous domination and ancestral worship, which was the ruling factor of their family solidarity. Yet the young man ultimately proved himself to be immovable on the one vital point of loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ; and, strange to relate, when the decisive moment came, his timid girl-wife ranged herself on his side, declaring her determination to join her husband, and place herself, with him, under our instruction.

The mother's parting threat to her son, when he left the house, was expressed in these words: 'The day you join that Church you may order my coffin, for I will not live to endure such a disgrace.' His answer was: 'There is a way of life and a way of death. If you *must* choose the way of death, I shall mourn for you. But as for me, my path is that of Life.'

On our next visit to Fuyi we were the guests of the Mandarin for seventeen days, during which time, at his request, we gave instruction in Phonetic Script to both boys' and girls' schools. Although the town is small, the schools are important, and supply a number of students to the Provincial College at Lanchow. This visit afforded us the opportunity, under particularly happy conditions, to hold evangelistic services for children and for adults. The first Christian worship in Fuyi was led by Mr. Tu, whose name was in the mouth of every man of the neighbourhood. 'What *shall* we see next?' they said. 'Tu ru tao has joined the Christians!'

CHAPTER XV

NEARING SUCHOW

THAT same evening we left Fuyi for the city of Kaotai, which is the next important centre between Suchow and Kanchow. The fertility of this district can be judged by the daily market, where splendid vegetables of every description are for sale. This was the melon season, and half-a-dozen varieties of excellent quality were displayed in abundance. In view of the lean days to come, we stocked ourselves well with them, as also with carrots, celery, potatoes, egg-plant, and, for the

fruits, emblematic of fertility. To burn incense before this grotesque monster came the highest official of the city, in his green sedan-chair, while groups of workmen of the various trade guilds formed themselves into pageant scenes and walked round the town in procession. Needless to say, this was for us also a very busy day, with the result that later on, while itinerating in the country, we frequently were welcomed by people in their homes, who showed us books bought from us on that occasion.

On our return home, we found our landlord's family in a strange state of confusion, and learnt that, during their absence, while merry-making with their friends, a beautiful fur gown had been stolen from the eldest daughter's room. We soon realised that they were more disturbed by the incident than the actual value of the garment warranted, and the fact soon came to light that there was in existence another member of the family of whom we had hitherto never been aware, namely, the ne'er-do-well eldest son. From gambling and opium-smoking, he had gradually sunk so low as to become a member of a gang of thieves, and it was undoubtedly he who had walked into the empty house, opened his sister's cupboard and abstracted the valuable robe.

After the doors were closed for the night, all the senior members of the family clan were called in, and a solemn conclave was held. The father himself was a typical specimen of a gentleman of the ancient school. Tall and thin, with a straggling grey beard, he wore large goggles, and finger-nails two inches long. Daily he might be seen pacing up and down the path of his loved flower-garden, smoking a long pipe with a slender stem, regarding, doubtless, the theoretical care of his pretty plants as the fitting, final occupation of a con-

596 ventionally blameless life. He was but sixty years of
627 age, but sought in inactivity and premature decrepitude an excuse for shelving all responsibility as regards disciplining his children. On this occasion, however, the disgrace being flagrant, his self-esteem was so humiliated as to wound his pride to the quick, and to disturb his wonted equilibrium. Having decided what should be the culprit's punishment, and requiring for its execution the help of some of the younger men, he now proceeded to address the family council in the following terms:

'I have no option but to take action, the disgrace brought upon my country and family being so great. This boy ought to die; but because, if I hand him over to an official, the family name will yet further be dragged in the dirt, with your help we can carry through what honour demands. To-night we will dig his grave, and in it shall my son be buried alive.'

There was no one present to plead the young man's cause, while even his wife could only silently weep, and bow her head under this fresh sorrow. One relative, however, did grasp the terrible urgency of the situation, and slipping unnoticed from the room, he ran to Dr. Kao, whom he roused from sleep, and presently both entered the room, where things were still unaltered. After expressing great sympathy, Dr. Kao now came forward with a suggestion: 'You must not despair,' he said. 'You know nothing of the Grace of God, nor of His power, through Jesus Christ, to change the heart and save sinners from themselves. Give me charge of the boy and I will deal with him.'

A party of men, accordingly, set off at once to the thieves' quarters, and in an hour's time the prodigal, bound with ropes, was standing before his father. The alternatives were then placed before him in a few

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

forcible words—to remain in his father's hands meant 596
a living death; in the Doctor's hands unrelenting discipline. He might take his choice. The decision 627
was quickly made; he gave Dr. Kao a kowtow, and then followed him home, to taste, for the first time in his life, a régime of justice tempered with mercy. On entering the class-room the next morning, knowing nothing of this incident, we saw sitting on a bench by the door a terrified specimen of humanity, with his toes thrust into ragged shoes, and wearing an indescribably ancient, greasy, sheepskin coat. Together with the other men present he stood up on our arrival, when we naturally took him for an opium patient—the dull eye, the sniggering leer, and the plain marks of enfeebled will-power being glaringly evident, stamping him as a moral delinquent of a particularly degraded type. Dr. Kao gave him just four days to get over the shock of quitting the drug, during which time he was forbidden to leave the premises, and then, immediately, certain duties were appointed him. But still no sort of improvement showed itself; he neglected his work; flounced about with an unpleasant smirk on his face; and when an enquiry was held as to the whereabouts of the fur robe, giggled and sniggered, persisting that he knew nothing whatever about it. The end came swiftly and summarily. He received a sound flogging, from which he arose, potentially, a reformed character. He immediately produced the pawn-ticket from some greasy pocket, took his broom and set to work to sweep the courtyards, clean the rooms, and carry water. He soon proved himself an industrious and capable man, toiling from dawn to dark without a word of complaint. The expression of his face changed, and showed the satisfaction which he felt in knowing that someone had taken him in hand who was strong enough

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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596 to control him. So great, indeed, was the change in
627 this restored and reinstated prodigal, that twelve months later, when we made a long and arduous journey to distant cities outside the Great Wall, he came with us as our personal carter, and fulfilled his duties with ability. So much for the development of the natural man, under wise and firm discipline, fairly and justly administered; but when the time came for our leaving Kansu, there had still been no evidence of spiritual life. One could not say of him, in the language of St. Paul: '*It is a new creation*'; the Prodigal had left his swine, but had not yet 'come to his Father.'

CHAPTER XIX

A TRIP TO KINTA

494 At the end of March, a good many of our students, being obliged to return to their farms for a short period,
484 we, with the remainder of the Band, made a trip in a north-easterly direction to visit Kinta, the only city lying between Suchow and Mongolia. As it was barely thirty miles distant we fully hoped to reach it easily in one day, although it was necessary to take the large cart for the Chinese women, in addition to some heavy loads of books and the tent. It being the first of April, subsequent events were in character with that day, the carter being one of those jolly rascals well known to travellers in China, who combine a sporting instinct with a very plausible tongue! He offered no sort of objection to our weighty baskets, but also took care, we noticed, to line the bottom of the cart with a layer of his own, unspecified, merchandise.

607

607 SIBLINGS-IN-LAW--patterns of behavior between brothers-in-law, between sisters-in-law, and between brothers- and sisters-in-law; respective rights, privileges, and powers of the relatives involved; relationships with the spouses of siblings-in-law; etc. See also:

Levirate and sororate marriages . . . . 587 Privileged sex relationships 836

N.W. China AF13

hsien (Plate XXXVI) turned out to be an admirable cheat in drinking. 000
He constantly drank to the health of others, but, cautious man and diplomat that he was, he never touched a drop himself. It was interesting to watch the sophisticated way in which this Hupeh Chinese practiced his art. Once when I invited him to an affair I was giving in a temple (1) he bribed my servants not to fill his cup

1. In the temple in honor of the notorious Tung fu hsiang, which the grateful city built in 1899 in his honor, for its liberation from the Dungan, and in which incense was burned for him even during his lifetime. The temple was the most beautiful in the city, for it was still new. But since Hsining condones the widespread Chinese custom of donating an entirely new temple rather than providing annual sums for repairs, this new building will probably stand in ruins in another few decades, just like the other temples of the city.

but only to simulate the act of pouring whiskey into the little porcelain bowls out of which the Chinese drink.

Since I was the only person who took photographs in Hsining I 562
was also kept busy at this time taking pictures of the officials, their 576
wives and daughters. Day after day I was asked to do this. In the process the wives were treated like commodities, albeit precious ones. In my presence husbands and fathers never addressed their wives and daughters, nor was I, of course, permitted to address the women in the presence of their husbands. Among the Hsining and Dankar Chinese it is even regarded as improper if the man speaks
to his brothers' wives. The brother-in-law must treat their sisters- 587
in-law like air, even when the family property is shared and they 607
all live together in one household. (2) On the other hand, it is

2. Even in the oldest classical moral teachings it is said that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law must not touch each other. If the brother-in-law must give his sister-in-law something, as for instance money, he places it on the floor or the table in front of her.

customary, especially among Mohammedans, that if a brother dies, the next eldest of the family takes over the widow as his wife; he "inherits" her as it were, for she has cost the family cold cash.

609

609 BEHAVIOR TOWARD NONRELATIVES--cultural definition of nonrelatives; relationships and associated behavior defined by absence of kinship ties; behavior toward strangers and aliens; etc. See also:

Interpersonal relationships . . . . 57 Behavior toward ethnic subgroups 565
Behavior toward individual observers . . . . . 123 International relations 648
Ethnocentrism 186

immediately above the rock on which the loess rests. The regularity of level and depth of the loess over wide areas, the invariable slope of the loess uplands in the same direction as the rivers and streams, i.e. all draining S.E. and the meeting-line of the light sandy loess and the heavier reddish loess, which can often be traced for miles at the same level, may also be noted in support of a water origin; while lastly there is the fact that the loess has nowhere, except in the extreme west, crossed the Ch'inling Shan, a continuous range, whereas it is piled high on either side of other ranges which are not continuous. These lines are written without access to books of reference of any kind, and it should be understood that they represent merely the impressions of a traveller with no scientific training, who has not the least intention of starting a controversy on the subject of a problem which has probably long been settled by competent scientists. But in spite of the fact that we have often seen loess at a height of 6000 feet or more, it is difficult to believe that it was not deposited there by water.

Yao Chou, now a second class Hsien, is quite a large city for Northern Shensi, and about the most prosperous, or rather least miserable, place we came across in that region. It lies, surrounded by indigo fields, in a narrow valley below the level of the loess uplands. We were here joined by a *Lien* (company) of infantry, since the north of Shensi is, at the time of writing, so overrun with brigands, well armed and organized in bands many hundreds strong, that it would have been impossible for a party of Chinese officials to tour those districts with a smaller escort. Curiously enough, owing to the extraordinary change which has occurred in the position of the foreigner in the interior of China since the Revolution of 1911, while no Chinese but brigands, soldiers, or the poorest of coolies can travel on the roads of Northern Shensi without great danger to property and life, a missionary or other foreigner can circulate where he pleases with comparatively little danger of being attacked. We had so far been accompanied by a small mounted escort of a dozen men or so; for though the mountainous districts of Southern and Central Shensi through which we had passed harbour plenty of brigands, these are mostly local robbers who plunder isolated travellers

trough below the surrounding level of the valley. Just beyond Hsitachai the path leaves the T'ao River, along which another track runs direct to Choni, and turns up a side valley to the north to reach a semi-Tibetan hamlet called Shanch'a, 80 li from Min Chou, where we passed the night in the house of the headman. Pheasants were abundant in this picturesque and well-wooded valley.

At Shanch'a the path turns up a side ravine leading after an hour's march to an easy pass, whence there is a descent for another hour into a bare valley, followed by a rise over a second low pass, and a descent to New T'ao Chou in another bare open valley, a march of 40 li in all. New T'ao Chou (now called Lintan Hsien) is the official town, as opposed to Old T'ao Chou, distant 60 li, the commercial town, and is an empty shell of a city of no importance. About half the few buildings inside the walls had been destroyed by the White Wolf rebels the year previously. We were accommodated in a temple which the magistrate had fitted up temporarily as his yamen. The city lies in a bare open valley some 20 li or so north of the T'ao River in a region of treeless hills of loess, red clay, and red sandstone. This somewhat dreary belt of bare red hills intervenes practically all along this border between the loess of Kansu proper and the pine forests and grass lands of the Kokonor country, and corresponds roughly to a similar Mahomedan wedge between Chinese and Tibetans. The red hills round New T'ao Chou are cultivated and dotted with villages, mostly Mahomedan. The Moslems extend from here along the border to their real strongholds round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and thence north of the Yellow River to beyond Hsining. We were travelling round the two T'ao Chous during the season of summer thunderstorms (early July), and usually experienced several daily, some very severe and rather alarming in this elevated region. On one occasion hurrying into a Mahomedan farmhouse for shelter we found the inhabitants at prayer as though in a mosque; this custom of using private houses for prayer is, I was told, confined to the followers of the "New Sect," which is very extended and influential in Kansu. Our sudden intrusion was not resented in the least, and on this, as on every other occasion when I met Mahomedans in Kansu, we were

treated with every courtesy. The Mahomedans of Kansu still consider themselves to a certain extent as foreigners sojourning in a strange land, and greet travellers from the west as fellow-wanderers.

From New T'ao Chou to Choni, a march of 30 li, the track runs south-west over a low pass in the red clay hills, crosses a valley trending south, ascends another low pass, and descends through a grassy ravine to the T'ao River. Choni, the residence of a T'ussu, or native chief, ruling several Tibetan tribes in the neighbourhood, is a picturesque little place, a walled village built round the chief's residence on the banks of the T'ao, and overlooked by a lamasery containing some 500 monks. We were received by the usual cannon shots (an old-fashioned Chinese custom still surviving in most parts of Kansu which is terrifying to one's pony unless accustomed to it) and really sumptuously lodged in the chief's residence. The Choni T'ussu is by far the most important native chief in Kansu and exercises jurisdiction over an extensive territory. Some of his tribes, especially those living to the south of the Min Shan, are turbulent and not easy to control. The chief is under the authority of the Governor at Lanchou, but unlike his colleagues in Szechuan west of Tachienlu, he retains his power unimpaired over his Tibetans. On the east his jurisdiction is bounded by Chinese territory; on the west it fades away amongst the lawless nomads of the grass-lands. His authority, like that of most native chiefs in China, extends rather over tribes and families than fixed territory, and its limits are therefore vague.

The T'ao River is here the dividing line between Tibetans and Chinese (Mahomedans), the forest-clad mountains to the south being inhabited by the former, and red hills to the north by the latter. There is good big game shooting to be had in these forests, wapiti, sheep, goral, serow, bear, etc. The elevation of the valley seems to be about 8000 feet at Choni.

Leaving Choni the road runs up the beautiful T'ao valley for about ten li, and then turns north-west up a small ravine leading to an easy pass. From here it runs along the top of the mountain for a few li, descends into a valley, crosses another low pass, and drops down to Old T'ao Chou, 45 li from Choni.

is the same land of nomads and lamas, whether Tibetan or Mongol. In past centuries the Chinese were ever engaged, with varying success, in defending their fertile plains and valleys against the incursions of Tartar hordes from these tablelands; now the nomads are impotent outside their own territories, reduced in numbers and virility perhaps by the lama religion, and these vast empty spaces serve as buffers protecting China from the rest of Asia. Undoubtedly her wisest policy is to leave the scattered inhabitants to manage their own affairs as hitherto under her vague suzerainty.

The trail runs north-west across these grass-lands, passing continually from one shallow valley to another; at first these valleys slope S.E. towards the T'ao River, but after 20 li or so they slope N.W. towards the Ho Chou River. The pasturage is excellent and there are many nomad encampments; the latter are only to be approached with care, as they are guarded by huge Tibetan mastiffs, I should think easily the most formidable breed of dog in the world, and the nomads themselves are not friendly to strangers. Indeed the Amdo Tibetan of the Kokonor grass country is about the last kind of individual one would choose to meet alone on a dark night, and a wilder or more picturesque looking lot of ruffians it would be difficult to imagine. They always go heavily armed, and are robbers by nature. Once properly introduced to them, however, one can count on friendly treatment, and we had nothing to complain of in this respect. After six or seven hour's march from the village where we had passed the night the trail descended from the plateau into an open and partly cultivated valley with the temples and barrack-like buildings of the monastery of Heitso Ssu at the end of it, a most striking sight in this land of tent-living nomads.

Heitso Ssu (the Chinese name) is a large and wealthy monastery, containing, we were told, some thousand lamas. It is quite a little town in itself, with, as is usually the case on this border, a small Chinese village or bazaar of one street, run mostly by Mahomedans, attached to it. It lies at the junction of two small valleys below the level of the grass country, and the neighbouring slopes are well cultivated with barley and peas and dotted with Tibetan farms. We were badly housed in a kind of inn in the Chinese bazaar,

which is separated from the lamasery by a stream, and as the lamas did not appear particularly friendly, and we were only passing through, we left them alone. This was really the only place on all our long journeys where we were not well received. Heitso is called 120 li from T'ao Chou. To the south are forest-clad hills and to the north and north-west are high rocky mountains patched with snow. My amateur map led me to take these to be the divide between the sources of the T'ao and Tahsia rivers and the upper Yellow River, and therefore probably the true boundary between Kansu and Kokonor territory in this direction. The boundaries of Western Kansu are extremely vague, owing to the practice of the native chiefs exercising jurisdiction over tribes and families of nomads rather than fixed areas.

The Amdo Tibetans we met round Heitso and on our road from T'ao Chou to Labrang, whether nomads or agriculturists, were just like the tribesmen who come into Tachienlu in Szechuan from the uplands of Kham, except that the latter have been partly disarmed while the Kansu Tibetans all carry swords thrust crosswise through their belts and often the long Tibetan gun with prong attachment in addition. Their dress is of the simplest description, consisting usually of a sheepskin robe worn winter and summer with the wool inside, often no trousers, and long leather boots. The hilts and sheathes of their swords and knives are often handsomely inlaid with silver and decorated with turquoise and coral, and probably come from Kham. The head dress of the women is peculiar, the hair being braided into a number of small plaits, which hang down below the waist and are bound together at their extremities by a piece of cloth ornamented with silver and stones. On the grass-lands they live by cattle-raising and robbing, becoming more and more lawless as one proceeds west, till the Golok and similar tribes are reached living round the upper Yellow River and thence southwards towards the Szechuan marches, who are entirely masterless and acknowledge the authority of neither China nor Tibet. As a result their territory is about the least known portion of Asia.

The Chinese call the Amdo Tibetans Hsifan, a wide term meaning Western Barbarians applied to all the non-Chinese tribesmen from Sungp'an to Hsining. Some

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The ancestral residence of the Tu family was typical of many such in Kansu. In the midst of widespreading fields an ancient walled citadel had been built, like an old baronial castle. A heavy, wooden door guarded the numerous courtyards, in which a colony of over thirty people, covering four generations, made their home. There was no access here for the Missionary unless by special invitation. Half a dozen Tibetan dogs guarded the entrance, keeping all strangers and intruders at bay. Within this fortress dwelt a family whose minds were as strongly barricaded against new thought or new light, as was their castle door against the unwelcome stranger. When the message had reached the mother that her son was accepting the hospitality of a Kanchow Christian doctor, who also gave him medical attendance, her mind was instantly filled with fears that misfortunes of every kind would follow this rash behaviour. Acting on the advice of her mother-in-law and senior relatives, a letter was at once dispatched urging him to return, even suggesting that if he delayed the consequences might be serious to his mother's health.

A visit from Dr. Kao did much to ally suspicion, so that when we accepted the invitation to call on Mrs. Tu we were politely received and hospitably entertained. She had not taken this step, however, without consulting with the senior members of the clan, who had promised to be there and to give her their support in the event of our coming. We approached the house by an avenue of poplar trees. In an adjoining field a flock of herons had alighted, and stood at attention in every attitude of angular grace. Mr. Tu and his elder brother came out to meet us, and escort us past the kennels, where fierce dogs tugged at their chains. In the outer court stood the camels lately brought down from the pasture, in preparation for their annual trip

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to Peking, where local goods would be exchanged for cheap Japanese merchandise. Many mules were feeding in the spacious stables, and a flock of a thousand sheep were spread over the fields around.

A crowd of about fifty women and children dressed in their best came forward to meet us, and in a moment the tense atmosphere of suspicion palpably cleared as they discovered that we were dressed like ordinary Chinese women, and were also able to hold conversation with them in their own language. An aged dame, the most worldly-wise of the party, was deputed to sit at table with us, to report upon our manners. Her cordiality increased every moment on perceiving that we knew perfectly well when and how to respond to each gesture that the etiquette of well-bred Chinese society, of the last generation, demands. We were tactfully cross-questioned as to the reason of our being in China, and the old lady tried hard to elucidate the ulterior motives which had brought us so far from kith and kin! Amid many head-shakings, they all finally reached the decision that the desire for 'spiritual merit' was our ruling passion; and on this ground, understanding our motives, they gave us whole-hearted admiration. We realised, however, the force of the inexorable family decision, that neither the son, his young wife, nor any member of the circle, should be the *first* to break away from the age-long tradition of idolatrous domination and ancestral worship, which was the ruling factor of their family solidarity. Yet the young man ultimately proved himself to be immovable on the one vital point of loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ; and, strange to relate, when the decisive moment came, his timid girl-wife ranged herself on his side, declaring her determination to join her husband, and place herself, with him, under our instruction.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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The mother's parting threat to her son, when he left the house, was expressed in these words: 'The day you join that Church you may order my coffin, for I will not live to endure such a disgrace.' His answer was: 'There is a way of life and a way of death. If you *must* choose the way of death, I shall mourn for you. But as for me, my path is that of Life.'

On our next visit to Fuyi we were the guests of the Mandarin for seventeen days, during which time, at his request, we gave instruction in Phonetic Script to both boys' and girls' schools. Although the town is small, the schools are important, and supply a number of students to the Provincial College at Lanchow. This visit afforded us the opportunity, under particularly happy conditions, to hold evangelistic services for children and for adults. The first Christian worship in Fuyi was led by Mr. Tu, whose name was in the mouth of every man of the neighbourhood. 'What *shall* we see next?' they said. 'Tu ru tao has joined the Christians!'

CHAPTER XV

NEARING SUCHOW

THAT same evening we left Fuyi for the city of Kaotai, which is the next important centre between Suchow and Kanchow. The fertility of this district can be judged by the daily market, where splendid vegetables of every description are for sale. This was the melon season, and half-a-dozen varieties of excellent quality were displayed in abundance. In view of the lean days to come, we stocked ourselves well with them, as also with carrots, celery, potatoes, egg-plant, and, for the

and the so-called Four Ma, all of Moslem religion. Ma Hung-k'ui is one of them. His father, Ma Fu-hsiang (literary name, Yun-t'ing), served in the early years of the Republic as the High Commissioner for Chinghai, commander of the Guards Division for Altai, and later in the second year of the Republic, 1913, the Commission of the Guards Division for Ninghsia.

When the Revolution of 1911 broke out, Ma Hung-k'uei was studying at the military school in Lanchou, Kansu. He played a small part in the revolution by mobilizing the students of the school and trying, unsuccessfully, to take over some strategic points in the city.

He started his military career when he followed his father to Ninghsia as a batallion leader. In 1921, when his father was transferred to be the garrison commander of Suiyuan, he was promoted as commanding officer of the Fifth Mixed Brigade. During the war between Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria and Wu P'ei-fu of Chihli (Hopei) Province, he was appointed as the commander of the cavalry in Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces. After the war was over, he followed the victorious General Feng Yu-hsiang to Peking. In 1926, when the Northern Expedition started, he followed General Feng again, taking part in the expedition. At this time his troop was reorganized into the Fourth Army of the First Army Group, and he became the commander of the Fourth Army. In 1928, he fought the war in North China and his troops suffered a great loss. When the situation was settled, he regrouped his troops into the 17th Division, and was put in charge of suppressing the bandits in the western part of Shantung Province. In April, 1929, when General Feng Yu-hsiang revolted against the Nationalist Government headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Ma remained loyal to the Nationalist Government. His troops were again reorganized into the 11th Army. In 1930, his army was enlarged into the 15th Army Group and was in charge of patrolling the Lung-hai and Tientsin-Pukou Railway lines. In the winter of 1932 he was ordered to go to Ninghsia, and on January 1, 1933, he was appointed governor of Ninghsia.

When Ma Hung-k'ui took over the administration in 1933, the province of Ninghsia was in a deplorable situation, suffering from floods and the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. To restore peace and prosperity to the people, Ma Hung-k'uei first mopped up the remnants of the bandits in his province. He introduced the Pao-chia system by which the people were organized to insure against the recurrence of banditry. Third, he adopted measures to put a gradual end to the planting and smoking of opium. Fourth, he stabilized the currency within Ninghsia and improved the taxation system. Simultaneously, he followed the policies of improving land administration, encouraging

munists. In recognition of his help the Communist regime in Peking appointed him a member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest in 1950, and in 1953, when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council, he was one of the vice-chairmen. He was a member of the Land Reform Commission and the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Kansu, a post he continued to hold after the election of 1954, and in the People's Government he was director of the commission on Nationality Affairs. He also became a member of the National Defense Council. Of the Four Ma of China's Northwest, Ma Hung-pin is the only one who shifted his loyalty to the Communist regime.

Ma Ming-fang (1904-): Communist, government official

A native of Shensi Province, born in 1904. Joined the Communist Party in 1925, took part in the 1925-27 Northern Expedition; 1931, director of the Department of Propaganda for northern Shensi; later, chairman of the Workers and Farmers Democratic Government of northern Shensi region; secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Party. 1941, jailed in Sinkiang by the Nationalists when he came back from Soviet Russia; 1946, returned to Yenan; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1949-54, member of the National Committee of the CPPCC.

From 1950 to 1952, he was a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was also a member of the Financial and Economic Commission. He was governor of Shensi and concurrently director of the Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs in the Shensi People's Government. In the Party, he was a reserve member of the Central Committee and second secretary of the Northwest Bureau. In Peking, too, he was a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, and in 1955, a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Ma's influence in the Northwest as well as his position in the local administration in the Northwest have been very great. He is a life-long member of the Communist Party and has played a rather important role for the Communist cause. He is one of the few from the Northwest who had ever visited the Soviet Union, which enhanced his prestige in the Communist hierarchy.

Ma Pu-fang (1903-)

Before the Communists took over Northwest China, this area had been ruled by the famous Ma clan. As Ma Hung-k'uei and Ma Hung-pin ruled Ninghsia and Kansu, so did Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing rule Chinghai (Kokonor). The administration

846 The position of women is probably most clearly expressed in the fact that for forty days after a woman has given birth she is considered unclean. She may not leave her hut for ten days and may not even sit out in her yard, for she is unworthy for the sun to shine upon. During the first ten days even the husband is considered impure and may not associate with anyone. If he is a shopkeeper, custom forces him to close his shop during this interval or, if he does not wish to do this, to hire a substitute for this period, /242/ but he himself may not enter his shop or his place of business. For this reason many Chinese husbands quickly set out on a journey when a birth in the family is imminent, in order to avoid the suspicion of uncleanness.

764 Only a few days after my return from the Gum bum monastery my landlord in whose spacious buildings I had rented the third and last courtyard with its adjoining small house, died. His body was laid out for the next few days directly in front of my separate courtyard entrance, and there all the various funeral ceremonies took place so that I could view the entire proceeding at leisure. The
[609] family of the deceased had immigrated only a few generations before from Shensi, and so they were still considered strangers, they came from "down below," as the people of Hsining say. Thus, there were not many relatives and the family was not wealthy, so that everything was relatively simple and was done as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, according to our conceptions the ceremoniousness was tremendous.

763 The man had reached a ripe old age and had then died very quickly. But his relatives had succeeded in observing the etiquette of putting on his shroud, a long, padded silk gown, while he was still alive and also in moving him from his bed beside the stove onto a small bench and laying him out in the center room of the main house, so that his soul might more easily find its way out into the open. Thus, at the very last minute his sons had proved
764 themselves pious children. Immediately after the man died money
775 was placed in his mouth, so that he should not be mute when reborn, but he was neither washed nor were his eyelids closed. During the first few days he lay in the death chamber as though he had been forgotten, and the doors and windows of the room were wide open. All I heard during the day was the man's name being called and the words "father" and "grandfather," and on the first evening a long train of Taoist priests set out from the house, bearing many lanterns, and gongs, triangles and drums through the streets of the

there was little peace in and around the place. Every room of my 533
inn was filled, mostly with young men. By the light of the custom- 527
ary smoldering lamp dozens of them crowded around the coal braziers 563
which the innkeeper had set up, in their thick sheep furs, and sang part songs with melancholy trills and yodels and snickered and laughed and mocked the ones who were no good at it. All this lasted until morning. They were all happy like contented and very well brought up children. It was always long after midnight before the singers would gradually, one after another, fall silent. Then girls and boys would lean sleepily against one another and remain thus until the sun awakened them and they began their fun anew.

But I found it difficult to come closer to the Tu ren. They shyly 563
withdrew from me, avoided me wherever they met me, and many 609
of them obviously disdained me. To them, as to the Tibetans, a 123
stranger was uncanny and seemed to them an extremely dangerous creature who stands in close communion with death and the devil. Many of them had seen only few white men, some, none at all, and never one who wore Western clothes. /253/ On the other hand, much Chinese coolie gossip had reached their ears. They knew very definitely that our medicines are made of human hearts and children's bones. It took days of encouragement on my part and a great deal of baksheesh before I could get any of their legends and songs and persuade some of the men to let me photograph them and take anthropological measurements. It was particularly difficult because [511]
the Tu ren are largely well-to-do and intelligent farmers and because the harvests had been good in the preceding years. They said: "We do not understand why you want this, such a proposal has never been made to us and we do not need your money and your presents." The few men I was able to measure were extremely frightened and twitched at every single measurement. More than a dozen ran off at the first touch of the measuring instrument, as excited as though it were a matter of life and death. As for measuring Tu ren women, that remained a pious wish on my part. (They were usually around 1.5 meters tall.) They were all afraid that they would thereby become sterile for life. In a few years, when Europeans become more familiar to them it may be an easy matter to make up for my failure.

It is often said that the Mongoloid peoples and especially the 157
inhabitants of China are much more calm, stoical and self-controlled than we Europeans. I discovered the opposite to be the case. The Chinese very easily fly into uncontrollable fits of rage which makes them capable of almost anything. It is also well-known, of course, 000

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Kalmyk

the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this. 000

From the Dsun yurts where we first met people again, we took an 361
easterly course and after two more travel-days we came to Barun
kurä. In the belt of meadowland which we followed there stood yurts
in groups of three and four of first Dsun- and then Barun- Mongols.
Like the old Jew who sold ribbons in the market of my home town, I
extolled my wares in the tents. I exchanged butter, barley and sheep
for my hardware and my silver. The people were always friendly to 609
us. We slept and ate in their dwellings. At first they seemed sullen,
but they warmed up after closer contact and they laughed and sang
with Han and Tsch'eng. Most of the men spoke Tibetan as well as [191]
Mongolian. I became acquainted with their happy-go-lucky way of
living. Their liquor plays a great part in their lives, and they make 273
it from mare's milk. The men travel from one tent to another, drink
and sing, while the women have the duty of taking care of the work
and of the herd animals. But although the women are obliged to 562
shoulder the burden of the household, and increase the fortunes of the
family, they are by no means the slaves of the men. One old man
who wanted to sell me a few sheep on my visit from yurt to yurt was
given such a severe lecture by his wife who did not agree to the sale,
the lecture even being punctuated by a raised stick, that my com-
panions were forever cured of their initial great enthusiasm for Mon-
gol women. The Mongol woman, it is true, enjoys great freedom
compared to the Chinese woman. The women of the Dam Mongols
have an astonishing amount of authority for Asiatic women!

The Tsaidam Mongols (Chinese: Dam men gu) do not have high 428
moral standards. As in many other parts of Tibet, the son, when he
has reached his majority, gets the family property even though the
father is still living and the parents get a certain share set aside for
them. This is a very old custom. It was said to have arisen during the
times when people still set out on wars of conquest. The men capable
of bearing arms, who set out to war and who were able actively to
protect their families, were also /349/ the owners of the family
property. Now, however, the young Dam Mongols try to shirk their 888
responsibilities as much as possible. Today they are little more than
warriors and, besides, they give their old parents barely enough to
live on. I often saw two old people behind a protective wall that
was full of holes and squatting on a dung heap like beggars while their
son lived beside them in a fine yurt.

Marriages of the Dam Mongols seem to be entered upon as casual- 586
ly as they are dissolved. After a couple has lived together for a while

614

614 SIBS--presence of unilinear kin groups of traditional, but not actually traceable, common descent; number and distribution; affiliation (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal); regulation of marriage (e.g., exogamy, agamy, endogamy); distinguishing characteristics (e.g., names, insignia, totemism, food taboos); origin and traditions; organization; headship and succession; prerogatives and obligations of members; solidarity and group responsibility; common property and cult; relationship to clans; unilinear kin groups intermediate between sibs and phratries; relations between sibs; etc. See also:

Property	42	Totemism	779
Mutual aid	476	Taboos	784
Marriage restrictions	582		
Blood vengeance	628		

depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determine l by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism , which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

*563 encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives.
221 Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be
[437] found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.
*563 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en
221 masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-
796 winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both
792 pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety
[443] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also
[584] market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.
*563 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable
221 to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of
579 movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur.
[792] Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk re-
[488] lated to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged
423 to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures
621 were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units
619 (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.
*563 These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might
423 form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority.
622 In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local
[792] monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But
*563 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting
622 his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might
628 leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important
614 roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is
[621] not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

The clan /The Nomadic Tibetans/ as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates. The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknowledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no political control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)

Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had cre-
ated considerable resentment and suspicion among the authori-
ties and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying pro-
portions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other
provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is
there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize
both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. How-
ever, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of
communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are
usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary sig-
nificance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the
gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people
of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the
New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

771 Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
769 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
[353] tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their
memory always present. Those living now are only the present
custodians of the family name.

[592] "This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
[614] a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

771 "At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
796 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
592 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
782 ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for
days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon,
in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old
rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices,
to the Queen of Heaven.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was
opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins
valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang
standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese
whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance
361 from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
(351) which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
[342] house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
[621] the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
(614) bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan
live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang
is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the
whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men
from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they
represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the
traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the
whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after
the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to
Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
[532] stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
[172] figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent
a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
[511] upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is
torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing.
Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort
of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he
must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw
off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs,
come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of
him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare
and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of
nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protec-
tion from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other inci-
dents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her
children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she
has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

Forces in Korea; 1955, deputy director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

Kao Chin-shun: Communist Party member

Background unknown. When the Communists took over Sinkiang in late 1949, he was chosen as one of the two vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Sinkiang. He is now vice-chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and second secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP.

Li Ching-lin

Background and dates unknown. 1949-53, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia; 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia.

Liao Han-sheng: Communist Party member

A native of Hupeh Province, dates unknown. A political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; in 1949 he was appointed a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Chinghai Province until the election of 1954. When the council was reorganized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative Council, he continued as a member.

Lo I: Communist official and mass organization leader

Background unknown; member of the commission on political and legal affairs, land reform and people's supervision in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, and member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Member of the All-China Democratic Youth Association. In charge of youth work for the CCP in the Northwest.

Ma, Hsi-wu

Background unknown. In 1952 he was president of the Northwest court of the Supreme People's Court, and member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Land Reform Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1955, vice-president of the Supreme Court in Peking.

Ma Hung-k'uei (1893-)

In the study of the modern history of Northwest China under the Nationalist administration, particularly the history of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, special attention must be directed to the history and background of the Ma clan,

under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i, was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the position of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks: First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

619

619 TRIBE AND NATION--presence or absence of groups larger than the community to which people think they "belong" in an extended kinship sense; basis of identification (e.g., common name, common language, contiguous territory, common culture, tradition of common descent); intratribal intercourse and communication (e.g., trade, intermarriage), degree of development of nationalistic aspirations; etc. See also:

Tribal or national political organization . . . 64
Affiliation with a culture area or subarea . . . 101
Ethnocentrism 186
Intercommunity relationships 628
Intertribal or international relationships 648
Nationalistic movements 668
Ideas about race 829

d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russiah Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks;

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "baks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Ölots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

(8) the horde of the Tsinkuk (Tsunkuk) Gung near the r
of Gomba-soma and in the Tsunkuk valley (no populatio
given).
(9) the horde of the Dunkur Gung, consisting of a few f
nomadizing in the area of Dunkur Monastery south of T
(10) the horde of the Chabcha Gung, 30 families, nomad
of Gungga-nor;
(11) the horde of the Taijinar Dzasak, about 1000 famil
izing at the southern edge of the Tsaidam swamps;
(12) the horde of the Dzun Dzasak, about 500 families,
izing at the southeastern edge of the Tsaidam swamps;
(13) the horde of the Barun Dzasak, about 250 families
southeast of the Dzun;
(14) the horde of the Harchiu (Kara Chut) Dzasak, abou
nomadizing north of the Dabasun-nor;
(15) the horde of the Morchi Dzasak, which is compose
families, nomadizing in the valley of Lala, southwest o
(16) the horde of Torgho Dzasak, 120 families, nomad
Shara-khoto;
(17) the horde of the Gomi Dzasak, 30 families, northw
Kue-te;
(18) the horde of the Ta-tung Dzasak around Ta-tung-c
population figure given)
(19) the horde of the Dia-shir Dzasak, westward of the
Bei-tse.

P. K. Kozlov presents in his Mongolia i Kam, (Petersb
another subdivision of the Chinghai Mongols. He subdi
24 banners into two brigades:

a) Dzun edeget (left brigade)
   1) Tsing-hai Wang, 130 families (Tafel: Wang-ka)
   2) Kökod Beili, 200 families (Tafel: Kukut bei-le)
   3) Kurlik Bei-si, 800 families (Tafel: Kurluk Bei-t
   4) Bukhain Gun, 4 families (Tafel: ?)
   5) Arokholin Gun, 25 families (Tafel: Dunkur Gung)
   6) Sham Gun, 15 families (Tafel: presumably Gobi
   7) Torgut Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: presumably
   8) Tsulgen Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: ?)
   9) Chonon Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: ?)
   10) Harakchut Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: Kharachut
   11) Kurlik Daasak, 24 families (Tafel: ?)
   12) Taijinar Dzasak, 600 families (Tafel: taijinar)

b) Barun edeget (right brigade)
   1) Muru Wang, 80 families (Tafel: Muri Wang)
   2) Erkhe Bei-le, 60 families (Tafel: ?)
   3) Chun Bei-si, 10 families (Tafel: presumably Shu
   4) Hargi Bei-si, 150 families, (Tafel:?)
   5) Dondogo Gun, 10 families (Tafel: presumably Ch

2) Kökod Beili, 200 famil
3) Kurlik Bei-si, 800 fam
4) Bukhain Gun, 4 familie
5) Arokholin Gun, 25 fam
6) Sham Gun, 15 families
7) Torgut Dzasak, 30 fam
8) Tsulgen Dzasak, 30 fa
9) Chonon Dzasak, 30 fam
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5) Dondogo Gun, 10 famil

milies (Tafel: Wang ...)
es (Tafel: Kukut bei-le)
lies (Tafel: Kurluk Bei-tse)
s (Tafel: ?)
lies (Tafel: Dunkur Gung)
(Tafel: presumably Gobi Gung)
lies (Tafel: presumably Torgho Dzasak)
milies (Tafel: ?)
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amilies (Tafel: Kharachut Dzasak)
lies (Tafel: ?) .
milies (Tafel: taijinar)
le).
s (Tafel: Muri Wang)
ies (Tafel: ?)
es (Tafel: presumably Shui-hia Bei-tse)
ilies, (Tafel:?)
ies (Tafel: presumably Chabcha Gung)

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

*563 encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives.
221 Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be
[437] found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weav-
ing the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and
for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.
*563 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en
221 masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-
796 winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both
792 pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representa-
tives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety
[443] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also
[584] market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling
young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages.
Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.
*563 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable
221 to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of
579 movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur.
Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables
[792] in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk re-
[488] lated to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded
in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery
and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of
Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged
423 to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures
621 were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units
(or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of
619 encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.
*563 These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might
423 form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority.
622 In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local
[792] monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the
laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units,
in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But
*563 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting
622 his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might
628 leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other
chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary
for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus,
just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger
units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each
of the component encampments.

*563 Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important
614 roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform
no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is
[621] not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines
of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 avoid increased assessments.
593 The relationships between husband and wife have no religious
[782] basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she
[562] has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain
[584] property rights, which give them a more secure position in the
household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan
woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

*563 The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Fre-
592 quent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood neces-
sitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are prac-
tically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it
[591] is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start
living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry
against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is
dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not
get along with his eldest brother.

*563 Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships
595 between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are con-
cerned with and derive a living from a common property. They
593 all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan
*563 system but they do have some regulations influencing their rela-
582 tionships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry
[614] their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on
either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow
of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow
of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage
*563 with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance
619 to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obliga-
tions from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived
from belonging to this social and political grouping.

*563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

582 The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually
take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either
584 may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by
themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal
chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power
and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family.
This is usually done through the parents.

*563 Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's
584 father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind,
he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If
[789] her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given
to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After
the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding
the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

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D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans, and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

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souls per square kilometer), inasmuch as the country has about 80,000 square kilometers, that is to say, it is larger than the kingdom of Bavaria, besides having plateaus in the northwest and countless valleys with fields in the east between which only the highest peaks have remained unused.

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The Chinese divide the Yü schu officially into 12 tribes, whereas the Tibetans sometimes speak of 25 (Bönka nischitsanga), sometimes of 30 or more tribes that regard themselves as a unit, and have recognized the Nan tsien dyalbo (rgyalbo) as well as the Hsining amban as their overlord, and are, for the latter reason, distinguished from their neighbors as Dya de (rDya de, written: rgya sde), i. e., a Chinese province. In the north the land extends up to the water shed between the Yangtze Kiang and the Hwang Ho. The tribe to the extreme north is the Niamtso (Namtso), then come the Gu ts'a, Dyudyi, Tendu (Tendo) and Lab. Toward the west as far as Tschümar rab wden (2)

2. See Vol. II, p.53.

are all the Yüchü /144/ tribes which alone add up to 12 sDe schok. These live south of the Yangtze Kiang in summer and graze their flocks to the left of this river only temporarily in winter. Their neighbors are the Yün cha (1), Mongu rtschin and Kaner and farther south

1. "Ch" is always pronounced as in the /German--Translator/ word "nicht."

at the head waters of the Mekong, the Gerdschi and Dung ba. South of Gu ts'a live the Antschun on the right bank of the Yangtze Kiang and their neighbors are the Deda, the Tsawu /including the monastery district Dscherku ndo/, the Lada (Rada), Pu chün (south of Dscherku). Farther south is the large territory of Surmo (Surman) (2) and south

2. There is a place called "Sourman" already on sheet 46 of the Jesuit map of 1708 and on the map d'Anville of 1735.

of this the actual native tribe of the Nañ tsien king. Other tribal names include Tschum ba (3), Chona, La chü (Rachü), Chi wo. (4)

3. It is said of the Tschum ba and Yün cha that they

emigrated from the Koko Nor only 100-150 years ago (?). Potanin speaks of an Arigi- and a Yundscha-tribe who were driven out in 1843 by the amban of the Koko Nor and wandered to K'am.

4. Kozlow, Mongolia i Kam, Vol. II, p. 262ff., ascertained the following tribal names: Namtso, Gutse, Amchek, Ayun, Haschi, Tschintson, Detta, Tschawut, Rada, Butschun, Surman, Yunscha, Kanar, Tsatschüka, Dobtschu, Tendo, Lab, Mongoltschin, Tsantschu, Gertschi, Raschi, Yuischu. Most of them are not in accordance with the ones I heard of. Of those who are said to live farthest toward Central Tibet he discovered the names Riu chi, Bak scho and Sogo deme (the latter is probably identical with the Bönbo on the Sog Tschü, the tributary of the Salwen near the Ba chen capital and the Truksun monastery. Farther on he writes that the Bak scho live northwest of Tsiamdo in Ts'ien tsang.

I had touched the northeast corner of the Nan tsien kingdom near Lab gomba and Deda. From there the boundary approximately follows the 97° eastern longitude south in the direction toward Tsiamdo and two days' journey from this important place it touches the Wei- or Ts'ien tsang- (Chinese) or foremost Lhasa-territory whose chief town is actually Tsiamdo (Tschiamdo). From here, at about 31 1/2 degrees northern latitude, the boundary turns to the northwest and follows the course of the Tsche Chu upward, but in such a way that the right bank of this river is already under the jurisdiction of the sde ba gschung of Lhasa. Toward the west the sphere of influence of the Nañ tsien King seems to extend in some places as far as 93° 30' eastern longitude. There in the north a territory joins it which is also called Dya sde by its neighbors, but which belongs to Bonbo and has its own overlord, the King of Hortsi. It extends 92° and (with 39 tribes originally) is nominally under the jurisdiction of the amban in Lhasa. (5) Just in that region the boundary is most uncertain because

5. According to Bower, Across Tibet, page 133, isolated parts of Dya sde extend far to the west of 92°.

the power of the priests and officers of the Central Tibetan ecclesiastical state seems to be mounting and friction is the order of the day.

The Tschang tang is the boundary on the northwest, and represents a favorite excursion and hunting area for individual hordes, not only because of its wild yak herds, but also because of the connecting roads between Nag Chu ka (or Lhasa) and Tsaidam (or Dunkur), as I myself unfortunately was obliged to experience in the most drastic manner.

The individual tribes are very loosely united nowadays. /145/ The Nan tsien King is actually able to rule only his own tribe which, with 9,000 families, is by far the most populous of all, and which possesses fruitful acres in between magnificent forests and alpine pastures in the deep valleys of the upper Mekong (Tsa Chu) and its southern tributaries the Ba Chu and the Tsche Chu. The king's tribe is again divided into 35 sDe schok (sub-tribes). The royal residence lies on the banks of the Ba Chu, a right tributary of the Mekong. The kingdom is hereditary and only nominally required the sanction of Peking. The kings never had to go to the capital in order to kowtow to the Emperor. Like most of the kings of the neighborhood and also some of the be hu, they descend from the Mongolian rulers of the Hor (Schara uigur or Tu ku hun). (1) The dyalbo (written rgyalbo) or king

1. See footnote to p. 424, Vol. I.

is given the title tsien hu (lord of a thousand) or tu se (native official), but the Schen si traders spoke of Nan tsien dyalbo or simply of the wan or wang (king). He wears a coral button as a sign of his rank and possesses an old Chinese patent or seal according to which his rule extends to the boundary of Tsaidam and as far as the Koko Nor.

The tribes which are dependent on the king, as well as the tribes which are almost or entirely independent (sde and sde schok) are either under a be hu (master of 100) who usually wears a blue button on his hat, or at least under a be tschen, who wears a white button. If they are not lamas their office is also hereditary and goes to the oldest son or, in case the latter is recognized as an incarnation and is needed as holy man in a monastery, it goes to the second eldest.

We wonder why this large country is dependent on Hsining and not, like the neighboring areas, under the administration of the province of Szechwan, only so long as we take into consideration the geographical conditions and the distance between the actual province of Koko Nor and Dya sde (even the couriers figure on 17 days on horseback between Tendo and Dankar, without counting the change of horses, 800 kilometers) and do not think of the historical development and the conquest of Tibet by the Manchu. It is well-known that the policy of the first Manchu emperors was to enlarge the boundaries

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621 COMMUNITY STRUCTURE--physical type (e.g., migratory band, settled village, neighborhood of scattered households, aggregation of hamlets, ward or other local subdivision of a town); kinship structure (e.g., clan-community, endogamous or exogamous deme, segmented community of associated clan-barrios, unsegmented but homogeneous community, heterogeneous community); socio-political and economic structure and organization; local subdivisions of the community; community population (e.g., mean, range); area of territory exploited (e.g., mean, range); distinguishing characteristics (e.g., name, local dialect, local culture); tendency toward local endogamy or exogamy; cohesive and fissive tendencies; neighborliness; local pride; etc. See also:

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A group of patrilineally related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational) unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-western societies, has not undergone great changes under Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

The Oirats (or Western Mongols)

The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads. Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the available resources.

The designation for these small economic and migrational units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worthwhile to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger group and render services in return for the benefits gained thereby.

Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in this group.

The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of the group is arranged according to the age of the male members in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

Wives of members of these extended families are also affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's. A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristocracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara külmün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man, his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants consist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching. The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-winter festival. During the festivals, religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time. Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called), consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property. These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

There is more rigidity about the village organization. The sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village headman. But again the council of elders has considerable authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit, nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically. Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horoscope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases. From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the community's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground, the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals. A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

C. The Mongours

At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

/The Monguors/

kitchens."

For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and isstrictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. R elationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and ch[illegible] between the villages and the county organizations. I seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

*563 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village
621 units would not have been so important in the local administrative
631 system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by
farm villages exists in the Northwest. *Like those in China Proper*,
*563 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which
361 are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market
632 towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here
443 as they do in other parts of the country.

*563 In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem
farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The
621 first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble
the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu-
[443] liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a
(632) village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town.
Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

*563 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways.
621 One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the
771 ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past.
At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such
[794] a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

*563 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity.
545 Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The
621 entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun.
In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very
*563 much a community affair. Virtually everyone has a part in the
621 mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities.
769 Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the
[764] Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt observance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems. Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese village. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village. In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they" As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

However, in numerous economic activities, there is nonadmitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade. The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper, trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportionately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chinese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate. These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

or later is assimilated. But if a Chinese family goes there to live it will remain Chinese and will attract other Chinese families. After a few decades the whole community becomes Chinese.

In addition to familial cross-contacts, there are others of a strictly economic character. Certain craftsmen, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, and millers, very easily obtain a foothold in a Tibetan community. They find very poor competition from most of the Tibetan artisans, although once in a while there is a Tibetan workman of outstanding skill and reputation. Much of the village trade also will gradually pass into the hands of the Chinese traders. Also, poor Chinese come to the Tibetan villages as laborers, lumbermen, and charcoal burners.

An isolated Chinese migrant in the midst of Tibetan influence and environment undoubtedly would become Tibetan. But actually this situation does not exist. Behind the individual Chinese and reinforcing him in successive stages is sustained population pressure from the Chinese country. One by one, others follow his lead and press into the Tibetan community through the opening he has made. Once a number of Chinese families are established in a village, they are sure to become dominant simply as a result of the differential birth rates. Slowly the community becomes increasingly like a Chinese village. Finally, Chinese influence is paramount because the agents who exert that influence and spread that culture have a definite advantage over the Tibetans. They can talk the language of Government officials and wealthy merchants and traders, and they have superior business acumen and industry. The village oil-press or grist-mill eventually passes into the hands of a Chinese if, as is more usual, he has not started it himself. So the Chinese members of the village community forge to the front. After a certain length of time, a once-Tibetan village will become very much like a Chinese community. Even when the village has become all "Chinese", however, the quiver shrines of the mountain gods at the highest mountain peaks still are tended and replenished annually. Thus certain aspects of Tibetan culture and religious observance persist despite the otherwise complete transformation of the Tibetan village into a Chinese one.

There is little information about social classes and land tenure in the far Northwest. However, the general impression is that in the central and eastern parts of Shensi and in the important cities of Kansu, where the population is mainly Chinese, the patterns of social distinction and land distribution are similar to those of China Proper. The Chinese in these areas and in all the other provinces have fundamentally the same culture, with only some minor local variations. For this reason, the reader is referred to the section on Social Structure in the General Handbook.

/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chinese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the Northwest. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large numbers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the partici-
181 pants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship
526 distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son,
[593] if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce
as that between two other persons.

*563 In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-
speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite
[184] different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-
speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race
different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group.
Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their
co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the
basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the
racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another
[178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional bar-
riers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting
*563 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the north-
177 ern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and
learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders
were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered
them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools
and learned the Chinese language they immediately become use-
ful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of
learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the
southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his
wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans
in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous
observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced
798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent
*563 incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we
have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in mat-
795 ters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border
differ from those already described in that they place a greater
emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Con-
fucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become
almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course,
give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confu-
cian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the
Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possi-
bly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear
more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao
district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the seden-
621 tary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organiza-
184 tion permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in
the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned
621 woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating
184 the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts
with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

*563 The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall,
722 were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with
727 which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

*563 The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason,
162 in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a
Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their
[562] men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

829 Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present
*668 regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies
177 and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and sub-
[157] missiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open discontent. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime.

681 and has great prestige; robbery of a chief may be a life-and-death
184 matter; and robbery of some great living Buddha would mean al-
674 most certain death," states Ekvall, op. cit., p. 70. In the past, these problems of differences were somewhat minimized by leaving the various ethnic groups to their own leaders. For instance, as late as in the 1930's, among the Tibetans on the Kansu-Tibetan border, Ekvall reports that the village was the basic unit of administration:

621 "The village organization is generally an informal one. Among
184 the farmers there is a tendency to have a properly chosen head-man; but among the nomads, although there is usually one person in the encampment who is known as the head-man by right of his influence, it is seldom that he has been chosen formally. The real power and final court of appeal is found in the group of substantial middle-aged and elderly men known as the elders (rgan-po), and their word is final in village affairs. Villages - whether villages in the restricted sense, like those of the sedentary districts, or in the larger sense which includes the encampments of the nomads - are associated in groups that have common territorial interests"(op. cit., p. 68).

II. Communist Administration

668 A. The System in General

625 In order to suppress widespread resistance, the Communists have organized the largest and most complicated police system in Chinese history. This system includes regular police as well as secret police. To make sure that the police force will not rebel, there are numerous branches in the system to check on each other. The final control, however, is in the hands of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. To understand this complicated system, it is necessary to draw a skeleton diagram of the whole system instead of just the part in northwest China.

622

622 HEADMEN--existence of community chiefs or headmen; qualifications; mode of selection (e.g., by seniority, informal acceptance, election, matrilineal or patrilineal succession); functions and activities; domestic establishment; special status and functions of headman's relatives; authority; prerogatives; etc. See also:

Headmen of kin groups . . . . 61 Leadership traits 157
Chiefs of territorial divisions . . . . 63 Chief executive of the state 643

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624

554

[For information on the cadres - groups of especi
cooperatives and collectivization programs to trai

lly-trained communist party officials employed in
n others in party programs - see category 668.]

A group of patrilineally related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational) unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other Northwestern societies, has not undergone great changes under Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican régimes.

The Oirats (or Western Mongols:

The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads. Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the available resources.

The designation for these small economic and migrational units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worthwhile to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger group and render services in return for the benefits gained thereby.

Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in this group.

The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of the group is arranged according to the age of the male members in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

Wives of members of these extended families are also affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's. A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristocracy and the clergy ar highly respected by the kara klimlin. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man, his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants consist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the herds. In these cases where a man has more than one wife, each

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching. The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the midwinter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time. Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property. These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

There is more rigidity about the village organization. The sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village headman. But again the council of elders has considerable authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit, nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically. Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horoscope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases. From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the community's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground, the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals. A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

/The Monguors/

kitchens."

For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

through which the ordinary traveller is glad to pass quickly.

The aspect of the country was very different from that which we had met south of Kanchow. On the Tibetan side the snow-covered Richthofen Range came closer and closer, while the Mongolian hills gradually diminished in size until they became mere sand-dunes, and then drifted off into the flat expanse of the Gobi Desert. The style of the country presented a good deal of variety, and lay in clearly defined sections running from north to south in narrow strips. Shaho, the first town of importance, was on a fertile band, and lay in the midst of orchards, in which the trees were then laden with ripe pears. Leaving these one mile behind us, we entered an area of loose sandhills, where we found it necessary to descend from our carts to lighten the weight for the animals. We plodded through the fine, dry slopes with a delightful sense of illusion that just over the horizon the sea must surely appear. A number of small sand-coloured lizards sunned themselves by the way; and raising their heads at our approach, they then made off at a great pace pursued by the carter, who derived much enjoyment from catching them by the tail. Our part in the sport was to sing and whistle, which immediately brought the little creatures to a standstill, and kept them spellbound for as long as we continued our tunes. About ten miles further on we passed a clearly-defined line of swamp, through which we approached the city of Fuyi. Here the water-wagtails kept pace with the cart, and a beautiful crocus-yellow-breasted variety flitted in and out of the rushes.

Fuyi was the smallest walled city we had seen, but stands surrounded by well-watered and prosperous farmsteads, owned by wealthy families. The hand of a

capable and intelligent Mandarin was evidenced as 622
soon as the gates were reached, for on the plastered walls appeared practical precepts regarding the duties of good citizenship, and a series of pictures illustrating the downward course of the gambler and opium-smoker.

We were desirous of calling at one of the large farms 600
in the neighbourhood, as it was the home of a young man who had been received into the Pioneer Band. This student, who had graduated from a Government Normal College, was a member of one of the most affluent and influential families of Fuyi. On his way back from Lanchow, he had come to the Kanchow Mission House with a request that he might be supplied with necessary dressings, having lately undergone an operation in hospital. He presented a pathetic appearance, being thin, pale, and melancholy, and at first sight, as he stood fingering the books of the lending-library in the guest-room, we read in his face an appeal for the help which would satisfy a longing deeper than the needs of the body. With characteristic cordiality and genial words, Dr. Kao made the necessary introduction. 'This is Mr. Tu,' he said, 'who is coming to spend a few days with me. He has been ill, and I cannot allow him to remain at an inn.' Then turning to his visitor, he continued: 'These ladies will be passing through Fuyi in the autumn, and I hope they may call then and see your mother and wife.' A few days were sufficient to transform this sad youth into one whose whole being, spirit, soul, and body, was irradiated with a new life. He read the Scriptures as one who found great treasure; but he also shrank from the difficulties of the return home, when, as a matter of course, incense would be burnt, and he himself would be expected to give thanks to the family idols for protection on the journey.

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623 COUNCILS--existence of advisory or deliberative bodies within the community (e.g., 'council of elders, assembly of adult males); membership; mode of selection; organization; functions (e.g., advisory, judicial, legislative); conduct of sessions; powers and prerogatives; etc. See also:

Councils of territorial divisions . . . . 63 Legislative and deliberative bodies of the state . . 646

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 621 622 623 632 792 622 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village headman. But again the council of elders has considerable authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit, nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

423 The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically. Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 621 241 787 292 789 776 782 625 486 651 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horoscope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases. From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the community's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground, the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals. A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

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624 LOCAL OFFICIALS--specialized offices within the community (e.g., war chief, fire chief, talking chief, recorder of deeds, surveyor, herald, chief priest); qualifications, mode of selection, functions, activities, and prerogatives of each type of official; etc. See also:

Officials of territorial divisions . . . . 63 State bureaucracy 647
Military organization . . . . 70 Priesthood 793

622

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[For information on the cadres - groups of espec
cooperatives and collectivization programs to tra

ially-trained communist party officials employed in
in others in party programs - see category 668.]

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distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. They informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kiln-burnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the salt tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impossible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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come too,' was gathering impetus for a more organised 798
attack than any to which the Christian community had hitherto been exposed. Severe financial loss was incurred through the death of mules, horses, sheep and cows, in which live stock the Church funds were invested. One of the most valued Christian leaders was at death's door with rheumatic fever, and hope of his restoration was almost abandoned. He, however, slowly recovered, but when barely convalescent, received news that his two cousins who had but recently left us on a visit to Honan, were murdered by brigands on the road. A few weeks later came a letter, telling of a robber-band attack on his home, and the capture of the head of the house. A large ransom was demanded for his release, and the whole clan impoverished itself to raise the money, yet when this was handed over, they merely received the information that his body would be found in a certain well, and so it proved to be.

There had, moreover, been trouble lately in Kan- 249
chow, which clearly showed us the active opposition of 798
enemies. The Kanchow Christian farmers had not sown 651
any opium, and so many had registered as enquirers
as to cause a positive difficulty to the Local Official in 624
the raising of the twenty-four-thousand-dollar opium tax, at which sum the crop under his control had been assessed. These wheat-growing farmers did not place themselves in a position of financial advantage, as the value of the opium crop, even allowing for the tax, was
almost five times that produced by grain. As friction 798
increased, the local tax-gatherer determined to wreak
vengeance on the whole Christian community, and thus 624
the plan of revenge was laid with a craft and subtlety such as is difficult for the Westerner to grasp. An old man, seventy years of age, so poor as to be nearly starving, was secretly approached with the offer of

798 624 money, a few days of feasting, and the promise of generous sacrifices after death, in exchange for the risk he should run of losing his life in an organised mêlée at the time of a coming fair. After some bargaining the matter was settled, and the tax-collector proceeded to secure the services of certain young roughs, always ready for a fight. The compact, however, was not kept as wholly secret as the parties intended, for some young girls overheard the conversation, and subsequently repeated it to their friends. On the morning of the fair a band of Christian men and women were selling books near the theatrical stage, when the tax-gatherer's gang began to pick a quarrel with them concerning the offence offered to the gods by their preaching. In a moment others joined in, and there were hot words and hard blows on both sides. Benches were used as weapons, and shortly afterwards the old beggar was lying dead, while the Christians were falsely accused of having killed him! It so happened that the more important Christian farmers were detained that day at a village three miles distant, but in a few hours' time a squad of soldiers arrived from Kanchow and took prisoner twenty Christian men, including even those who could prove an *alibi*. For weeks they lay in prison, without trial or proper investigation, wholly dependent for food on the charity of the Christian community, and not until one of them died, as a result of neglected wounds, was release on bail obtained for the remainder, the official refusing even to coffin the dead man until his old mother made her wrongs known by sitting the whole day wailing, in Eastern fashion, in the Yamen court, while the birthday festivities of the Mandarin were in progress! The facts of the story gradually became known, but no trial was held, and the accused were left in the supremely unsatisfactory condition of

being refused all opportunity for clearing themselves, 798
although the whole populace declared them to be 624
innocent. Dr. Kao was actually with us at distant Suchow when the incident occurred. Subsequently, 798
however, he made an open enemy of the Kanchow Official by peremptorily refusing to consider the case on a suggested compromise basis, *i.e.* that as a life had been sacrificed on either side, and honour was satisfied, it only remained for the parties concerned to seal their agreement by feasting!

The circle of those bound together to wreak vengeance on the Christians and their leader was growing, and they were now joined by an influential man of whom Dr. Kao had made an enemy by refusing his donation of several hundred dollars towards the hospital work, a gift which had been offered on the tacit understanding that having accepted it the doctor would cease his open denunciation of the opium traffic.

During the winter months of 1925 the Provinces of 635
the North-West Frontier were placed under the juris- 701
diction of Marshal Feng, and the city walls were covered with excellent proclamations, forbidding soldiers to oppress the people, and promising adequate protection to farmers bringing in their produce, it being the custom of the local battalions to ill-treat persons and seize goods at their pleasure. These proclamations were received with acclamation by the people, but were obviously *not* liked by the officials or the soldiers.

One day in January 1926, Dr. Kao, walking along the street, met a crowd running towards a back alley, where on following them, he found five men beating a young villager so severely as to endanger his life. Several of the assailants were soldiers, and one, armed with a hammer, was proceeding to break the youth's skull when, without a moment's hesitation, the Doctor

There is not much to be said about the city of Hsining fu. It is 361
a Chinese city like all the others. And if one wants to be honest, one must admit that in the entire huge Middle Kingdom there is not a single really beautiful private dwelling. Hsining fu has only a "beautiful" city wall; and this is very necessary. As I briefly mentioned before, the city endured a four-month siege as recently as 1895, /170/ and about this Mr. Ridley once reported in detail in an English journal. Because of the lack of wood in the vicinity, the houses are small and low and built largely of dried loam with flat roofs. The number of inhabitants today probably does not quite come to 20,000. (1) Two-thirds of the male population are said to 624

1. Count Széchenyi: 3,000 occupied houses and 35,000 inhabitants; Rockhill, The Land of the Lamas, 1891: 30,000-40,000 inhabitants. But this was before the last but one rebellion which was particularly bloody. Hedin, Durch Asiens Wüsten, Vol. II mentions 20,000 inhabitants, basing his figure on Ridley's statement; Grenard gives 15,000 inhabitants in the inner city, 10,000 Mohammedans in the suburb; Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, 1884: 60,000 inhabitants; Futterer, Durch Asien, Vol. I, p. 257, 1901: 60,000 inhabitants; therefore also Sievers, Asien, 1904, p. 491: 60,000 inhabitants; Filchner, Bilder aus Kansu, 1912: 60,000 inhabitants; Richard's Geography, Shanghai 1908: 60,000 inhabitants. The number 20,000 was quoted to me in the Hsien yamen, on the basis of the almost annual inquiries officially conducted around New Year. It is interesting to compare these figures with the impressions Tibetans have of the city. Chandra Das in his Contributions on Tibet gives the report of the Panschen Lama of the year 1779. He estimates the number of inhabitants of Hsining to be 300,000. According to the report from the crown of the ministry of the interior dated February 27, 1911, there were 2,032 families counted in the census of 1910, which would equal not even 10,000 souls. However, this figure does not represent the inhabitants of Hsining but the Mongolian banners that come under the Hsining amban.

be employed in the countless official bureaus or are soldiers or secretaries and secretaries' assistants. There is also a prince, a tu

624 se of the so-called Tu jen (2) living in the city. Every day he places

2. A Chinese word, literally: "earth-people," meaning oldest inhabitants.

the insignia of his power in front of the door of his house, like a
685 petty Chinese official or a police officer. Everyone who passes the houses sees two kang (3) and a stick for administering bastinadoes

3. The kang. Chinese kia (popularly known as dia-dia in Kansu) is the rectangular piece of wood, weighing 20 pounds and about 60 centimeters in length, through which the head of a convict is stuck. The Chinese fear it less as a punishment than as a mark of shame, and it is used primarily in cases of petty thievery. The conviction lasts from one to two months, and this collar often may not be taken off at night. But the convicted person may go walking with it if he feels like it and if he has been granted bail or is a property owner.

which are used as punishment or to extract confessions. This represents the power which the li tu se still exercise over their subjects,
346 the Tu jen. The yamen of these tu se is very small. But close be-
778 side it under a three-tiered roof (Plate L) sits a colossal clay Buddha in the midst of a rambling group of buildings which have long since crumbled except for the foundation walls. In any case this structure stems from ancient times (perhaps Ming?) and was the temple of the Tu jen. A large part of the property around the temple still belongs to the Tu jen. There are many inhabitants of Hsining who maintain that the building containing the giant Buddha was not built as a temple but as a palace of the li tu se when they were still independent, around the time of the Sung Dynasty (11th
624 century). A rather large part of the city belongs to the Tu jen who
651 pay taxes to their kings and not to the Chinese officials.

The holder of the position of li tu se in Hsining was a young man in his early twenties who, in complete contrast with his father, enjoyed very little esteem. And rightly so! For, within a few years /171/ he had spent his father's entire fortune in drinking and gambling, and was now heavily in debt. Even his father had little power left over his subjects; the Chinese mandarins have now become even more the rulers. They now gather a tenth of the produce

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from the tu se fields into their barns. I shall come back to the subject of the Tu jen later when my journey takes me through their country. In and around the city of Hsining there are only a few Tu jen living today.

The city of Hsining fu is now almost entirely Chinese. Even in the erstwhile very important eastern suburb, the Tung kwan which was destroyed by the Chinese in 1895, Mohammedans are no longer permitted to live with their families; they may only conduct their businesses there. Since 1896 specific sections and valleys in the mountains have been assigned to Mohammedan families. The only thing that is waived today is the decree that was for years carried out very strictly, namely, that Mohammedans wishing to visit the inner part of the city were obliged to have a stamp put on their cheeks as they entered the city gate.

The inhabitants still vividly recalled the horrible battles with the Mohammedans. Hsining was therefore also a military city. There were five ying (battalions) stationed here and the largest and most beautiful yamen was that of the general (tschen tai) who had a rather large arsenal. In it incense was lit on the first and fifteenth of every month to the deliverer of the city, an old ko lu pu pau (a Krupp cannon), and officers and soldiers fell to the ground in a kowtow before the rusty cannon. This weapon was the soul of the defense in the year 1895. Human blood was officially smeared around the mouth of the cannon in order to make it voracious and thirst after Mohammedan blood. The natives said: "It has a soul just like a human being," and they undoubtedly had a much more definite image than our native recruits do when we teach them to speak of the "soul" of the axis of a gun or cannon.

The tsch'eng schu ying, the military governor of the city who is also the keeper of the keys to the city gates and commander of the so-called middle battalion, (1) as well as the hsien, the prefect,

1. The Chinese provincial army consisted only of the green banners, the lü ying. In peace time one seldom heard of the larger associations, the tschen piao (brigades), the hsie (regiments), because the Chinese provincial army (I am not speaking of the troops on the coast) was used as a police troop and was garrisoned in various places. The primary important military unit is the ying camp or battalion that is under the command of a major (yu tschi) or a captain (du se or schu be).

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Tu ren

yüan bu. A single day's horseback ride took me there. (1)

1. Prschewalski's Yjam bu. In Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, translated by Stein, the Tu ren which I am about to describe are spoken of as Daldy, Doldy and Tunschen, and Prschewalski believes they originated in Samarkand and are a mixture of the Aryan and Mongolian race.

This Wei yüan bu is a little market town, ninety lis distant from the city of Hsining fu toward the north-northeast, and is geologically in the same red tertiary clay basin as the prefecture city of Hsining and the monastery Gum bum. The edge of the basin is about 10 kilometers beyond on the north and east and it is only there that one again finds granite and slate looming up out of the loess-covered tertiary. Thus, from north to south the width of the red clay of the Hsining fu basin is 50-60 kilometers. In modern times these red strata were split up into so many valleys and ravines that even this tertiary region has now become a bizarre mountain country. The material is so soft that the valley bottoms of the larger streams have been washed out to form wide beds. At the spot where Wei yüan bu is situated a large plain several square kilometers in size has been formed by the union of two such broad-bottomed, fruitful valleys. This undoubtedly accounts for the location and the importance of the place.

For, Wei yüan bu is an important town. It can even be called a small city. It has a civil official who is now under the hsien of Hsining, it is the seat of a captain and second lieutenant, it has a city wall, a full half-dozen pawn shops, and all kinds of craftsmen. Above all there are important whiskey distillers among its inhabitants, who export their product as far as Lanchow and far into Tibet, and /246/ many mill owners whose mills, like those throughout East Tibet, are characterized by vertical axle trees and horizontally placed paddle wheels. In the census of 1895 the town had 820 families. For me Wei yüan bu was important as the present-day chief town and market-place of the Tu ren who are under the administration of the hsien of Hsining.

Tu ren (tu jen) literally means "earth man." It is a Chinese word and means "a resident." It refers to those people who were already in the country before the last Chinese inundation. This last large immigration of Chinese began in the Mongol Dynasty [1260-1368] and still continues.

625

625 POLICE--specialized law-enforcement organs within the community and higher political units; personnel (e.g., qualifications, appointment, training, organization, promotion, retirement); equipment (e.g., uniform, insignia, arms); functions (e.g., crime prevention and detection, quelling disturbances, traffic control); specialization (e.g., patrolmen, detectives, vice squad); powers (e.g., arrest, detention, summary justice); degree of civilian control; special police organizations (e.g., state police, secret police); private police (e.g., bodyguards, watchmen, industrial police, private detectives); etc. See also:

Fire protection	368	Political graft	667
Examination of travelers	486	Legal and judicial personnel	693
Highway patrols	494	Methods of crime detection	694
Organized vice	548	Jails and prisons	697
Riots	579	Military police	708
Government pensions	657		

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

There is more rigidity about the village organization. The sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village headman. But again the council of elders has considerable authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit, nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

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681 and has great prestige; robbery of a chief may be a life-and-death
184 matter; and robbery of some great living Buddha would mean al-
674 most certain death," states Ekvall, op. cit., p. 70. In the past, these problems of differences were somewhat minimized by leaving the various ethnic groups to their own leaders. For instance, as late as in the 1930's, among the Tibetans on the Kansu-Tibetan border, Ekvall reports that the village was the basic unit of administration:

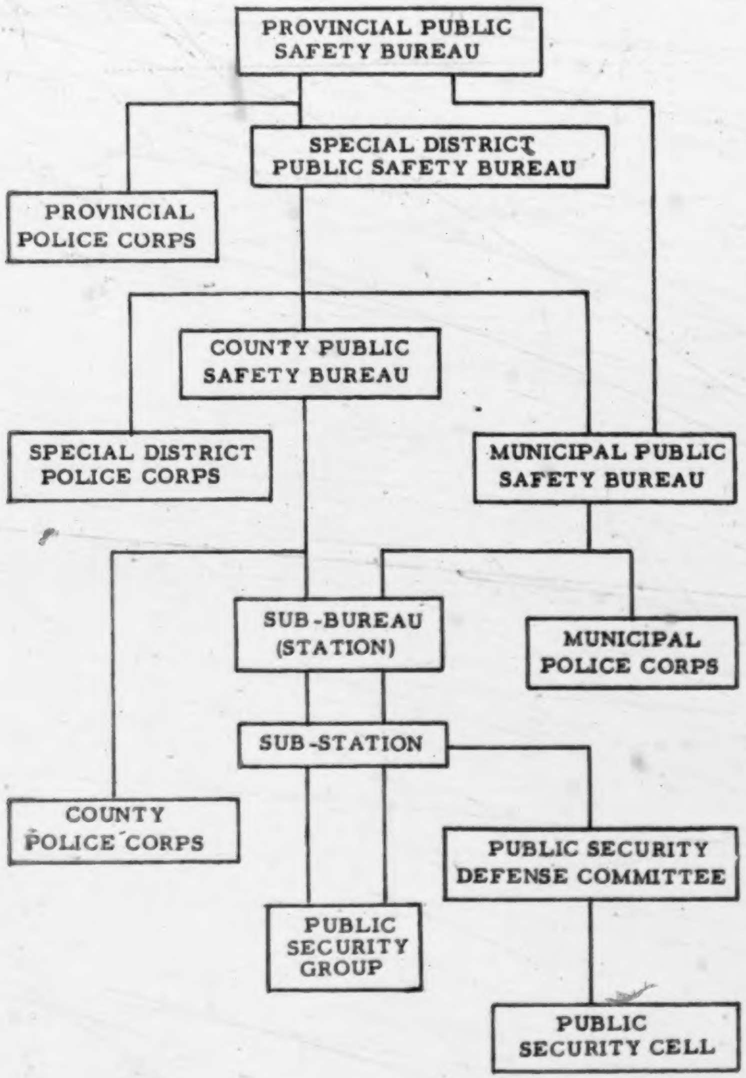
621 "The village organization is generally an informal one. Among
184 the farmers there is a tendency to have a properly chosen head-man; but among the nomads, although there is usually one person in the encampment who is known as the head-man by right of his influence, it is seldom that he has been chosen formally. The real power and final court of appeal is found in the group of substantial middle-aged and elderly men known as the elders (rgan-po), and their word is final in village affairs. Villages - whether villages in the restricted sense, like those of the sedentary districts, or in the larger sense which includes the encampments of the nomads - are associated in groups that have common territorial interests"(op. cit., p. 68).

II. Communist Administration

+668 A. The System in General

625 In order to suppress widespread resistance, the Communists have organized the largest and most complicated police system in Chinese history. This system includes regular police as well as secret police. To make sure that the police force will not rebel, there are numerous branches in the system to check on each other. The final control, however, is in the hands of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. To understand this complicated system, it is necessary to draw a skeleton diagram of the whole system instead of just the part in northwest China.

REGULAR POLICE SYSTEM IN NORTHWEST CHINA



1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

1. The secret service

The command of the police system on mainland China rests with the national headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party. Nominally it is the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, but the real power is in the hands of the small group which forms the Political Bureau. In turn this bureau is influenced greatly by the Secretariat and the secretary-general. When the secretary-general is strong he may even dominate the bureau. It usually makes the decisions on policy. The secret police service's executive body is centered around the Social Department of the Central Committee of the Party. This Department has a direct system of organization within the Party. In large areas (such as the former northwest region) or in special areas (such as Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), there is a Social Department subordinate to the Party's "Central Committee Sub-bureau." From this level down, like the Party local organization, there is a social department or social secretary at each level to take charge of the secret service in the corresponding area.

2. Other police systems

Built around this Party secret service system, are numerous other separate, but not entirely independent, systems of police forces. The most important is the regular police. Organizationally, this is a branch of the People's government. Its central headquarters is the Ministry of Public Security under the Government Administration Council. From this level down there is a branch office of the department at every level of the People's government. This branch commands the regular police forces.

The United Front Department system which extends to the provincial and municipal levels, is designed for two purposes. Negatively, it infiltrates into the organizations of the people and watches their functions. Positively, it dominates and utilizes the people's organizations to promote the Party program.

The system of People's control is similar. Here, people are used as spies for the Party. The People's Procurator system is slightly different. It is a prosecuting government organ. Since prosecution needs the investigation of facts, inevitably this sytem is involved in the police system.

The spy system under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also has a dual purpose. Positively, this system infiltrates into foreign territories to conspire for future conquests. Negatively, it is used to detect and prevent possible agitations which may disturb public order in mainland China.

The police and spy system among the military forces can be divided into two parts. The system of political defense is used to weed out potential political enemies inside the army, while the scout and spy system is mainly used to detect military enemies. Both of these systems have branches in the field army and the army areas.

areas.

Although there are so many different branches in the whole police system, final control still rests in the hands of the "Party Central."

Before the abolition of the Northwest Region there was a Northwest Regional Public Security Department in charge of the regular police in the area. From June 19, 1954, when the Department, together with the Northwest Administrative Committee was abolished, the provincial Public Security Bureaus, in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang gained increased prominence. Starting with the provincial level, there is an office of Public Security at every level. The Sub-Bureau (or Station) is the Public Security Office at the ch'ü (district) level; the sub-station is at the hsiang level, while the public security group is the lowest open office.

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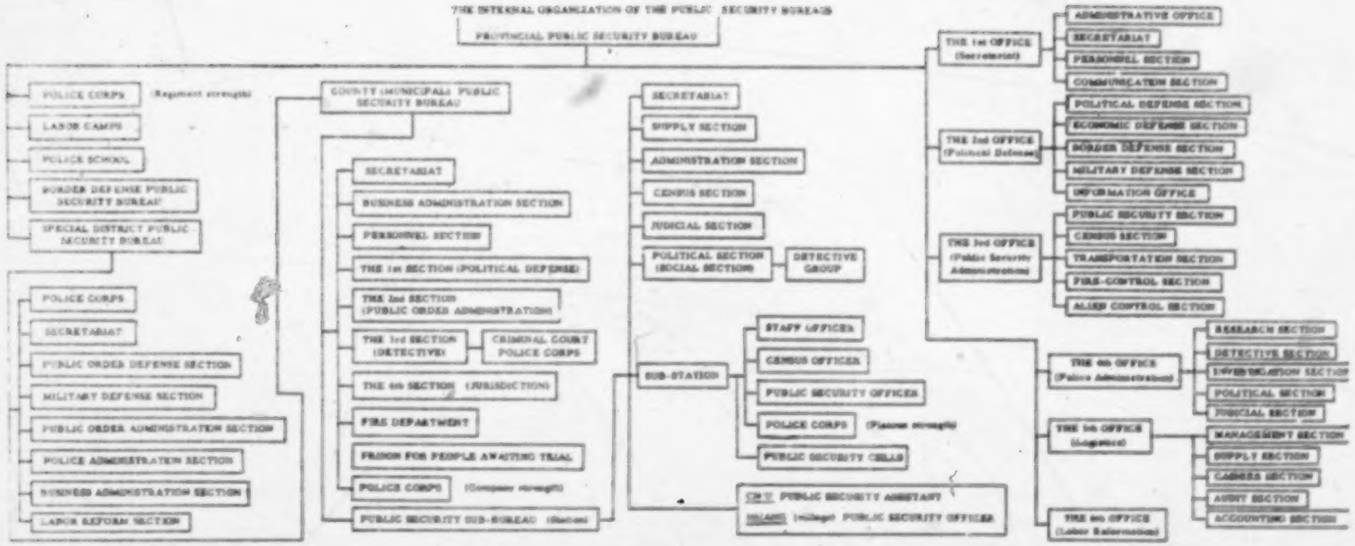
CHART II.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAUS



625 The above chart (chart II) is self-explanatory. However, *668 in the past, the major work of the police station was the fight 178 against crime. At present, the emphasis has been shifted to political defense. Thus, the political section becomes a major section in the internal organization of the police offices. To 673 view the problem from another angle, even common crimes *668 can be political in nature. A case of arson may be considered sabotage of state property. A case of theft may involve the stealing of state property. Murder may be viewed as a disruption of production. Therefore it is difficult to separate common crimes from political resistance. One of the major arguments of the Communists to defend their own criminal past (e.g. Chou En-lai has a record as murderer in Shanghai Police Department) is the political purpose of the crime.

625 3. Committee of residents

*668 In addition to the regular police, the Communists have also organized and used the common people to maintain public order and safety. In cities, there are Committees of Residents. These Committees are organized by districts, each one controlling from 100 to 600 families. Under the committee are "cells of residents." Each cell includes from 15 to 40 families. Each committee shall not control more than 17 such cells. The main function of these cells and committees is to maintain public order. ("The Regulations of the Urban Committee of Residents," adopted by the 4th meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on December 31, 1954, articles 2 and 3 in Peking Kuang-ming jih-pao, January 1, 1955.)

The rural areas have Security Committees, the administrative village being the unit with 3 to 11 members participating. Under these committees, security teams of 3 to 5 activitsts are established. These people police the countryside for the Communist government. The functions and power of these security committees are:

1)... Arresting and rugning over to the government and public security organs of counter-revolutionaries caught flagrant, derelicts and criminals wanted by law, but... have no power to try to imprison or dispose of such criminals.

2)... Investigating, supervising, prosecuting and denouncing counter-revolutionaries other than those caught in the act, but... have no power to arrest, detain, search or restrict them.

3)... Educating the masses to preserve the revolutionary order and supervising the persons subject to control in labor and production, forbidding them to speak and act indiscriminately and reporting in time to the public security organs on their behavior, but... have no power to

• 625 detain, punish or evict them... ("The Provisional Regu-
*668 lations Governing Organization of Security Committees" proclaimed on August 10, 1952 by the Ministry of Public Safety of the CPG, NCNA, Peking, August 10, 1952.)

Besides these auxiliary police forces, there are People's Supervision Correspondents and People's Denunciation Reception Rooms. People's Supervision Correspondents are recruited from every branch of government organs, enterprises and people's popular bodies in towns and villages. The members are selected from among the activists. "The tasks of the People's Supervision Correspondents are to investigate all cases of violation of laws and discipline and damage to the state and people's interest such as graft, waste, bureaucracy and dereliction of duty by government organs, enterprises and their personnel, as well as to canvass the opinions of the masses on the implementation of government policies and laws, report them to supervisory organs of a superior level and to leading officials of their own departments and to assist them in the disposal of cases. The methods for studying and discovering problems are: (1) to observe and discover problems through their own activities; (2) to regularly go deep into the masses to discover problems and listen to the views of the masses; (3) to collect accusations and appeals from the masses through people's opinion boxes; (4) to maintain close contacts with the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms, and to cooperate with the latter in work." (NCNA, Peking, August 25, 1952.)

The same source adds "The principal task of the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms is to receive and dispose of accusations and appeals from the masses."

701 These police forces are supported by the regular People's
625 Liberation Army and the militias. The militias are local self-
defense corps who, according to Peking, Jen-min jih-pao, August
*668 10, 1952, p. 18, cannot be separated from production. They are those who must engage in productive work, such as farming or handicraft, to make a living. They provide a powerful auxiliary force for the army and regular police.

*668 Augmenting all these organizations is the persistent program of indoctrination. The Communists realize that every crime com-
[674] mitted now is politically harmful to their regime, so they have instituted numerous programs in education and propaganda to fight against crime. Reading the "new" moral standards set up
[873] for high school students by the Communist Ministry of Education (The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China: Jen-min chiao-yu, or People's Education, monthly, July issue of 1955, p. 46. "The moral standard of the middle school students" promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.) is like reading something from the past. Absolute loyalty to the government, strict obedience to authorities, extreme care not to

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PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

I. Introduction

A. Historical Administration of Area

N
1. Ch'ing Dynasty

+175 During the Ch'ing dynasty, Shensi and Kansu were two of the
635 eighteen provinces which formed China proper. The police
625 system and the problems of public order and safety were simi-
184 lar to those of the other provinces. (See Section on Public Order
and Safety in General Handbook.) However, in the Chinghai area,
the maintenance of order was mainly entrusted to the native local
S chiefs. In Sinkiang, a network of military garrisons under the rule
175 of Manchu military officers was established. Its main purpose was
701 to suppress possible rebellions by the minority groups. The daily
669 administration and maintenance of order among the minorities at
the lower local level, however, here also rested with the minority
chiefs and local leaders. The efficiency of this system is illus-
trated by the record of the riots. Periodically, at intervals of
roughly thirty to fifty years, a major rebellion broke out. Numer-
N ous small riots occurred between the big conflicts. As a whole,
+175 however, the Ch'ing dynasty's maintenance of public order in the
625 northwest was considered to be successful.

2. Post 1911

When the revolution came in 1911, the situations varied in the different provinces. The weakness of the central government in Peking helped further the development of local forces. In Shensi, Kansu (and Ninghsia) and Ch'inghai, there were various warlords who occupied and dominated a certain portion of the land at various times. The purpose of the police forces under the warlords was to maintain their dominant position. Their police forces were efficient or less so, depending on the personalities of the leaders. Often they were backward and cruel, but usually they followed the traditional pattern of the Chinese bureaucracy. Most of the warlords adopted the "closed-door" policy. Outsiders, especially those viewed as potential trouble-makers, were not too free to travel around. This simplified police work since the local population was comparatively less educated and, except for the Moslems, more submissive than the outsiders.

S In Sinkiang, the situation was complicated by two factors.
175 First, it was exposed to foreign agitation, particularly from Russia
625 and Great Britain. Second, it had a mixed population with the
(648) Chinese in the minority. Therefore, the purpose and mission of
(563) the police forces in Sinkiang were traditionally difficult. Main-
taining the leader's power involved dealing with foreign influences
and with the various local peoples. These constant challenges made
the police forces in Sinkiang more alert and efficient than in other

at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National People's Congress on July 27, 1955:

"'Chinghai is an area where many nationalities live.... There are hidden counter-revolutionists and reactionary landlords, rich farmers who are still trying in every way to sabotage the unity of the nationalities. The methods used by these enemies for sabotage are dangerous and shrewd, mainly along two lines, namely, under the cover of religion or by upsetting international relations. The counter-revolutionists also sabotage our productive activities through arson, robbery, spreading of rumor, etc. They even organize open military rebellions. The reactionary landlords and rich farmers also stir up trouble between the middle farmers and the poor farmers. They infiltrate into the mutual cooperative groups and cooperatives to sabotage the mutual cooperative movement.'"

14. The Sinkiang jih-pao, September 30, 1954, reported that

"In the first half of 1954 alone, we have discovered 3429 cases of counter-revolutionary plots in Sinkiang. According to incomplete statistics, we have made arrests in at least 15,000 cases of various criminal offenses during the past 5 years." (A Report on the Achievements of the Political Works in Sinkiang Province during the Past Five Years," by Vice-chairman Kao Chin-ch'un of Sinkiang Province.)

The above reports clearly indicate that there have been disturbances, resistance, sabotage and open rebellion besides ordinary crimes in every province of the Northwest from the very beginning of the Communist conquest until the present.

4. Conclusion

The regular police system under the Communists is huge, yet it is only a very small part of the whole police system, much like the part of an iceberg floating above the sea level. Strictly speaking, every branch of the Communist government, no matter whether it is legislative, administrative, judicial or economic, is a part of the police system and under the control of the Party. Moreover, every person in the country is organized and enlisted in the secret service. He is watching and being watched. Violators are subject to very heavy penalty. (See "The Regulations for Punishing the Counter-Revolutionaries" adopted by 11th meeting of the Central People's Government Council on February 20, 1951, in 1952 Jen-min shou-ts'e.)

this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here containing a considerably less volume of water than where crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between. Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings one to Fu Chou.

Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city, is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact that it had been sacked four times by brigands during the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The official of one of these cities informed me that it was inadvisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

place having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there would be nothing to attract another raid provided there were no modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver, opium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go for. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou was a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain behind the town, built by the magistrate and the few remaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In the centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient bronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang Dynasty, the only object of value which survives the periodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to Ch'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west trails in these parts.

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 to 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through poor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The loess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the whole region gives the impression of turning into desert. Several miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of caves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts built of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity of wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for constructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably the people are so used to living in caves that they do not feel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is not to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in winter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage which is always going on in the loess these caves are constantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct when it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan is a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a city.

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River and follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after three to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass (4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen Shui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously enough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent and descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy downs. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

N
*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed
Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

S
7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
175 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
668 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
669 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out
579 more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically
cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

N
"(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*175 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*563 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
*668 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In
669 the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups.
They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police
as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

N
9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases
were taken on in 1954."
*625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
175 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two mu-
nicipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal
that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
674 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or
who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to
repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt observance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems. Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese village. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village. In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other.. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they" As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

However, in numerous economic activities, there is nonadmitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade. The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper, trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportionately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chinese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate. These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country. The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes. Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chinese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife. The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest, offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese community. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan communities.

The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a generation of two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him. Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

about 4700 feet. From the pass there is no immediate descent, the track following along a winding ridge in the grass and brush-covered hills for 25 li, and then descending a few hundred feet to reach Yichün, a dilapidated little city, built on the side of the ridge, the centre of a very poor third class district.

The range of mountains crossed on this day's march forms the watershed between the Lo and Wei rivers, the two principal streams draining Northern Shensi, and rises well above the loess covering. Perhaps the soil of no region in the world has been worked by man to the same extent as the loess of Central Shensi, where the Chinese have been scratching, sowing, and reaping uninterruptedly for some 4000 years or more, and the landscape of those plains appears tired and worn out. It is therefore a relief to get out of the loess, with its alternate dust and mud, glaring heat, insufficient and often brackish water, and treeless and monotonous scenery, into these mountains with their clear streams, grassy downs, and brush-covered slopes, haunted by innumerable deer and pheasants. In all our travels we found few spots more teeming with game than the hill sides in the neighbourhood of Yichün, and being now in a country where supplies were practically nil, we bagged quantities of cock pheasants, in pursuit of which it was seldom necessary to go more than a hundred yards from the road. We saw plenty of deer, apparently roe, too, but as we could get as many pheasants as we wanted, we did not trouble to go after them.

This range also marks the dividing line at present between the comparatively peaceful regions of Central Shensi and the brigand infested north. Yichün had been raided but recently, and was generally speaking in a most dilapidated condition from this and previous raids. When leaving the next morning we passed a crowd of the usual emaciated dogs outside the North Gate feasting on the remains of some decapitated brigands, an unpleasant sight at six o'clock in the morning, but one which gave great pleasure to most of the party. For a dead brigand cannot but be a pleasant sight to a peaceful Chinese, and my companions kept on repeating to themselves with real satisfaction *kou ch'ih t'u fei* (dogs eating brigands), as being an entirely

suitable and satisfactory state of affairs. Unfortunately my enquiries showed that these decapitated bodies were not those of the real brigands of these regions at all, but of some strangers who arrived at the city gates and could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and who had accordingly been executed so as to be on the safe side.

Most of the magistrates in Shensi are now natives of the province, young students and military officers of the new school, but in one of the districts on this road we met an official of the old type of magistrate *de carrière*, a Hunanese who had just come down from Chinese Turkestan where he had been serving for years. Though the virtues of the new type of local official in China may be great, it was a pleasure to meet a gentleman of the old school with his many and varied experiences, and we had a long talk about mutual acquaintances serving in the deserts of the far North West.

From Yichün the path follows down the ridge descending gradually for 35 li to the village of P'iench'iao, where the mountains give way once more to loess hills and the ridge flattens out into a plateau. The track continues across this tableland, winding to and fro to avoid the usual rifts in the loess falling away into the valleys on either side, and then descends steeply for the last five li to reach the district city of Chungpu lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east.

We were now once more in the loess with its glaring dry heat and choking dust. The season of the year was early June, when all over North China there is a spell of very hot dry weather, corresponding, presumably, to the heat of Northern India before the monsoon. In July and August the rains break, and though the steamy heat is then trying enough, and the loess is turned into slimy mud, the change is a great relief.

At Chungpu we were met by the Taoyin of Northern Shensi, whose seat is at Yülin Fu on the edge of the Ordos. His post is at present a most difficult one owing to the northern districts being so overrun with brigands. He told us that the extreme north of the province was much less desolate and more prosperous than the districts we were now traversing. We had heard much of the terrible "bitter-

631

631 TERRITORIAL HIERARCHY--territorial structure of the state; the various levels of territorial and administrative organization within the state and their reconciliation with the categories below; hierarchy of political officials; integration with larger political units (e.g., Ukraine within the USSR); general nature of the territorial hierarchy (e.g., feudal, administrative, federal); degree of local differentiation in structural forms (e.g., federal districts, free cities, territories, colonies); etc. See also:

Identification of the cultural group in relation to culture areas and neighboring societies. 101

The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered but also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bëks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bëk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bëk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bëk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bëk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bëks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system. Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

626

626 SOCIAL CONTROL--incentives to conformity (e.g., expectation of rewards, reciprocity, fear of social and supernatural sanctions, conscience); means of inducing conformity (e.g., example, precept, praise, rewards, warnings, threats); pressure of public opinion; informal mechanisms of social control (e.g., criticism, ridicule, gossip, cursing, sorcery, intentional silence, ostracism); incidence and effectiveness of such sanctions as compared with the application of physical force; etc. See also:

Socialization	86	Reactions to breaches of etiquette	576
Social norms	183	Breaches of ethics	577
Public opinion	208	Ingroup antagonisms	578
Wit and humor	522	Sorcery	754
Status and prestige	554	Supernatural sanctions for violations of taboos and other offenses	784
Loss of face	558		
Primary groups	571	Cursing	789

*668 violate rules and regulations are stressed as they were in the
monarchal days.
[626] Social pressure is also great. With the whole population
organized under the Communists' tight control, the entire society
can be mobilized to work against crime and political conspiracies.
This has been well demonstrated by the various "anti" movements
and the study groups.

194 B. Current Problems of Administration
Because of the tight governmental control of news and the dis-
*668 tance which separates northwest China from the outside world,
[656] very little information has been obtained about resistance activ-
ities in the area. However, judging by the meager information
offered by the Communists themselves, their rule over the north-
west has not been very smooth. The Communists seldom, if ever,
reveal their troubles while they are current, but they do uncover
some facts when the resistance has been suppressed. By careful
screening, one may piece together the picture of subversive activ-
ities in the area. Sometimes they were on an alarming scale. To
help clarify this general background, some excerpts from the Chi-
nese Communists' own reports and a few indirect quotations are
presented as examples.
1. "During the past year, (i.e. 1950)...we have destroyed
*175 more than 69,600 bandits in the northwest. Right now there are
579 still more than 5,400 active bandits. The largest group is the one
*668 under the leadership of Osman and Husein who are hiding in the
669 deep mountains along the border line between the provinces of Kan-
su, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. There are about two to three
thousand men in this group. The rest of the bandits are in small
groups linked with various underground spies and the rural counter-
revolutionary forces. The condition is still very complicated..."
(Jen-min ch'u-pan-she: Cheng-fu kung-tso pao-jao, 1950, p. 418,
Report on the book of the Government.)
2. "...the misunderstanding...between the various nation-
*175 alities has not yet been thoroughly dissolved. Consciously or un-
563 consciously,...the Pan-Chinese idea still exists in our Chinese
*668 cadres' mind. Besides, we still have some serious shortcomings
669 and mistakes in our nationality work. When the remnants of the
bandits and spies fanned up the feelings of the people, it led to the
disputes that occurred among the nationality groups in certain areas after the liberation. In the area of Lin-hsia (in Kansu), the military conflict between the Moslems and the Chinese caused more than one thousand deaths and the dislocation of more than 30,000 people who were forced to leave their homes. The loss in production was even more serious.

"In Ta-t'ung county of Chinghai, the T'ung-hsin-ch'eng of Ninghsia, in the area of P'ing-liang of Kansu, there have been

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627 INFORMAL INGROUP JUSTICE--unformalized mechanisms for adjusting grievances and applying sanctions within the community; private retaliation (e.g., lynching, tarring and feathering, feuding); negotiation and compromise; informal hearings before the headman or local council; etc. Data on justice will be filed under 69 rather than under this category whenever formal judicial institutions are found even at the community level. See also:

Liability	67	Offenses and punishments	68

575 the more respectable inhabitants. At the time of writing
nearly all the soldiers and brigands in Shensi, as well as
635 many civil and military officials, and in certain districts a
high proportion of the entire adult male population, are
579 members, and the administration of the province is largely
in their hands. There may be some good in the Ko Lao Hui,
but the writer, who has seen their pernicious influence at work throughout Szechuan, Shensi, and parts of Kansu, has never heard of it. To the ordinary observer the society appears to exist for the purpose of practising blackmail and terrorism, and securing mutual protection in the commission of every variety of crime. Amongst its members are special bands expert in gambling, kidnapping, piracy, highway robbery, and similar pursuits. Others join merely in order to secure immunity from the depredations of
[627] more active members. Offences against the rules of the
society[1] are drastically dealt with by punishments such as death, mutilation, gouging out of eyes, etc., carried into effect by members specially told off for that purpose; while should these avenging angels fall by some mischance into the grips of the law, the society will see to it that they do not come to any harm and are well supplied with wine and opium while in prison. The Ko Lao Hui has many aliases, Chiang Hu Hui, Hu Kuo Chun, etc., and they are brigands one day, patriot rebels the next, regular soldiers the next, and so on. One of the first reforms to be carried into effect by a strong administration in Western China is to extirpate them root and branch, as the Manchus were always endeavouring to do.

487 The next stage in our journey southwards to the Han
valley was the district city of Shanyang, distant 140 li, two
133 days' march. The trail leaves the valley of the Tan Chiang
and strikes into the mountains to the south. For half a day we marched up a winding gorge, and then crossing three sandstone ridges one after the other, the highest about 4000 feet, descended to the market village of Heishan Chieh, 70 li from Shang Chou, where we halted for the night. The mountains in this neighbourhood are most intricate, with streams flowing in all directions, but the general feature seems to be a series of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. The scenery is very agreeable, red sandy

1 [Ko Lao Hui secret society--ANALYST]

fruits, emblematic of fertility. To burn incense before 527
this grotesque monster came the highest official of the 796
city, in his green sedan-chair, while groups of workmen
of the various trade guilds formed themselves into pageant scenes and walked round the town in procession. Needless to say, this was for us also a very busy day, with the result that later on, while itinerating in the country, we frequently were welcomed by people in their homes, who showed us books bought from us on that occasion.

On our return home, we found our landlord's family 596
in a strange state of confusion, and learnt that, during 627
their absence, while merry-making with their friends, a beautiful fur gown had been stolen from the eldest daughter's room. We soon realised that they were more disturbed by the incident than the actual value of the garment warranted, and the fact soon came to light that there was in existence another member of the family of whom we had hitherto never been aware, namely, the ne'er-do-well eldest son. From gambling and opium-smoking, he had gradually sunk so low as to become a member of a gang of thieves, and it was undoubtedly he who had walked into the empty house, opened his sister's cupboard and abstracted the valuable robe.

After the doors were closed for the night, all the senior members of the family clan were called in, and a solemn conclave was held. The father himself was a typical specimen of a gentleman of the ancient school.
Tall and thin, with a straggling grey beard, he wore [302]
large goggles, and finger-nails two inches long. Daily
he might be seen pacing up and down the path of his loved flower-garden, smoking a long pipe with a slender stem, regarding, doubtless, the theoretical care of his pretty plants as the fitting, final occupation of a con-

596 ventionally blameless life. He was but sixty years of
627 age, but sought in inactivity and premature decrepitude an excuse for shelving all responsibility as regards disciplining his children. On this occasion, however, the disgrace being flagrant, his self-esteem was so humiliated as to wound his pride to the quick, and to disturb his wonted equilibrium. Having decided what should be the culprit's punishment, and requiring for its execution the help of some of the younger men, he now proceeded to address the family council in the following terms:

'I have no option but to take action, the disgrace brought upon my country and family being so great. This boy ought to die; but because, if I hand him over to an official, the family name will yet further be dragged in the dirt, with your help we can carry through what honour demands. To-night we will dig his grave, and in it shall my son be buried alive.'

There was no one present to plead the young man's cause, while even his wife could only silently weep, and bow her head under this fresh sorrow. One relative, however, did grasp the terrible urgency of the situation, and slipping unnoticed from the room, he ran to Dr. Kao, whom he roused from sleep, and presently both entered the room, where things were still unaltered. After expressing great sympathy, Dr. Kao now came forward with a suggestion: 'You must not despair,' he said. 'You know nothing of the Grace of God, nor of His power, through Jesus Christ, to change the heart and save sinners from themselves. Give me charge of the boy and I will deal with him.'

A party of men, accordingly, set off at once to the thieves' quarters, and in an hour's time the prodigal, bound with ropes, was standing before his father. The alternatives were then placed before him in a few

forcible words—to remain in his father's hands meant 596
a living death; in the Doctor's hands unrelenting 627
discipline. He might take his choice. The decision was quickly made; he gave Dr. Kao a kowtow, and then followed him home, to taste, for the first time in his life, a régime of justice tempered with mercy. On entering the class-room the next morning, knowing nothing of this incident, we saw sitting on a bench by the door a terrified specimen of humanity, with his toes thrust into ragged shoes, and wearing an indescribably ancient, greasy, sheepskin coat. Together with the other men present he stood up on our arrival, when we naturally took him for an opium patient—the dull eye, the sniggering leer, and the plain marks of enfeebled will-power being glaringly evident, stamping him as a moral delinquent of a particularly degraded type. Dr. Kao gave him just four days to get over the shock of quitting the drug, during which time he was forbidden to leave the premises, and then, immediately, certain duties were appointed him. But still no sort of improvement showed itself; he neglected his work; flounced about with an unpleasant smirk on his face; and when an enquiry was held as to the whereabouts of the fur robe, giggled and sniggered, persisting that he knew nothing whatever about it. The end came swiftly and summarily. He received a sound flogging, from which he arose, potentially, a reformed character. He immediately produced the pawn-ticket from some greasy pocket, took his broom and set to work to sweep the courtyards, clean the rooms, and carry water. He soon proved himself an industrious and capable man, toiling from dawn to dark without a word of complaint. The expression of his face changed, and showed the satisfaction which he felt in knowing that someone had taken him in hand who was strong enough

596 to control him. So great, indeed, was the change in
627 this restored and reinstated prodigal, that twelve months later, when we made a long and arduous journey to distant cities outside the Great Wall, he came with us as our personal carter, and fulfilled his duties with ability. So much for the development of the natural man, under wise and firm discipline, fairly and justly administered; but when the time came for our leaving Kansu, there had still been no evidence of spiritual life. One could not say of him, in the language of St. Paul: '*It is a new creation*'; the Prodigal had left his swine, but had not yet 'come to his Father.'

CHAPTER XIX

A TRIP TO KINTA

494 At the end of March, a good many of our students,
484 being obliged to return to their farms for a short period, we, with the remainder of the Band, made a trip in a north-easterly direction to visit Kinta, the only city lying between Suchow and Mongolia. As it was barely thirty miles distant we fully hoped to reach it easily in one day, although it was necessary to take the large cart for the Chinese women, in addition to some heavy loads of books and the tent. It being the first of April, subsequent events were in character with that day, the carter being one of those jolly rascals well known to travellers in China, who combine a sporting instinct with a very plausible tongue! He offered no sort of objection to our weighty baskets, but also took care, we noticed, to line the bottom of the cart with a layer of his own, unspecified, merchandise.

628

628 INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONS--traditional friendships and rivalries between communities; establishing, maintaining, and breaking relations; blood vengeance; feuds; negotiation and composition (e.g., payment of wergild); mediation and arbitration; etc. See also:

Formal justice	69	Gang wars	579
War	72	International law	648

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

*563 encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives.
221 Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be
[437] found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.
*563 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en
221 masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-
796 winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both
792 pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety
[443] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also
[584] market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.
*563 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable
221 to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of
579 movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur.
[792] Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk re-
[488] lated to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robber[y] and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged
423 to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures
621 were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units
619 (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.
*563 These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might
423 form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority.
622 In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local
[792] monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But
*563 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting
622 his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might
628 leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important
614 roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform
[621] no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

S
631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge
of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian
S N inhabitants in general.

175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking,
the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
S N minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
175 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
657 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
563 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784,
669 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times
they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery
and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such
uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized
with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub
Bëk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic
empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang,
Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian
Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese
army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts
(Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other
minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought
under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these un-
successful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-
Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the
area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese
in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode
175 of Economy of the Minorities.

631 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
619 glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and
always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S N political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land
175 of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it
631 was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
668 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
178 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
619 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
648 Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's
cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bëk's policy

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghis and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

HISTORICAL SETTING

I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

/Chinghai Mongols/

(8) the horde of the Tsinkuk (Tsunkuk) Gung near the monastery of Gomba-soma and in the Tsunkuk valley (no population figure given).
(9) the horde of the Dunkur Gung, consisting of a few families nomadizing in the area of Dunkur Monastery south of Tankar;
(10) the horde of the Chabcha Gung, 30 families, nomadizing east of Gungga-nor;
(11) the horde of the Taijinar Dzasak, about 1000 families, nomadizing at the southern edge of the Tsaidam swamps;
(12) the horde of the Dzun Dzasak, about 500 families, also nomadizing at the southeastern edge of the Tsaidam swamps;
(13) the horde of the Barun Dzasak, about 250 families, nomadizing southeast of the Dzun;
(14) the horde of the Harchiu (Kara Chut) Dzasak, about 40 families nomadizing north of the Dabasun-nor;
(15) the horde of the Morchi Dzasak, which is composed of a few families, nomadizing in the valley of Lala, southwest of Dankar;
(16) the horde of Torgho Dzasak, 120 families, nomadizing around Shara-khoto;
(17) the horde of the Gomi Dzasak, 30 families, northwestward of Kue-te;
(18) the horde of the Ta-tung Dzasak around Ta-tung-ch'eng (no population figure given)
(19) the horde of the Dia-shir Dzasak, westward of the Kurluk Bei-tse.

P. K. Kozlov presents in his Mongolia i Kam, (Petersburg, 1906) another subdivision of the Chinghai Mongols. He subdivides the 24 banners into two brigades:

a) Dzun edeget (left brigade)
1) Tsing-hai Wang, 130 families (Tafel: Wang-ka)
2) Kökö̈d Beili, 200 families (Tafel: Kukut bei-le)
3) Kurlik Bei-si, 800 families (Tafel: Kurluk Bei-tse)
4) Bukhain Gun, 4 families (Tafel: ?)
5) Arokholin Gun, 25 families (Tafel: Dunkur Gung)
6) Sham Gun, 15 families (Tafel: presumably Gobi Gung)
7) Torgut Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: presumably Torgho Dzasak)
8) Tsulgen Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: ?)
9) Chonon Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: ?)
10) Harakchut Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: Kharachut Dzasak)
11) Kurlik Dzasak, 24 families (Tafel: ?)
12) Taijinar Dzasak, 600 families (Tafel: taijinar)

b) Barun edeget (right brigade)
1) Muru Wang, 80 families (Tafel: Muri Wang)
2) Erkhe Bei-le, 60 families (Tafel: ?)
3) Chun Bei-si, 10 families (Tafel: presumably Shui-hia Bei-tse)
4) Hargi Bei-si, 150 families, (Tafel:?)
5) Dondogo Gun, 10 families (Tafel: presumably Chabcha Gung)

6) Muru Dzasak, 40 families, (Tafel: Da-tung Dzasak)
7) Charagolchin Dzasak, 4 families (Tafel: presumably Damba Dzasak)
8) Baga-nor Dzasak, 1 family (Tafel: ?)
9) Khalkha Dzasak, 3 families (Tafel: ?)
10) Tsunkuk Dzasak, 60 families (Tafel: probably Tsinkuk Gung)
11) Barun Dzasak, 280 families (Tafel: Barun)
12) Tsun Dzasak, 300 families (Tafel: Dzun)

3. Probable extinction

According to M. Hermanns, the total population of the Chinghai Mongols does not exceed 18,000 people. Since the Mongols of the Chinghai region have very few children - two at the most - and since sinification as well as Tibetanization appears to be rapid, the extinction of the Chinghai Mongols is to be expected in the near future.

IV. The Tibetans of the Northwest

A. General Characteristics

The province of Chinghai is inhabited by sixty-six Tibetan tribes, called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast to the "wild" tribes inhabiting the Kokonor region.

Lattimore and Father Schram point out that the Tibetan tribes easily subdivide into new tribes which observe strict clan exogamy. The Tibetans are Lamaist-Buddhists of the Yellow Hat Sect in the northern districts and of the Red Hat Sect in the southern districts. Shamanism is also still existant among the Tibetans. Some Tibetans living in the district of Hsün-hua have become Moslems.

B. Physical Characteristics

The Tibetans belong to a race which is called protosinide. Their characteristic features are: middle to tall stature and very muscular. The legs are considerably longer than the legs of the Mongoloids. The color of the skin is light brown and the facial skin copperish red. The lips are thin. The nose is long and prominent. The head is large and long. Round heads appear only among the Ngo-loks. The face shows a sharp relief. Usually they lack the Mongoloid eyefold. Eye color is generally brown. Body hair is considerably stronger, thicker and denser than among the Chinese or Mongols.

C. Economic Activities

The Tibetans are either nomads who breed yaks and sheep or farmers who cultivate oats, peas, wheat, cabbage, and turnips. They use the same agricultural tools as the Chinese farmers.

/The Monguors/

kitchens."

For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and isstrictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village units would not have been so important in the local administrative system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper, the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here as they do in other parts of the country.

In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some peculiar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways. One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past. At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

The village or community theatrical is another communal activity. Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun. In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities. Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chinese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the Northwest. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large numbers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

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668 By this law, the key elections are those below the county level.
671 These elections were generally open elections by raising of hands
666 in public. Only under special conditions were secret ballots allowed.

Furthermore, in spite of article 4, which promised equal rights of election to different groups of people, article 5 disqualified everyone who might vote in opposition.

The control of elections was tightened by article 8. As all campaign expenses are dispersed by the State Treasury, the Communists can easily make or break any candidate.

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668 In the new Constitution of 1954, there are at least ten articles,
642 i.e., 23, 24, 27, 38, 39, 44, 56, 61, 86, referring to the right to
666 vote or right to stand for election. There is no basic change from the situation analyzed above.

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C. Political Rights in Practice

631 The following news items trace the practice of political rights
*668 in the Northwest: "On the basis of the universal convocation of People's Representatives' Conferences of all circles in municipalities and counties throughout the country, 20 provinces have successfully convened their first Provincial People's Representatives' Conference of all circles. These provinces and districts are...Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai...

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631 "Of these, the People's Representatives' Conferences of all
*668 circles of the first 16 provinces in the above list have successfully
666 elected their respective Provincial People's Government Committees. The People's Representatives' Conferences of various provinces and administrative districts have further elected and set up consultative committees to assist the government in carrying out the resolutions of the conference after it adjourns." (NCNA, Peking, December 20, 1950).

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631 "Since last year, the provincial and municipal People's Gov-
*668 ernments in the Northwest region have attached importance to People's Representative Conferences. Except for some pastoral districts of Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang which still do not possess conditions for holding People's Representative Conferences, all counties and municipalities in the Northwest have held People's Representative Conferences while those of over 80 counties and municipalities exercise the functions and power of People's Congresses. But there are still a number of responsible officials of counties and municipalities who do not sufficiently understand that People's Representative Conferences and People's Congresses represent the basic system of our state and who do not convene People's Representative Conferences according to the system." (NCNA, Sian, July 15, 1952)

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631 "During the three years from 1949 to 1952, twice the Provin-
668 cial Conference of Representatives of All Nationalities and All Groups of the People was held in Sinkiang Province. In each of

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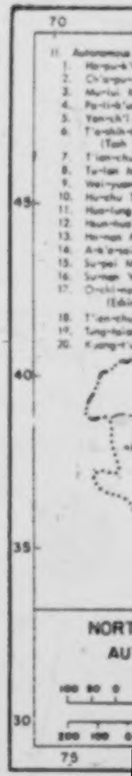

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STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. The Government of Administrative Regions

*175 *668 669 A. Basis of Regions

The turning point of the Chinese Communists' military campaign in northwest China was on April 22, 1948, when they retook Yenan. With the deteriorating general military situation, the Nationalists rapidly lost the Northwest. In December, 1949, the Communist conquest of the area was basically complete. Just as in other areas, the army was their main strength, essential in maintaining peace and order. Thus the local political structures which they set up were closely knit to the military forces, an inheritance from the civil war. Recognizing this fact, the central *175 *668 • 631 government of the People's Republic decided to divide the nation into several large regions, roughly corresponding to the assigned areas of each field army. It appointed the commanders of the various field armies to manage the civil administrations of the corresponding regions. The Northwest Region included the municipality of Sian, directly under the central authority, and five provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang.

*175 *668 631 701 B. Organizational Regulations

1. Military and administrative council

On December 16, 1949, the Government Administrative Council passed the organizational regulations of the People's Government Committee on Administrative Regions. According to these regulations, a Military and Administrative Committee was to be appointed by the Central Government in each administrative region to maintain peace and order during the first stage of the Communist conquest.

a. composition

P'eng Te-huai, the commander of the First Field Army, was appointed Chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, which had two vice-chairmen and forty-one members. The chairman and vice-chairmen were Chinese, and the members included four Moslems, two Uighurs, one Tibetan, one Mongol, and thirty-three Chinese. One of the Chinese was a woman.

b. expiation

In the regulations it was also stated that the Military and Administrative Councils were to be abolished as soon as the following conditions were fulfilled:

(1) when the military action was over;

(2) when land reform was completed;

(3) when the people of each region were well organized and a general election had been called. Then the People's Congresses of [666] each administration region, elected by popular vote, were to elect

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*175 *668 • 631 701 [666] a People's Government Council of the administrative region to take the place of the Military and Administrative Council.

2. Northwest administrative council

a. composition

Apparently this anticipated election never took place in Northwest China under the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. Since November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government ordered the reorganization of the Council into the Northwest Administrative Council, it has been known as the Northwest People's Government Council.

*175 *668 631 b. functions

Article 3 of the same regulations indicated that the People's Government Council of the administrative region (the Military and Administrative Council) was to be a part of the regular local government system, ranking between the Central Government and the provinces. It represented the Government Administration Council in guiding the provincial and county governments in administrative work.

This was well defined in Article 4, which gave the detailed functions of the Council. The Council was to be the organ for transferring the orders of the central government to the provincial and other lower local governments. It made suggestions to the central government concerning personnel, law, and financial arrangements for the region. It also coordinated and supervised administrative work for the central government.

These regulations indicated that the Communist Government meant to make the administrative regions and their administrative structures a part of their regular, permanent government system. This was quite a change from the former system, which emphasized the position of the provinces.

c. structure

*175 *668 631 647 After the Communists organized the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions into offices with real power, their structure became large, and even bulky. In 1952, at the peak of its power, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council included the following offices;

- Administrative Office;
- Committee on Political and Legal Affairs;
- Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs;
- Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs;
- Committee on People's Control
- Committee on Land Reform;
- Commission on Nationalities Affairs;
- Department of Personnel;
- Department of Civil Administration;
- Department of Public Safety;
- Department of Justice;

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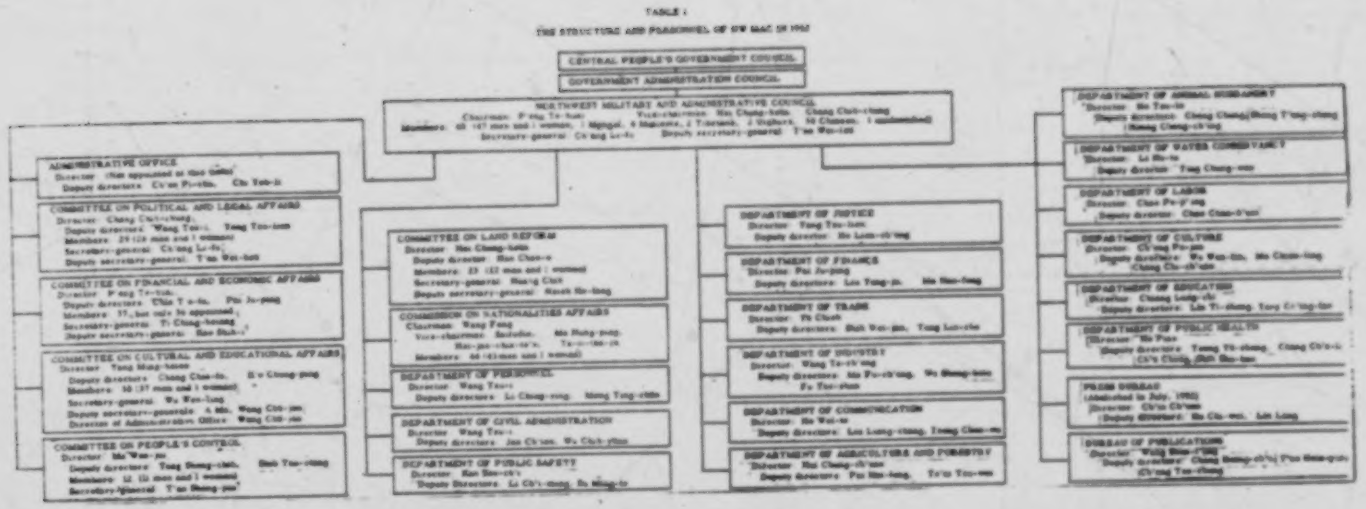

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*175 Department of Finance;
*668 Department of Trade;
• 631 Department of Industry;
647 Department of Communications;
Department of Agriculture and Forestry;
Department of Animal Husbandry;
Department of Water Conservancy;
Department of Labor;
Department of Cultural Affairs;
Department of Education;
Department of Public Health;
Press Bureau (abolished in July, 1952);
Bureau of Publications

d. drawbacks

With the gradual consolidation of the central government, the all-powerful Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions became less and less desirable, and the traditional conflict between the central and the regional forces became more and more significant. This situation reached a climax on November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government Council passed a resolution to change the structure and the function of the Military and Administrative Councils. It was stated that the change was necessary for strengthening the leadership of the Central People's Government in its new responsibilities of nation-wide economic and cultural reconstruction. The power of the provincial and municipal governments was to be strengthened, while that of the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions was to be curtailed. At that time these decisions were made:

C. Reorganization

(1) to organize all the People's Government Councils (or the Military and Administrative Councils) of the administrative regions into Administrative Councils. Each council was to function as an agent representing the central People's Government to guide and check the local governments.

(2) to preserve the Administrative Office and the four committees on Political and Legal Affairs, Financial and Economic Affairs, Cultural and Educational Affairs, and People's Control under the People's Government Councils (or the Military and Administrative Councils) of the administrative regions.

(3) to reduce the original departments to bureaus and offices. Some of these new bureaus and offices were to be put under the direct control of the related ministries of the central People's Government.

This reorganization was to be accomplished before the end of 1952, but the actual reorganization of the Northwest Military and

*175 Administrative Council was not completed until January 27, 1953.
*668 P'eng Te-huai was released from his post as chairman of the
• 631 Northwest Military and Administrative Council with a new assign-
647 ment to command the Chinese Volunteer Corps in Korea, with the title of vice-premier of the Government Administration Council.

After this, the final step in abolishing the whole system of the administrative regions and their administrative bodies became almost insignificant. By a resolution in the thirty-second meeting of the central People's Government Council, formal abolition was achieved on June 19, 1954.

II. The Provincial and Other Lower Level Governments

*175 A. Relationship to Regional Government
*668 The provincial governments traditionally have been important
635 links in the Chinese governmental system. During the decades prior to the Communist victory, when the regional power groups had become extremely influential, this fact was even more true. After the Communists took over, however, the power of the provincial government was temporarily weakened by the establishment of the administrative regions. When the Government Administration Council passed the Organizational Regulations of the Provincial People's Governments on January 6, 1950, the provincial governments were reduced almost to instruments of the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions. The first article of these regulations mentioned that the people of a province would execute their political power through the provincial people's congress. The second article promised that the provincial government, including the governor, would be elected by the provincial people's congress. However, the second section of Article 2, had most significance. It stated:

"In the first stage of liberation, for the sake of a speedy establishment of a revolutionary order, the provincial People's Government Council should be nominated by the government Administration Council, subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council; or by the People's Government Council of the administrative region... subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council."

The appointed term of the provincial People's Government Council was two years. But through reappointments, the same provincial People's Government Council could be continued indefinitely.

1. authority

In the same regulations, the provincial People's Government Councils were given authority similar to that of the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions. For instance,

*175 they were to forward orders from above to the lower level govern-
*668 ments; to make decisions or suggestions concerning the personnel,
635 laws, and financial arrangements of the province; and to coordinate and supervise work in the area. There were, however, some new points. They were required "to execute the decisions of the provincial people's congresses."

a. limitations on authority

The significance of this requirement was lessened by the qualification: "provided that these decisions have been approved by the Government Administrative Council or the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions." Thus, nothing could be done on the provincial level that was not acceptable to the
[632] officials of higher levels. Second, the provincial councils were to "annul or revise the decisions and orders of the municipal and
[634] county people's government councils, or the municipal and county people's congresses under its jurisdiction, whenever these decisions and orders are contradictory to those of the higher level people's government." The higher government officials could over-ride the local interests.

b. increased authority

Under this system, the provincial governments of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang actually were branch offices of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, until the power of the latter was weakened in 1952. With the abolition of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council in June, 1954, the traditional importance and position of the provincial governments was fully restored. However, primarily they still are instruments of the central government.

B. People's Congress and People's Councils

• 631 The day after the First National People's Congress passed the
*668 new Chinese Communist Constitution, on September 21, 1954, the
[671] same congress passed the organic law for local governments. Taken at face value, this law gives more power to the local governments as well as to the people. From the town level up to the province, each is supposed to have a people's congress and a people's council, the congress representing the people, and the council acting as the executive body. Their position and interrelation can be seen in the following excerpts from the law:

1. Role of peoples' congress

Local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of government authority in their respective localities. (The Organic Law of People's Congresses and People's Councils at all Local levels in Chinese Peoples' Republic, p. 1, Article 3.)

a. election of deputies

[666] Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central authority, counties, and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses

*668 631 666 [563] of the next lower level; deputies to the people's congresses of municipalities not divided into districts, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns are directly elected by the voters. The minority groups shall have guaranteed quotas in these congresses. Minority nationals in administrative areas shall have an appropriate number of deputies to the people's congresses of their administrative areas.

Thus, the people theoretically have political authority and the people's congresses are the organs for practicing this authority. These congresses on the lower levels are elected directly by the voters, while those on the higher levels are elected by the people's congresses of the next lowest level. For instance, the voters elect the people's congresses of the various towns. Then the People's Congresses of the towns elect deputies to the people's congresses of the counties, and so on. The provincial People's Congresses are elected for four years, while the other local congresses are elected for two years.

b. functions of congress

*668 63 671 As listed by law the functions of the people's congresses are numerous. In brief, the congresses are to defend the rights of the people and also to assure the support of the people. They approve local budgets and financial accounts; draw up plans for local economic and cultural development; elect and recall the people's councils at their own level; elect the deputies to the people's congresses at the next highest level; listen to and examine the working reports of the people's councils at their own level; and revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders issued by these people's councils.

These functions and powers could make the local people's congresses into real "watch dogs" for the people, but for several hidden handicaps. One of these is to be found in this same Organic Law, Article 6, which states that a people's congress can "revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the people's congresses at the next lower level." In this way power is retained by the upper level.

2. Role of people's councils

*668 631 The people's councils have a dual role: they are responsible to the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, and they are responsible to the governments above their own levels. Although they are supposed to be the people's instruments of self-government, they are also agencies of the central government and must obey the State Council. Theoretically, this double responsibility could put the local governments in an embarrassing dilemma, were the local congresses to differ with the central government on policy. In practice, however, it is not possible, because of the tight party control at every level and since the representatives are hand-picked by the party.

a. composition

In addition to the council members, a local People's Council

*668 631 includes, depending on its level, the provincial governor and deputy provincial governors; the mayor and deputy mayors; the county head and deputy county heads; the district head and deputy district heads; the hsiang head and deputy hsiang heads; or the town head and deputy town heads. The number of members in a people's council (head and deputy head included) differs according to level, as follows:

(1) Provinces and municipalities directly under the central authority, 25 to 55;

(2) Municipalities, 9 t 25; membership may increase when there is an extraordinarily large population, but in no case may exceed 45;

(3) Counties, 9 to 21; membership may increase when there is an extraordinarily large number of hsiang and towns, as well as a lasge population, but in no case may exceed 31;

(4) Municipal districts, 9 to 21;

(5) Hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns, 3 to 13.

The term of office of a provincial People's council is four years. It is two years for those councils or municipalities, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns.

b. functions of councils

The functions of the people's councils at all levels are numerous. Many of them are traditional, such as collecting taxes, managing conscription, and running the administrative routine. But some are new or have been given new content, such as:

(1) Carrying out economic plans and budgets;

(2) Regulating and controlling the market and the local state enterprises, and directing the socialization of the private enterprises.

(3) Directing the production of agriculture, handicrafts, and mutual-aid cooperatives;

(4) Managing transportation, communications, and public enterprises;

(5) Managing local activities in the fields of culture, education, public health, pensions, relief, and social welfare.

65 631 *668 The nationalization of business and industry has burdened the local governments with much that formerly was done by private parties. Economic plans existed previously, but were limited to a few public works. Now the plans and budgets of the government cover almost every economic activity in the area. Previously, only when an occasional crisis arose did the local governments regulate or control the market. Now it is one of their regular functions. In the past, there were few, if any, local state enterprises. Now, with the program of socialization of private enterprises in full swing, the task of operating local state enterprises is tremendous. The local governments are responsible for the people from before birth until after death, and for controlling and managing almost every phase of their lives.

almost every phase of their lives.

The functions of the people's councils, reveal the contradictory character of the Communist system of local government. The Councils are responsible for carrying out decisions of the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, but they also have to carry out all decisions and orders from higher level government organs. The people's councils are the servants of the people, but they also are entrusted with stopping the execution of inappropriate decisions of people's congresses at the next lowest level. This power is especially significant since the higher people's councils must decide what decisions are inappropriate.

c. bureaus, offices and commissions

The Organic Law for local governments states that the provincial people's councils may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions according to local needs:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;
(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Industry;
(9) Commerce;
(10) Transportation and Communications;
(11) Agriculture and Forestry;
(12) Water Conservancy;
(13) Labor;
(14) Culture;
(15) Education;
(16) Public Health;
(17) Physical Culture;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups, the councils may also add a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

So far, no material is available concerning the actual structure of the northwestern provinces under the new law. However, it is known that the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs have been abolished.

Under the new law, the municipal people's council may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Safety;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;

(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Taxation;
(9) Industry;
(10) Commerce;
(11) Labor;
(12) Culture;
(13) Education;
(14) Public Health;
(15) Physical Culture;
(16) Municipal Construction;
(17) Public Utilities;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups they may also establish a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

The county people's councils may establish, according to need, the following divisions or bureaus:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Finance;
(4) Food;
(5) Taxation;
(6) Industry and Commerce;
(7) Agriculture and Forestry;
(8) Transportation and Communications;
(9) Culture and Education;
(10) Public Health;
(11) Administrative Office.

The people's councils of the hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns may establish, according to need, the following working committees:

(1) Civil Affairs
(2) Public Security;
(3) Armed Forces;
(4) Production and Cooperation;
(5) Finance and Taxation;
(6) Culture and Education;
(7) Mediation.

Members of the local people's congresses and other suitable individuals are encouraged to serve on these working committees.

D. Comparison with Nationalist Organization

If this system is compared with the system of local governments under the Nationalists, the following differences can be noted:

(1) The Nationalists adopted the council system only at the provincial level.

(2) Under the Nationalists, the heads of the provincial bureaus and

offices were usually members of the Provincial Council. The people in the Council also ran the administrative organs; under the Communists, however, most of the members of the People's Councils have no part in the bureaus and offices where real power lies.

(3) Under the Nationalists, the chairman of the Provincial Council had effective control. Under the Communists the chairman of the provincial People's Government in the past, or the governor of the provincial People's Council at present, may or may not have control. For instance, the chairman of Kansu in 1950, Tent Pao-san, was merely a figurehead, and the newly-elected governor of Shensi, Chao Shou-shan, looks like another. But Ma Ming-fan, chairman of Shensi in 1950, definitely held power. In brief, the influence and power of a local official under the Communists does not depend on his official position in the government, but on his relations with the party. Ma Ming-fang was important because he was also the Deputy Secretary-General of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.

(4) Under the Nationalists, when a minority leader such as Ma Hung-k'uei was appointed provincial chairman in the Northwest, he had authority in fact as well as in name. The Communists publicize the northwest local government members who belong to minority groups, but in practice what matters is the assignment given to the member by the Party. If a trusted party member - be he Chinese or Muslim - is assigned to run the office he is the actual head, even if he has a low rank. However, he is only a wheel in the party machinery, and has very little freedom to act on his own.

(5) Under the Communists, the local governments at every level are much larger and more powerful than under the Nationalists. See Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 for the structure and personnel of the provincial governments in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang in 1950, and Table 6 for the relationships between local governments in the present stage.

The specific structure of each provincial government in Northwest China and of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as of 1955, is not yet available. Except for the abolition of the Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs, one may assume that the present structure of these provinces and of the Sinkiang Uughur Autonomous Region are approximately the same as in 1950.

Sian was a municipality directly under the central government authority from late in 1949 until 1954. The people's government of the city had thirteen different bureaus and offices, and the area was divided into twelve districts. In 1950, the mayor was Chia T'o-fu and the deputy mayors were Fang Chung-ju and Chang Feng-po. In 1952 the mayor was Fang, with Chang Feng-po and

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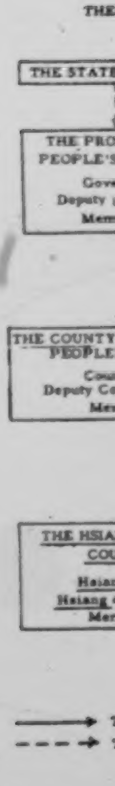

*668
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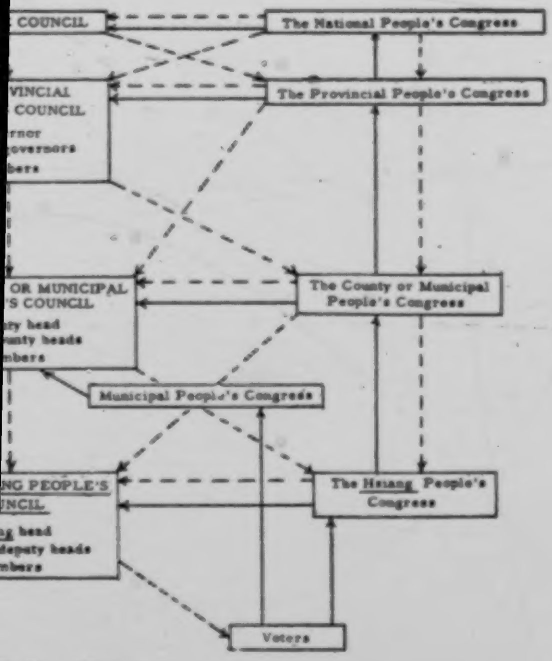
TABLE VI

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM UNDER THE COMMUNISTS AFTER SEPTEMBER 21, 1954.



LEVELS:

The Nation

Provinces, including:

Municipalities directly controlled by the central government

Autonomous areas

Administrative districts, including:

Autonomous chou

Counties, including:

Municipalities

Autonomous hsien

Hsiang, including:

Towns

Nationality hsiang

Districts under municipalities

The people

The Line of Election

The Line of Control

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major changes in Northwest China:

(1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.

(2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.

(3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region on October 1, 1955.

Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu, and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1, 1955, are shown in Table 9.

After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes, but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

A. Earlier Systems

In the past, although the Chinese government gave little publicity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minorities in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minorities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

B. The Communist System

The Communists have a definite program for changing the social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is necessary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface, they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they control them from within through hand-picked Party members. So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

with the local governm
shown in Table 10.

nental divisions down to the county level, is

TABLE 7

Administration Units in Shensi, Kansu, and Chinghai

NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Shensi province	Sian	4 municipalities 4 counties under direct supervision of the provincial government 8 special districts having a total of 91 counties and 2 districts
Kansu province	Lanchow	6 municipalities 1 county under direct supervision of the provincial government 1 mining district under direct supervision of the provincial government 9 special districts 4 autonomous chou (special districts); under these and the special districts there are altogether 80 counties, 9 autonomous hsien (counties), and 1 banner
Chinghai province	Sining	1 municipality 5 counties under direct supervision of the provincial government 4 autonomous hsien (counties) 6 autonomous chou (special districts) having a total of 21 counties and 3 autonomous districts at the county level.

TABLE 10 (continued)

NAME	DESCRIPTION
CHINGHAI PROVINCE	
Tibetan Autonomous chou of Hai-pei	Including the three counties of Ch'i-lien, Hai-yen, and Kang-ch'a, and the Moslem autonomous hsien of Wei-yüan
Tibetan autonomous chou of Hai-nan	Including the five counties of Kung-ho, Hsing-hai, Kuei-te, Kuei-nan, and T'ung-te
Mongol, Tibetan, and Kajakh autonomous chou of Hai-hsi	Including the Mongol autonomous hsien of Tu-lan
Tibetan autonomous chou of Huang-nan	Including the three counties of T'ung-jen, Tse-k'u, and Chien-cha
Tibetan autonomous chou of Yü-shu	Including the 6 counties of Yü-shu, Lang-ch'ien, Ch'eng-to, Chih-to, Tsa-to, and Ch'ü-ma-lai
Tibetan autonomous chou of Kuo-lo (Kolo)	The southeastern part of Chinghai bordering Sikang and Szechuan; situated east of the Tibetan autonomous chou of Yü-shou and south of the Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ung-te. It covers 240,000 sq. kilometers, and has a population of more than 110,000 Tibetans. It is to be divided into 4 counties, the names of which have not yet been determined
T'u autonomous hsien of	Formerly Hu-chu county
Moslem autonomous hsien of Hua-lung	Formerly Hua-lung county
Salar autonomous hsien of Hsün-hua	Formerly Hsün-hua county
Mongol autonomous hsien of Ho-nan	Formerly Ho-nan district

TABLE 10 (continued)

NAME	DESCRIPTION
CHINGHAI (continued)	
Moslem autonomous hsien of Wei-yüan	Formerly Wei-yüan district
Mongol autonomous hsien of Tu-lan	Formerly Tu-lan district
Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ien-chü	An area west of Kokonor
KANSU PROVINCE	
Mongol autonomous chou	Including the county of Tun-k'ou and the Alashan Banner
Tibetan autonomous chou of Kan-nan	Including the two counties of Hsia-ho and Lin-t'an and the Cho-ni autonomous hsien, plus an area cut from Hsi-ku, Min, Wu-tu, and Ho-ch'uan
Moslem autonomous chou of Hsi-Hai-Ku	Including the three counties of Ku-yüan, Hsi-chi, and Hai-yüan
Moslem autonomous chou of Ho-tung	Including the four counties of Lin-wu, Chin-chi, T'ung-hsin, and Yen-ch'ih
Moslem autonomous hsien of Chin-yüan	Formerly Hua-p'ing county
Moslem autonomous hsien of Chang-chia-ch'uan	Chang-chia-ch'uan
Tung-hsiang autonomous hsien	Su-nan-pa, the eastern district of Ho-chou
Moslem autonomous hsien of Kuang-t'ung	Probably the former Ling-ting county
Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ien-chu	Wu-shao-ling

TABLE 10 (Continued)

NAME	DESCRIPTION
KANSU PROVINCE (continued)	
Mongol autonomous hsien of Su-pei	Formerly Su-pei administrative chü
Kazakh autonomous hsien of A-k'e-sai	Southwest of Tun-huang
Mongol autonomous hsien of O-chi-na (Edsin) Banner	Formerly Edsin Banner
Cho-ni autonomous hsien	Formerly Cho-ni administrative chü

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

I. Historical Background

Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of attempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

cadres in the province (JMJP September 24, 1955), but this appeared to be an exaggeration, for an article in the Kuang-ming jih-pao, (by Chang Hung, on September 30, 1955), stated that the number of minority cadres in Sinkiang was 34,400, and that they made up 66.9 per cent of all the cadres in the then province. The total, therefore, comes to 51,543. In Kansu, the total number of cadres up to the end of 1953 was 12,361. In Chinghai, the 3,471 national minority cadres made up 40 per cent of the total number of cadres, so that the total number would be about 8,500.

Early in 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, stated that there were 50,000 underground cadres plus 200,000 cadres in the People's Liberation Army, or a total of 250,000. Later in the year, it was stated that over 10,000 students and former government functionaries were undergoing reform in the Northwest Cadre Training School, and that 6,000 of them were from the national minorities. A large number of these cadres were purged in 1952-53, but their ranks were filled by graduates from the training schools and colleges. The Northwest Cadre School at Sian, graduated 2,200 in the years 1949-53 and the Northwest Revolutionary University, also at Sian, graduated a total of 12,000 in the period from 1950 to 1953.

Simultaneous with the process of drawing men from schools and government offices into the special training classes, nationality colleges and cadre schools for training non-Chinese cadres were also assigned jobs in lower levels of the governments so that they could receive practical experience in the administration and also to bear the brunt of contact with local inhabitants. By fall of 1950, there were about 4,400 native cadres employed in local government agencies, half of whom held offices above the level of hsiang. By spring of 1951, according to incomplete figures, the number of national minority cadres in government increased to 22,000, distributed in the five Northwest provinces as follows, (NCNA, May 13, 1951):

Sinkiang	17,000
Chinghai	2,000
Kansu	1,976
Ninghsia	1,050
Sian Municipality	40

The 17,000 administrative personnel in Sinkiang were the same veteran cadres who took part in the 1944 Ili Revolt and who were organized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League headed by Saifuddin (JMJP, June 6, 1952; also statement of Wang Feng, December 29, 1951). It was also claimed that seventy to eighty per cent of the personnel in the magistrates' offices in the 80 counties of Sinkiang were native cadres. By the end of 1951, the number of national minority cadres employed in government work

in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA January 8, 1952).

A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's governments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in government service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200. The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, section chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).

B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres, both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950), that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

The line-up of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and the provincial people's governments in 1951 shows that the responsible officials were either Communists or hold-overs from the previous governments who were approved by the Communists. In cases where the former governors were retained, as in Kansu and Sinkiang, one or two of the vice-governors were Communists.

To cater to the desire of the minority peoples for a voice in government, many of the native representatives were elected to be members of the people's councils. But they were mainly permitted to serve in the lower levels of the administrations, the Chinese practically monopolized the upper levels of government. Table 3 shows the number of chairmen, vice-chairmen, and the members of the councils.

It should be noted that the term "Chinese" refers to those of the Han race and that the term "national minority" includes also the Chinese Moslems, a people once known as Dungan and now as the Hui, or Moslems. In the Linhsia Administrative District in Kansu, for example, although the number of Chinese and Hui county magistrates were the same, the Chinese still predominate, Numbering 52 per cent of the population, they had 56 per cent of the seats in the district people's council, while the Hui, who numbered 48 per cent of the population had only 55 per cent of the seats.

These local people's governments or people's councils had little authority. Their principal responsibility was the transmission of the decisions and orders of the Government Administration Council in Peking. Military and financial matters were subject to the decisions of the Central Government (cf. Organic Law of Regional Governments, December 16, 1949).

B. Regional Autonomous Areas

The training of an army of national minority cadres had as its basic purpose, not only the staffing of the lower levels of the administration, but also the preparation of the ground for the establishment of regional autonomy for the minority peoples in the outlying regions of the Northwest. "The nucleus of work in the promotion of nationality regional autonomy and nationalities democratic coalition governments," stated the Jen-min jih-pao in an editorial (March 22, 1951), "lies in the universal and large-scale training of the nationalities' own cadres. It is only after the nationalities are provided with their own revolutionary cadres that their political, economic and cultural development can be further assured."

The nationality autonomous governments which were first set up in the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, were prepared by "the construction work of political and military cadres," (NCNA, May 17, 1953), who did the work of propaganda and organization of the people. (NCNA December 19, 1953). For example, the estab-

lishment of the Hai-pei Tibetan Autonomous People's Government in Chinghai came only after the "achievement of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government at upper level."

"On entering the Tibetan area in Hai-pei in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party and the cadres of the People's Government exerted great efforts in propaganda, thoroughly carried out policies concerning national equality, unity and the development of production, mediated disputes... and stabilized social order." (NCNA June 18, 1954).

As one after another of the national autonomous areas proved satisfactory, from the point of view of the Communists, more were established. Following the establishment of the T'ien-chu Tibetan Autonomous district in Kansu in May, 1950, eight autonomous districts were established in 1950: five in Kansu, two in Ninghsia, and one in Chinghai. Three were established in the years 1951 and 1952, all in Chinghai. Fifteen were set up in 1953: six in Kansu, two in Ninghsia, and eight in Chinghai. Of the total of 27 autonomous districts set up by the end of 1953, 14 were Tibetan, five Chinese Moslem (Hui), four Mongol, and four others. Including the smaller autonomous areas, there were a total of over forty autonomous people's governments in the three provinces of Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, by August, 1953. Their size varied. In Chinghai, the Kung-ho Kazakh autonomous hsiang had a total population of 130 and the Huang-nan Tibetan Autonomous district a population of 220,000. These nationality autonomous areas in the three provinces embraced a total of 700,000 people, or one-ninth of the non-Chinese population in the Northwest (NCNA August 29, 1953 and September 9, 1953; but one million according to Ma Ming-fang, Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954).

The people of Sinkiang, who constituted the bulk of the non-Chinese population in the Northwest, were, up to fall of 1953, four years after the Communist conquest, not granted the privilege of self-rule. Some of the reasons for the discrimination of Sinkiang were quite obvious.

1. The propinquity of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai and the predominance of the Chinese population made it easier for the Communists to exercise control. Sinkiang, on the other hand, was farther from China and the bulk of the population was non-Chinese with a long tradition of resistance to Chinese rule.

2. In Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, Chinese cadres far outnumbered the native cadres, but in Sinkiang, according to one source (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955), 67 per cent of the cadres were native cadres, including 17,000 of them who had taken part in the Ili Revolt in 1944-45. The fact that they still entertained separatist views may be seen in the fact that Saifuddin, their leader, found it necessary to remind them: "From now on, the

governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen, nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

A word must be said about the representation of national minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32. Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82. It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not mean that the people have been given the right to govern themselves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control

In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their final stage, there were structural changes in the administration of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was relaxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the

Central People's Government, the province of Ninghsia was merged into Kansu, (in June, 1956, the territory of the Alashan and Edsingol Mongols in Ninghsia was incorporated into the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region), the municipality of Sian was transferred from the direct control of Peking to the Shensi Provincial People's Government, and the Northwest Administrative Council was dissolved.

However, by other more subtle means, the control of Peking over the Northwest provinces and the ascendancy of the Chinese over the national minority peoples in the border regions were bolstered, not reduced. The election of 1953-54 signalized the kick-off of the much heralded transition of China to socialism. This was the General Line of the State during the period of transition which was adopted by the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on September 24, 1953. In its economic aspects, it called for industrialization and collectivization, and in its political aspects, it stressed the consolidation of the unity of the peoples of China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and Mao Tse-tung. (JMJP March 28, 1954).

These two aspects were interrelated, industrialization and collectivization aimed at bringing further the people in line with the policies of the Communist party and government and consolidation was to be accomplished by the employment of cadres and the party members to arouse and organize the masses (cf. decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in NCNA, January 8, 1954).

A. Collectivization

Under a deliberate policy of the state, intensified by the Korean War, augmented by equipment and personnel transferred from the coastal cities and facilitated by improvement in transportation, industrialization had made tremendous headway in the Northwest. And with industrialization, the control of the workers by the state also increased. By the end of 1955, 540 kilometers of the 2,800 kilometer Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway had been completed, further extending Communist control over the Northwest.

However, the population of the Northwest is still predominantly agricultural, and it was in the organization of the residents of the rural areas into mutual aid teams and cooperatives that the extent of Communist control over the masses is best revealed. The situation in the four Northwest provinces is as follows:

Shensi: During the year 1954, the program of organizing the farmers into mutual aid teams and agricultural producers cooperatives suffered a setback due to incompetent leadership. (Report of Chao Shou-shan, NCNA August 14, 1954). As a report of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party revealed (JMJP August 19, 1954): "After the summer harvest, due to slack

Table 6. CADRES ASIGNED TO AND TRAINED FOR COOPERATIVE WORK

	Total No. of Cadres	Number of Native Cadres	Cadres Assigned to Cooperatives	Cadres to be trained for cooperative work
Shensi			20,000	200,000
Chinghai	8,500	3,400	3,100	7,300
Sinkiang	51,000	34,400	27,000	
Kansu (no figures available)				

B. Transfer of Cadres

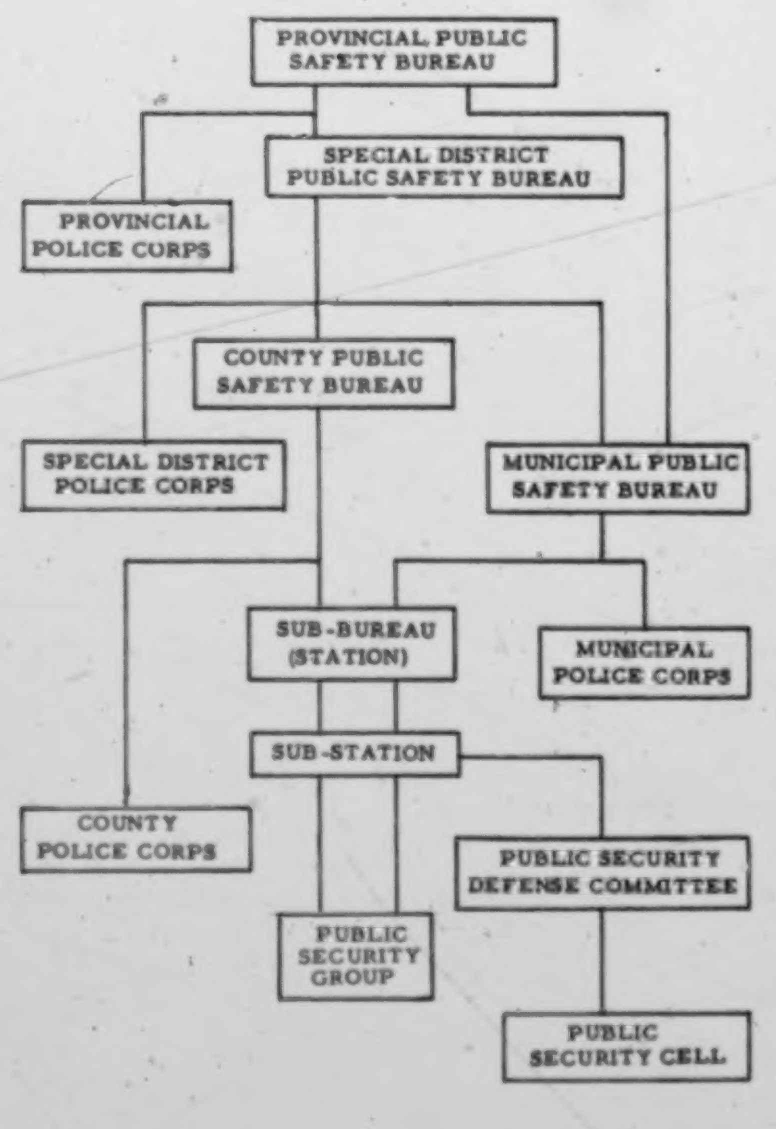
The vast expansion of cooperatives and the intensification of the collectivization of the people demanded an increase in the number of cadres to supervise them. The number of cadres assigned to the task of cooperative building and the number of cadres to be trained for such work up to the fall of 1955 are shown in Table 6.

The assignment of the large number of cadres to the rural areas was, according to Chang Chih-chung, "to consolidate the mutual aid teams and producers cooperative work under a policy of active leadership." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). However, the demoralization, the lack of discipline, the incompetence and low degree of political consciousness of the cadres when employed as officials of the people's governments during the first four years of Communist rule have not only impeded government and party work but also incurred ill-feeling among the people. The assignment of the cadres to the cooperatives in rural areas was to remove them from sensitive positions in the government.

Consequently, by 1955, when the work of the cadres in directing the elections was over, there were few cadres left in the upper levels of government. This was particularly the case of the national minority cadres. In Chinghai, out of the 3,400 native cadres, only 93 held responsible positions in the party organisation in December, 1954, and in Sinkiang, only a third of the cadres in party committees on all levels were natives, two-thirds were Chinese. In the government and in state enterprises, the number of national cadres was even less. According to Wang En-mao, secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, only 682 out of the 34,400 national minority cadres held responsible positions in the governments above the levels of county, although it was claimed in other Communist publications that 84.6 per cent of the cadres in government offices below county levels were natives. In the state commercial, animal products, tea, silk, and export enterprises, 65 per cent of the officials were Chinese. One of the reasons for the demotion of the national minority cadres was their lack of education and training. Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, seeking to rationalise this state of affairs, said that of the 36,000 national minority cadres (his figure) trained in all fields of work since 1949, only 2,500 showed enough initiative to be promoted to be leadership cadres. (JMJP September 24, 1955).

To bolster the position of the Chinese cadres and to fill the ranks depleted by the transfer of local cadres to the work of collectivizing the peasant population, large numbers of cadres and workers were sent to the Northwest from the coastal provinces. The figures of Table 7, gathered from scattered items in the Communist press, are incomplete, but they give an idea of the horde of cadres and approved workers and students pouring into the northwestern provinces during 1955 [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 523]

REGULAR POLICE SYSTEM IN NORTHWEST CHINA



areas.

Although there are so many different branches in the whole police system, final control still rests in the hands of the "Party Central."

Before the abolition of the Northwest Region there was a Northwest Regional Public Security Department in charge of the regular police in the area. From June 19, 1954, when the Department, together with the Northwest Administrative Committee was abolished, the provincial Public Security Bureaus, in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang gained increased prominence. Starting with the provincial level, there is an office of Public Security at every level. The Sub-Bureau (or Station) is the Public Security Office at the ch'ü (district) level; the sub-station is at the hsiang level, while the public security group is the lowest open office.

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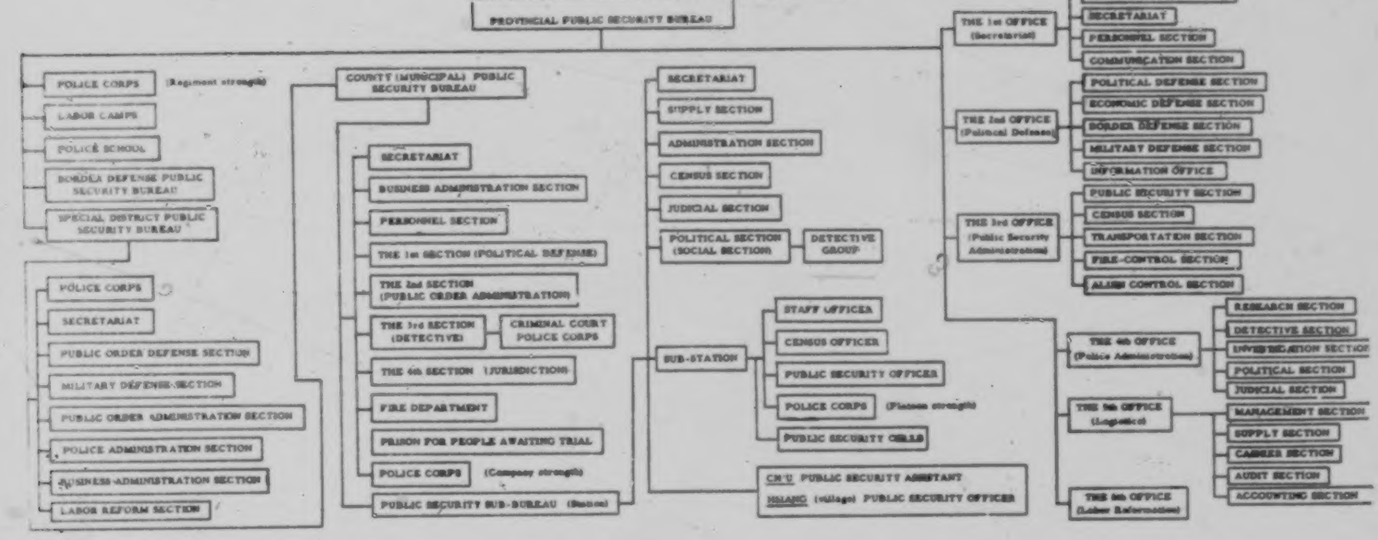
CHART II.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU



following page 537

"Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and arrived at Sining on July 31....

"The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:

"During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

"(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Administration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23, to April 3, 1953.... The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. Instead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"

The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances. Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)

"According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

"The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research together with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sentences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the criminal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two special districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two municipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

"Judging from the events that have taken place in our province during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habitual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

Government and their readiness to receive orders from the new regime in Peiping. On October 1, 1949, General T'ao Ch'ih-yueh, the commander of the Nationalist garrison in Sinkiang, went to Chiu-ch'uan to welcome the arrival of the Communist general, Wang, Chen, in Sinkiang. On October 2, General P'ang Te-huai flew to Urumchi (Tihua) with General Chang Chih-chung. Burkhan was thus appointed by the Communist regime as the new governor of the people's government of Sinkiang. In October 1955, he was elected chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

Burkhan was a member of the NW MAC, but unlike most of the other officials, he held few concurrent posts. Those he held were president of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, an institution for the training of native cadres, chairman of the Chinese Islamic Association, and a member of the Chinese People's Committee for the Protection of Children. His name was missing from the list of notables invited to attend the CPPCC held in Peking in September, 1949, and it was not until the third session of the CPPCC in 1951 that he became a delegate to that body. In 1955, he was deputy chairman of the Second National Committee of the CPPCC, the function of which had already been superceded by the National People's Congress. His name was also absent from the list of members of the presidium of the National People's Congress meeting, held in September 1954.

These facts as well as reports from escapees from Sinkiang indicate that Burkhan was probably only a figurehead in the political structure of Sinkiang under the Communists. In his speeches, however, he has denounced the separatist aspirations of his peoples as well as pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism, long unifying forces in the struggle of the Turkish peoples of Sinkiang, and has repeatedly and vigorously supported the unity of Sinkiang with the rest of China. He was also one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. He relinquished the office as governor of Sinkiang in September 1955, but when, a month later, Saifuddin resigned, he became governor of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

Cha Hsi: Tibetan, Communist

Cha Hsi, a Tibetan, served as a member of the Committee of Nationalities during the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government from 1937-1945; at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of the same committee in the Central People's Government, and also appointed a member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and concurrently a member of the Committee of Nationalities in that council. The council was re-organized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative

Council, and Cha Hsi served the same position as before.

Chang Chia-fu

Chang's birth date and background are unknown. When the Military and Political Council for the Northwest was formed in 1949, he was a member of that council and also a vice-chairman of the Commission on Culture and Education. In 1953, when that council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, he still served as one of the vice-chairmen of its Commission on Culture and Education. Since 1951 he has been vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the SSFA. In the Communist Party, he was director of the Department of Propaganda in the Northwest Bureau until 1953. He is also a vice-president of the China Academy of Sciences.

Chang, Chih-chung

See China General Handbook.

Chang Chung-liang: Communist

A native of Shensi Province, birth date unknown. From 1949, he served as one of the vice-chairmen in the People's Government in Chinghai Province, and secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party in Chinghai. 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest; and member of its Financial and Economic Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai Province. In 1955, he was elected chairman of the Kansu PPCC committee, and transferred to become secretary of the Kansu committee of the CCP.

Chang Feng-hui: Local leader

A native of Shensi, a member of the gentry class. Birth date and other background unknown. Since the "liberation" of the Northwest, he served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi. From 1953 he was a member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Shensi Province.

His position in the local government was chiefly due to the fact that Chang is an influential local leader and willing to co-operate with the new regime. The policy of the Communist regime of utilizing local talents for local government finds a proof in the case of Chang Feng-hui.

Chang Feng-po: Member of the Democratic League

Background unknown. He is a member of long standing of the

Democratic League and has served as director of its branch in Sian. After the Communists took over, he was selected as one of the two deputy mayors of the city of Sian. He is an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League.

Chang, Pang-ying: Communist Party official

Up to 1950, Chang was secretary of the South Shensi Regional Committee of the CCP. After 1950 he rose to be director of the Bureau of Public Security and vice-chairman of the Shensi People's Government. He was a member of the Northwest MAC and also third secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau (later the Sinkiang Committee) up to the present. In 1955 he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Chang Te-sheng: Government official

Chang is a native of Shensi Province. His birth date is unknown. Under the Nationalist Administration he served as a member of the Commission of Overseas Affairs of the Central Kuomintang. Later he supported the Communist revolution and served as Vice-Commissar of the Political Department of the North China Military Area. When the Northwest Administrative Council was formed in 1953, he was given the post as a member of that council and concurrently one of the vice-chairmanships of the People's Government of Kansu Province. In 1955 he was elected chairman of the Shensi PPCC Committee.

Chang, Tsung-sun: Communist Party official

Background unknown. 1937, commander of the 358th Brigade in the 133rd Division in the 18th Group Army and later commander of the 2nd Military District in Northern Shensi. 1945, elected as alternate member of the Central Committee of the CCP; 1948, deputy commander of the First Field Army under P'eng Te-huai; 1950, deputy commander of the Northwest Military District. Member of the Northwest MAC, and procurator-general of the Northwest Office of the Supreme Procuratorate. Since 1952, deputy chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army and since 1954, member of the National Defense Council.

Chang, Tzu-fang (Woman): Communist mass organization leader

Prior to the Communist triumph in 1949, Chang Tzu-fang was chairman of the Federation of Democratic Women in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. In 1950 she became a member of the executive committee of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. In the NW MAC, and subsequently the Administrative Council, she was a member of the council, the Political and Legal Commission, the People's Supervisory

Commission, and the Land Reform Commission.

Ch'ang, Li-fu: Member of the Communist Party

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. When the Military and Political Council for the Northwest was established in the Northwest, he was appointed Secretary-General in 1950; in 1953, when that council was re-organized into the Northwest Administrative Council, Ch'ang was appointed a member of that council and also served as its secretary-general. In the Central People's Government, he was made deputy secretary-general and director of the secretariat in the State Council in 1955.

Chao, Chan-k'uei: Labor model and official

Native of Ting-yuan in Shensi; a servant at age twelve; at thirty-eight worked as a metal worker on a railroad; at forty-two, went to Yenan, organized workers into labor unions and labor corps, set production record in iron foundry. In 1947 when the Nationalist forces captured Yenan, Chao first defended the iron works and then hid the machinery. 1949, delegate to CPPCC, Peking. 1950, was deputy head of the Department of Labor in the NW MAC.

Chao, Po-p'ing: Communist Party and government official

Personal data not available. 1950, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, deputy secretary in the Sian Municipal Committee of the CCP. 1952, director of the Department of Propaganda in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. Elected as vice-governor of Shensi in 1954.

Chao, Shou-shan: Army officer

Born in 1895 in Shensi Province in farm family; graduated from a surveying school; joined the army and became a commanding officer of a brigade in General Yang Hu-ch'eng's army in Shensi; Garrison Commander of Hanchung, Shensi; after the December 12, 1936, incident when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was detained by the Young Marshall, General Chang Hsueh-liang, and General Yang Hu-ch'eng, Chao became Garrison Commander of Sian. In 1937 he became commanding officer of the 38th Army; later, the commander of the 4th Army Group; 1947, relieved from his command and given a choice of becoming a member of the Military Advisory Council or going to U.S.A. on an investigating tour. Toured U.S.A., joined the Communists later that year. In 1949 his troops re-entered Sian. 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1950, became chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai; 1952, appointed chairman of Shensi People's Government; 1953, member of the Northwest

Administrative Council. Reelected Governor of Shensi in 1954.

Chao's career as an army officer was highlighted at three different occasions: First he took part in the coup d'etat against Chiang Kai-shek during the Sian incident; then he became a war hero in the Sino-Japanese War for his campaign in the Chung t'iao Mountains along the Shensi border, and finally when he shifted his allegiance to the Communists in 1947, he was instrumental in appealing to the Northwestern troops to revolt against Chiang's regime. His appointment as Governor of Chinghai and then Shensi by the Communist regime was a recognition of his service to the Communist cause.

Chia T'o-fu: Communist, government official

Background unknown, dates unknown. During the Sino-Japanese War he served as the secretary-general to the Northwest Office of the Central Political Bureau of the Communist Party; 1948, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the North China People's Government; later secretary to the Municipal Committee of Sian. 1950, mayor of Sian; 1950-52, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administration Council in the Central People's Government, and vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest; since 1952, vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administrative Council, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Northwest Administrative Council. Chairman of the Northwest Headquarters of the Federation of Trade Unions, and vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Also a member of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP.

In 1955 he was promoted to director of the Fourth General Office (Light Industries, Fuel) and concurrently Minister of Light Industries in the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Chia is one of the principal officials responsible for the economic development and industrialization of the Northwest.

Ch'ü, Wu: Government official

Head of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Sinkiang Provincial Government under the Nationalists; 1949, mayor of Urumchi, member of the Sinkiang People's Government Council; 1950, deputy secretary general in the Government Administration Council; 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council; 1955, deputy secretary-general of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Member of the Executive Committee of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

Feng Chung-ju: Communist

A man of Shensi Province. Served as commanding officer of supplies of the People's Liberation Army; 1949-53, mayor of the People's Government of Sian, and member of the People's Government Committee of Shensi Province. 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and mayor of Sian. 1954, member of Shensi Provincial Government Council.

Han Chao-e: Third Party member, politician

Born in 1890's in Shensi Province; graduated from Peiping Normal University; a teacher for some years. 1936, served Yang Hu-cheng and was involved in the kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek at Sian; magistrate of Ch'ang-an County in Shensi. 1937, personal representative of General Sun Wei-ju to Chungking; member of the Political Consultative Conference; member of the Democratic League. Fled to Hongkong in 1948. 1949, chairman in charge of party reorganization for the Farmers and Workers Democratic Party in Peking; delegate of the Farmers and Workers Democratic Party to the People's Political Consultative Council in Peking, appointed member of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Central People's Government. In the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, in which he was a member, he served on the Political and Legal Commission and was vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission. Since 1951, he was also vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi and director of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Shensi People's Government, positions he retained even after the elections of 1954.

Although not a member of the CCP, Han has served the Communists well by his efforts in furthering Communist line and policies in the mass organizations. He is a reserve member in the executive committee of the Farmers and Workers Democratic Party.

Han belongs to one of the many small third parties which took part in the Communist regime in Peking. Hence his prominence in the new regime is chiefly because he is a member of a third party. Since the Communist Government is a coalition government in theory, Han's role in such a government is emphasized. Another reason for Han's success in acquiring a high position in the People's Government was that the Communist policy planners emphasize the use of natives in the local government. Thus it is only logical for Han, native of Shensi, to become a vice-chairman of his provincial government.

Hou, Wai-lu

See China General Handbook

Hsi Chung-hsun: Communist

Born 1912 in Shensi Province. In 1926 he joined the Communist Youth League. 1927, was in prison. 1932, staged "soldier rebellion of the Liang-tang Mountain" and conducted guerilla warfare in northern Shansi Province; 1937-45, in charge of the defense of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Area. 1949-52, alternate member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military Administrative Council and concurrently chairman of the Land Reform Committee for the Northwest MAC. Since 1953, in the Central People's Government, member of the Central People's Government, vice-chairman of the Commission on Culture and Education in the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee, member of the National Planning Committee, member of the Constitution Drafting Committee and member of the Central Election Committee; in the local government, vice-chairman of the Northwest Administrative Council; in the Communist Party, he is an alternate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In the army, he holds the post as political commissar of the Northwest Military District, and in the mass organizations, he has been, since 1951, president of the Northwest headquarters of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and member of the Board of Directors of the SSFA. In 1955 he was promoted to be vice-premier of the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Hsi has been virtually the boss of the Northwest region, especially after the transfer of P'eng Te-huai to be commander in chief of the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea in 1951. It was Hsi who instituted the ideological reforms and the purges of the cadres in 1952, and it was he who instituted the "study" program for the general line of the state for the transition to socialism in the Northwest region.

Hsi has been a life-long Communist. The fact that he holds so many memberships in the Central Government indicates the important role he plays in the Communist regime. His position in the local administration is equally high for he is the second political boss in the Northwest, next to General P'eng Te-huai.

Hsing Chao-t'ang: Army officer

Native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. 1923, commanding officer of a division in the Second Army of the Kuo-min-chun under the command of Hu Ching-i of Shensi. 1937, deputy commander of the Hopei-Chahar Guerrilla Forces; 1941, deputy speaker of the Hopei-Shansi-Shangtung-Honan Border Council; 1948, member of the North China People's Government of

Ninghsia Province; 1952-54, chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia. His name, however, disappeared from the lime light after the Ninghsia People's Government was abolished and Ninghsia merged into Kansu in 1954.

Hsing was a career soldier. His long years of fighting a guerilla war against the Japanese had made him a man of distinction. His association with the Communists, however, did not begin until he broke away from Sun Tien-ying, under whom he had fought as a guerrilla leader for many years. When Sun's guerrilla forces were re-organized into the Nationalist Fifth Army, Hsing began to shift his political leaning toward the Communists. Hsing's red star began to shine when he was first selected as deputy speaker of the Border Assembly for Hopei-Charhar area. He was responsible for the training of a large number of cadres in Ninghsia.

Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o: Buddhist, government official

Born in 1884 in Chinghai Province. At age of twelve entered one of the colleges in Drepung Temple in Tibet to study Buddhism; 1916, given the degree Geshe (after completing the five classics in Buddhism, namely, Sutras and Commentaries, Prajnparamita or book on philosophical matters, Madhyama or book on the Middle Doctrine, Vinaya or book on moral discipline and Vasubhandu's work); since then edited and commented on the Kanjur for twelve years. In 1937, he went to Nanking by way of India and gave lectures on Tibetan culture at the National Central University, Tsinghua University, Sun Yat-sen University, Peking University and Wu-han University. 1939, sent to Tibet by the Nationalist Government on a good-will mission. Since 1946 has been a reserve member of the Kuomintang Central Supervisory Committee and from 1947 to 1949, vice-chairman of the Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs in the National Government. In January 1950, appointed member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently deputy-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai. Since January 1953, member of the Administrative Council of the Northwest, member of the Political and Legal Commission, vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai, director of the Cultural and Educational Commission in the provincial government, and acting chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association.

The fact that he achieved his degree of Ke-hsi had made Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o a man of high esteem. He devoted twelve years to editing and commentating the Kanjur, the complete works of Tibetan Buddhism, and his bold approach in editing the textual errors in the scriptures has made him an authority on Buddhism, although he did incur the displeasure of the Dalai Lama.

Before the Communists took over Tibet in 1951, his effort in bringing about a peaceful "liberation" of Tibet had won him a tribute from Communist authorities.

Huang Cheng-ch'ing: Tibetan army officer

A Tibetan of Sik'ang Province, born 1903 and graduated from the Kansu Political Training Institute; teacher of the Five Tribes College in Lanchou; member of the Supervisory Committee of the Lanchou Branch of the Kuomintang; 1927-1928, commander of the tribal troops of the 7th Field Army of the Second Army Group of the People's Revolutionary Army; 1934, garrison commander of Labrang, Kansu; 1944, leader of the Labrang Delegation to Chungking; 1950, member of the Military and Political Council of the Northwest and concurrently vice director of the Department of Animal Husbandry in that council; 1953, one of the vice-chairmen of the Northwest Administrative Council. In 1955, he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of Kansu.

Huang is the oldest of three brothers. His second brother, Huang Cheng-pen, was the Grand Assistant of the Labrang Temple, one of the six famous Lamaist temples in the country, and was in charge of all the affairs of that temple and others under its jurisdiction. His third brother, Huang Cheng-ming, is the Living Buddha of Ah-mang-ts'ang, Chia-mu-yang the Fifth. The three brothers were the actual rulers of Labrang in charge of the military, political and religious affairs within that region. Thus Huang's high position in the Northwest under the Communist administration is understandable, another example of the Communist policy in that area of using local minorities leaders.

Ho Wei-te

Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu Province, a position he retained in the election of 1953-54.

Kan, Ssu-ch'i: Army officer and government official

Native of Hunan, graduate of Hunan Middle School, political commissar in the 18th Division of the Sixth Army under Hsiao K'e; 1934, deputy political commissar in the Second Front Army under Ho Lung; chief of staff and political director in the 120th Division under Ho Lung; political commissar in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Defense Forces; 1945, elected alternate member in the Central Committee of the CCP; 1950, member of the NW MAC, member of the Land Reform Commission and director of the Department of Public Security in the NW MAC. 1951, political commissar in the Chinese Volunteer

Forces in Korea; 1955, deputy director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

Kao Chin-shun: Communist Party member

Background unknown. When the Communists took over Sinkiang in late 1949, he was chosen as one of the two vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Sinkiang. He is now vice-chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and second secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP.

Li Ching-lin

Background and dates unknown. 1949-53, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia; 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia.

Liao Han-sheng: Communist Party member

A native of Hupeh Province, dates unknown. A political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; in 1949 he was appointed a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Chinghai Province until the election of 1954. When the council was reorganized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative Council, he continued as a member.

Lo I: Communist official and mass organization leader

Background unknown; member of the commission on political and legal affairs, land reform and people's supervision in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, and member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Member of the All-China Democratic Youth Association. In charge of youth work for the CCP in the Northwest.

Ma, Hsi-wu

Background unknown. In 1952 he was president of the Northwest court of the Supreme People's Court, and member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Land Reform Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1955, vice-president of the Supreme Court in Peking.

Ma Hung-k'uei (1893-)

In the study of the modern history of Northwest China under the Nationalist administration, particularly the history of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, special attention must be directed to the history and background of the Ma clan,

afforestation, construction and repair of roads, and introducing the irrigation system. During the fifteen years of his administration, 1933-1948, Ninghsia Province changed from a land of devastation to a land of peace and normalcy, achieved by ruthless regimentation.

When the war between Japan and China broke out in 1937, Ma Hung-k'uei volunteered to fight the enemy. Because of the importance of the Northwest, and because of the importance of Ninghsia as the gateway to the Northwest, he was ordered by the Central Government to stay in Ninghsia to guard that strategic area against Communist infiltration. From 1937-1945, however, Ninghsia became a part of the Eighth War Area, and Ma was appointed as the deputy commander-in-chief. When the war against Japan was brought to an end in 1945, he was appointed deputy director of the Northwest Headquarters of the president. When all-out fighting started between the Nationalists and the Communists, he was given the post of deputy Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area. In July 1949, when the Communist troops began to push their way to the Northwest, he joined Ma Pu-feng, another member of the famous Ma clan, then Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area, to set up defense lines. But the victorious forces of the Communists broke through all these lines and pushed their way to the eastern and southern parts of Kansu Province. The two Ma flew to Canton, the provisional capital, to see Vice-President General Li Tsung-jen for new instructions. It was decided to concentrate the troops to defend Lanchou. On August 25, 1949, when the troops of Ma Hung-k'uei were still some eighty miles away from Lanchou, the Communist troops had already reached that city. By the middle of September, 1949, the whole Northwest, including Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, was taken over by the Communists.

In 1949 when the Nationalist Government took up the defense of Kansu Province, Ma was appointed concurrently as governor of Kansu. His administrative record in Kansu was short-lived. The Communists took over the whole Northwest by September, 1949. When the Nationalist Government retreated to Taiwan, both the military and political life of Ma Hung-k'uei came to an end. He entered the United States and lived a life of retirement in San Francisco.

Ma Hung-pin (1883-)

Another of the Four Ma who once ruled the Northwest of modern China, Ma Hung-pin is a cousin of Ma Hung-k'uei, governor of Ninghsia Province from 1933-1948 and governor of Kansu Province from 1948-50. Together with Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing of Chinghai Province, they were usually called the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest.

munists. In recognition of his help the Communist regime in Peking appointed him a member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest in 1950, and in 1953, when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council, he was one of the vice-chairmen. He was a member of the Land Reform Commission and the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Kansu, a post he continued to hold after the election of 1954, and in the People's Government he was director of the commission on Nationality Affairs. He also became a member of the National Defense Council. Of the Four Ma of China's Northwest, Ma Hung-pin is the only one who shifted his loyalty to the Communist regime.

Ma Ming-fang (1904-): Communist, government official

A native of Shensi Province, born in 1904. Joined the Communist Party in 1925, took part in the 1925-27 Northern Expedition; 1931, director of the Department of Propaganda for northern Shensi; later, chairman of the Workers and Farmers Democratic Government of northern Shensi region; secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Party. 1941, jailed in Sinkiang by the Nationalists when he came back from Soviet Russia; 1946, returned to Yenan; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1949-51, member of the National Committee of the CPPCC.

From 1950 to 1952, he was a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was also a member of the Financial and Economic Commission. He was governor of Shensi and concurrently director of the Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs in the Shensi People's Government. In the Party, he was a reserve member of the Central Committee and second secretary of the Northwest Bureau. In Peking, too, he was a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, and in 1955, a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Ma's influence in the Northwest as well as his position in the local administration in the Northwest have been very great. He is a life-long member of the Communist Party and has played a rather important role for the Communist cause. He is one of the few from the Northwest who had ever visited the Soviet Union, which enhanced his prestige in the Communist hierarchy.

Ma Pu-fang (1903-)

Before the Communists took over Northwest China, this area had been ruled by the famous Ma clan. As Ma Hung-k'uei and Ma Hung-pin ruled Ninghsia and Kansu, so did Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing rule Chinghai (Kokonor). The administration

provincial capital of Chinghai, Sining, fell to the Communists. He was asked by the Communist authorities to serve on their Military Control Board, but when the Nationalist Government moved to Formosa, he managed to leave China. He now lives in Cairo, Egypt.

Ma Pu-ch'ing (1898-)

Born in 1898 in the district of Lin-hsia in Kansu Province, Ma Pu-ch'ing was the elder brother of Ma Pu-feng, governor of Chinghai Province from 1937 to 1949, and the oldest son of the late governor of Chinghai, Ma Lin. The youngest son, Ma Pu-ying, did not enter public life, but chose to be a farmer. After he was graduated from the First Middle School of Kansu, Ma Pu-ch'ing entered military life. In 1922 he was commander of the Fourth Regional Garrison. Next year he was promoted as commanding officer of the Cavalry Regiment of the Fifth Mixed Brigade of the Army. In 1928 he became commanding officer of the 77th Brigade of the 28th Division of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army. In 1929 he was transferred to commanding officer of the 65th Brigade of the 22nd Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Army Group of the Revolutionary Army. In 1930, he was given commandership of the Loyang Garrison. By next year he became commanding officer of the 26th Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Region of the Nationalist Army. In 1932 he was promoted as commanding officer of the First Cavalry Division of Kansu Province. In the same year, he was transferred as commanding officer of the Second Cavalry Division of the Nationalist Army. In 1936 he became commanding officer of the Fifth Cavalry Division of the Army. When the Sino-Japanese War broke out, he was appointed as the Commissioner of Highways in Kansu Province. Later he was given the position as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam region in Chinghai Province, and concurrently commanding officer of the Fifth Cavalry Division. In 1943 he became deputy commander-in-chief of the Fortieth Army Group.

His appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam region in Chinghai Province by the Central Government came at the time his brother, Ma Pu-fang, was governor of that province. Thus the two brothers were often mentioned together as administrative heads of Chinghai. At that time China was engaged in the war against the Japanese invaders, and the whole coastal region had been lost to the enemy. To deal with the urgent need to continue the war, the Central Government then adopted a policy of developing the border regions. Ma's appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam was therefore considered a very important step. Tsaidam region is situated in the northwestern part of Chinghai Province, between the

Ch'ilien and Chishih Mountains. In the Tsaidam River valley, comprised of six districts, there were nearly a hundred thousand Mongols, who were Buddhists by religion and nomads economically, and twenty-five thousand Kazakhs, with some Moslems and Chinese. When Ma Pu-ch'ing took over this region he directed his reclamation program along the following lines: to inspire patriotism among the border peoples, to promote education, to develop the uncultivated lands by settlements of people, and to increase production by encouraging industrial programs, to improve the transportation facilities to ship needed goods to the interior, and finally to open mines in that region for the needs of both the border area and the interior.

His public life, like that of his younger brother, was finally ended by the arrival of the Communists. When the Northwest was lost to the People's Liberation Army, he fled from Chinghai and followed the Nationalist Government to Formosa.

Ma T'eng-ai

Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954.

Ma Wen-jui: Communist Party member

A native of Shensi Province. He had served as secretary to the Communist Headquarters in eastern Kansu under the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government. When the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest was formed in 1950, he was appointed as a member of that council, in which he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and a member in the Political and Legal Commission, positions which he retained when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council in 1953. In the party, he has been since 1950, director of the Department of Organization and director of the Commission on Women's Work in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In 1955, he was transferred to Peking as Minister of Labor.

The main responsibility of Ma Wen-jui was to push the United Front work in the Northwest in 1950. His Department of Organization was active, months before the formation of the MAC and the People's Governments, in the induction of former Nationalist Government functionaries and students into the governments of the Communists. Later, he was responsible for pushing the ideological reforms of the cadres and the purges in 1952, and the job of Communist Party expansion in the Northwest.

authorities. Moreover, Osman was not given a post in the government of the East Turkestan Republic, but only a regional post, despite the fact that he had helped in the establishment of the republic, and his Kazakhs were discriminated against. When he joined the Chinese Nationalist Army and repulsed the Outer Mongolian invasion, he was hailed throughout China as a hero. Later, he was the rallying point of the resistance of the Kazakhs and other anti-Communist forces in Sinkiang.

Pai Hai-feng: Mongol, army officer

A native of Jehol Province and a member of the Kharchin Banner of the Mongol tribe in Inner Mongolia. Dates unknown. Graduated from the first class of the Central Military Academy; went to Russia and studied in the Oriental University. 1931-1932, served in the Peiping Branch of the National Military Council; later succeeded Yun Chi-hsien as commander of the Mongolian Police of Pai-ling-miao, Suiyuan. During the war period, 1937-1945, when the police were reorganized into a brigade of the regular army, he served as commanding officer of the brigade and was eventually promoted to commander of a division. In the meantime, also served as a special representative of the Kuomintang to the Mongol Banners in Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces as well as the representative of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps for that region. 1943, resigned from his duties with the Kuomintang Party.

When the Communists took over North China in 1949, he served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, and as vice-director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. 1953, a member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and vice-dean of the Northwest Nationalities College.

Pai Ju-ping: Communist

A native of Shensi Province; dates unknown. During the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government, served as the director of financial affairs in the Administrative Commissioner's Office in western Shensi, and later as finance commissioner in the border government. 1950, when the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest was formed, he served as a member of the council and as director of the Department of Finance. In January 1953, the Northwest Administrative Council was established to replace the Military and Political Council of the Northwest. He serves as a member of that council and concurrently as vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Commission in the council. 1955, director of the Central Handicraft Administrative Bureau in the State Council.

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N
159 P'an Tzu-li: Communist Party member

*668 Native of Shensi; dates and background unknown. A long-
631 time member of the Communist Party; served as secretary to the Provincial Committee of Ninghsia of the Communist Party. Since 1949, served as the chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province, and director of the Political Bureau of the People's Liberation Army. 1951, member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi Province. From 1953, member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi
N Province. In October 1955 he was appointed Chinese Communist
[648] ambassador to North Korea, and in the spring of 1956 he was transferred as ambassador to India.

N
159 Inasmuch as Chao Shou-shan, governor of Shensi, is not a
*668 Communist but only a political figurehead, the actual power in Shensi was in the hands of P'an Tzu-li. While vice-governor of Shensi, P'an was responsible for mobilizing the people and preparing for the elections. He pushed through the campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and also expedited the judicial process, clearing seventeen thousand cases from the dockets in a couple of months.

000 Pao-erh-han

See Burkhan Shahidi

P'eng, Te-huai

See General Handbook

S Saifuddin Azizi: Communist, government official

159 Born 1914 in Sinkiang. A Uighur. Studied in the Central Asia-
668 tic University in Soviet Russia, majoring in law and political science. Commissioner of education in the provincial government of Sinkiang under Chang Chih-chung's administration, 1946
S and 1947. Member and representative to the first People's Poli-
159 tical Consultative Council, 1949, delegate to the CPPCC. Mem-
668 ber in the Central People's Government Council, and vice-chair-
631 man of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, 1950, and member of the Political and Legal Commission of the Central People's Government and member of the Constitution-Drafting Commission. In September-November 1955 he served as vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and a member of the National Defense Council.

In the Northwest, he was a member of the Military and Administrative Council, in which he served as a member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Nationality Affairs Commission. In 1953, when the MAC became the Northwest Adminis-

S 159 tseng, the deputy-director of the Central Bureau of Investigations and Statistics (the FBI of the Chinese government), flew to Chungking, and thus ended his dictatorship of Sinkiang.

S [645] His position as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry lasted only a year. In July 1945 his political life came to an end. When the Nationalist Government was forced to move to Taiwan, he followed, but, although he still holds some office in the Nationalist Government, his name has not appeared in the China Who's Who since 1951.

N 159 631 Shih Tze-ching: Member of the Democratic League

Of Shensi Province. Dates unknown. When the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was formed at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of that council and also chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; in 1953 the council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, and Shih was retained as a member. He also served as its vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

N 159 *668 631 Sun Tien-ts'ai: Communist Party member

A native of Ninghsia Province, for a long time secretary to the Operational Committee of the Communist Party in Ninghsia. Since 1949, a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province. Since 1953, holds the same position except that the council has been reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council.

With the abolition of Ninghsia in 1954, Sun was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu.

The fact that the Communists use their party members to control local administration is shown clearly in the case of Sun Tien-ts'ai and others in the Northwest.

N 159 631 [635] Sun, Tso-pin

In 1950, Sun was deputy secretary of the Kansu Committee of the CCP, and a member of the Kansu People's Government Council. In 1954 he was elected governor of Chinghai.

Ta-li-cha-ya: Mongol leader

A Mongol of Ninghsia Province. Dates and background unknown. Since 1949 he served as a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Commission, and member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs. From 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, member of its Committee on Nationalities Affairs, and concurrently a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954. In 1955 he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

S 159 668 [631]

Wang, En-mao: Communist Party official

First secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP and after September 1955, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP. In 1950-52, member of the Northwest MAC.

Wang is the top party boss in Sinkiang and thus the actual ruler of that province. Unlike his colleagues, he holds no concurrent positions in the administration except for a couple of years as a member of the NW MAC. A man of mystery, little is known about him except that he is a native of Kiangsi and does not speak any of the native languages of Sinkiang, and that in 1933 he served in the CCP committee in the Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region under Jen Pi-shih.

N 159 *668 [631]

Wang Feng: Communist Party official

Native of Shensi Province and presently director of the Department of United Front Work in the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, of which he was a member, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission, the Land Reform Commission, and chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He is also president of the Lanchou College of Nationalities.

Wang's main job was what the Communists called united fron work, that is, the alignment of non-Communists to work with Communist cadres in the Northwest and to encourage non-Chinese to work with the Chinese. As director of the Department of United Front Work in the Party, he incorporated thousands of former Nationalist officials as well as students into the ranks of the cadres, to govern the vast territory of the Northwest that the Communists acquired in 1949. Later, he was responsible for the ideological reform and the purges of the cadres in 1952. As a Chinese heading the Commission of Nationality Affairs in the NW MAC, his job was to rationalize the long-standing differences between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples in the Northwest. Much of the progress of socialist transformation in the Northwest depends upon the degrees to which Wang Feng at the regional level and Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee, on the national have succeeded in smoothing relations between Communist and non-Communist officials, and between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples.

(N 159 *668 *563)

N 159 *668 631 496

Wang, Shih-t'ai: Military and administrative official

Background unknown. 1934, member of the Central Executive Committee in the Chinese Soviet Government in Kiangsi and delegate to the Second All-China Representative Conference of

Chinese Soviets, 19 0, political commissar in the People's Liberation Army, member of the NW MAC, and a member of its Financial and Economic Commission, vice-chairman of Kansu People's Government and director of its Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs, director of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line Engineering Bureau, and deputy head of the political committee of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line. 1952, vice-minister of Railways; 1955, vice-chairman of the National Construction Commission in the State Council of the Central People's Government; member of the CCP. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

Wang's major responsibility has been the extension of the railway from Lanchou into Sinkiang, and he commanded the troops which supervised the workers building the railway, many of them slave laborers.

Wang, Tzu-i: Government and Party official

Former director of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, 1950, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, member of its Land Reform Commission, vice-chairman of its Political and Legal Commission, head of the Department of Personnel, and head of the Department of Civil Affairs. 1953, vice-minister of Interior in the Central People's Government.

Wu Hung-pin (1902-): Moslem leader, government official

Born in Kansu Province in 1902, reared in a Moslem family. In 1930, graduated from the National Peking University; 1932, took part in Anti-Japan activities in Shanghai during the Shanghai incident; 1936, organized Moslem People's League in the Anti-Japan and National Salvation Association; 1945, organized and headed the Lanchou branch of the Democratic League; 1949, represented the league in the First Chinese People's Political Consultative Council in Peking and was a member of its standing committee; in the same year, appointed mayor of Lanchou; vice-chairman of the Military Control Commission in Lanchou, and member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and served concurrently as mayor of Lanchou.

Concurrently, in Peking, he was a member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, a member of the central committee of the Democratic League, member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and a member of the executive council of the China Peace Committee, an outfit organized in 1950 to rally the people to support the campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

Wu was noted as an able organizer. He organized the students

of Shanghai and engaged in the anti-Japan activities during the Shanghai incident when the Japanese troops invaded Shanghai. He also organized his own Moslems after the Sian incident when the Japanese aspirations in China became very clear. When the war was over, he was responsible for the organization of the Lanchou chapter of the Democratic League. Being an educated leader in a minority group has helped him reach his high position in the Communist government.

Yang Ming-hsuan: Member of the Democratic League

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. 1937-45, vice-chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government and chairman of the Northwest Branch Committee of the China Democratic League; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC: 1950, member of the People's Government of Shensi Province; 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, director of the Commission on Culture and Education of that council and member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs; 1953-54, appointed one of the vice-chairmen and secretary general of the Northwest Administrative Council, and chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education; since 1951, member of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League and member of its Standing Committee. In 1955, he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Yang Ming-hsuan belongs to that group of men who, claiming to be non-Communists and members of third parties, have served the Communists well. It may be noted that he was, even before the Communists came to power, a vice-chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region People's Government. Later, after 1950, he was director of the Commission on Culture and Education, with the task of bringing the students and teachers in line. In 1951, the Democratic League announced that it would devote its efforts to rallying and mobilizing the students and teachers, and Yang Ming-hsuan, as head of the Northwest headquarters of the China Democratic League, turned the attention of the league members toward organizing the students and teachers. But Yang's services to the Communists went further. He sought also to use his influence in bringing other political factions into line with Communist policies. When the Northwest Work Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee was formed with Chang Chih-chung as head, Yang was among the Communist officials who spoke, saying that the duty of the minority parties was to follow the lead of the Communist Party.

Yang Shen-chih: Local leader

A native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. An influential local leader. From 1949, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, member of its Land Reform Commission and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

Yang Tseng-hsin (1860-1928): Former governor of Sinkiang

Born in 1860 in Yunnan Province, holder of both the Chu-jen and Chin-shih degrees of the late Ch'ing Dynasty. In 1889, magistrate of Chung-wei district of Kansu, later promoted as the chou commissioner of Hochow, Kansu. He also commanded troops under Chen Sheng-ch'uan. In 1901, he joined the staff of Wei Kuang-t'ao, governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, and was appointed superintendent of the army school in Kansu. In 1908 he was given the position of circuit commissioner of Aksu Circuit, Sinkiang. In 1911 he was transferred to the Chenti Circuit and concurrently held the positions as prosecutor. In 1912 he was promoted to provincial treasurer of Sinkiang. When the newly appointed governor, Yuan Hung-yu, was murdered on his way to Urumchi (Tihua), Yang was appointed governor of Sinkiang. His title was changed several times, but his actual position remained as the political and military boss of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928. When Yuan Shih-k'ai enthroned himself as the emperor of China in 1916, Yang was awarded an earldom of the first rank. In 1928, he pledged his support to the Nationalist Government in Nanking, and was appointed the provincial chairman of Sinkiang. He was assassinated in July, 1928.

In the history of modern Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin was the only person who ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years. He was credited, during his administration, with restoring peace and prosperity to the province. During those seventeen years, he smashed the secret society, Ko-lao-hui (Elder Brother Society), defeated the invasion of Kobdo and Altai (A-shan) by the troops of Outer Mongolia in 1928, quelled the disturbances of the Kazakhs who fled into Sinkiang from Soviet rule in 1917, and pacified the defeated White Russian troops who also escaped into Sinkiang during the Soviet Revolution in 1917. Internally, he adopted the policy of racial equality among the different tribes within the border of Sinkiang. Diplomatically, he improved the trade relations with Russia and settled the border troubles. But, because of his autocratic and dictatorial attitude toward his subordinates, and his cruelty toward his opponents, he made enemies who brought about his assassination.

Yang Tzu-lien: Democratic League member, government official

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown; member of the Northwest Headquarters of the Democratic League; 1950-1953, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, chairman of the Political and Legal Committee, and director of the Board of Justice in that council. Since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Committee; since 1951, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League.

Yolbash (Yolbars) Khan: Anti-Communist army officer and government official

Chinese name: Ching-fu

A Uighur, born in 1888 (or 1883) in Yingihissar in Kashgar. Orphaned as a child and reared by his elder sister. 1904, entered the service of the King of Qomul (Hami) as an inspector of the fifth rank; 1911, delegate to the Qomul City Assembly; 1922, promoted to a beg of the third rank; 1927, commissioner of communications in Qomul; 1930, general of the second rank (erh-p'in Ta Tu-t'ung); 1932, member of the Provincial Assembly; 1933, brigadier commander of mounted troops; 1935, magistrate of Qomul and garrison commander of Qomul; 1937, compelled to leave Sinkiang because of his anti-Soviet views; made lieutenant general and a member of the Military Council of the Nationalist Government; 1938, went to Chungking, became military councillor in the Administrative headquarters (hsing-ying); member of the board of directors of the Islamic National Salvation Association; 1945, member of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang; 1946, attended the People's Political Consultative Conference at Nanking; returned to Sinkiang as advisor to the Sinkiang Provincial Government; elected special commissioner for the Ninth District. Concurrently appointed advisor to the National Government; 1947, Administrative Supervisory Commissioner in the Qomul district; commander of peace preservation forces in the Qomul district; 1948, advisor on National policies in the office of the President in the National Government; 1949, deputy commander of the Peace Preservation Forces; 1950, commander in chief of the guerrilla forces in Sinkiang resisting the Communists; April 1950, Nationalist Government-appointed governor of Sinkiang; 1951, fled from Sinkiang to Formosa. Now advisor on national policies in the office of the President, National Government on Formosa.

487 the Wei River and the upper Yellow River. North of it the loess is still more compact, and on the way to the largest loess dune there was almost no better way of getting through. It is only when one again gets outside the Great Wall - as we have seen - that there is a larger trade route, from Tai yüan fu through Sui de tschou and to Ning tiao leang, but it permits wagon traffic only along certain stretches and leads across the Hwang Ho between the provinces of Shansi and Shensi, but in not a very comfortable fashion. The next larger traffic artery which conveniently connects the west with the east is the Kwe hwa - Bau tu - Ninghsia road which avoids the Yellow River but leads through nomad country and thus its safety is entirely dependent on the more or less peaceful behavior of these nomads, and thus also for political reasons it has for centuries not been regarded as a large traffic artery.

631 But Lanchow fu is not merely the Hwang Ho bridgehead of the "silk road"; it is also the juncture of the roads leading up from South Kansu and Szechwan, as well as for the Tibetan roads that come from Hsining fu and Ho tschou. For this reason the city has also been made the seat of the tsung tu or tschi t'ai of Schen kan, that is, the residence of a vice-regent. Under the Manchu dynasty, under Emperor Kien lung around the middle of the 18th century, when Chinese power headed by Manchu had completely overcome the Kalmuk and the large territories of the West had to be newly conquered, the old, large province of Shensi was divided up into a smaller Shensi and a Kansu. (1) At that time the position of tsung

[103] 1. The name Kansu (pronounced: Gan su) was formed from the characters of what were once the two most important cities in the western part of the province: Kanchow and Suchow. Shensi means "west of the pass"; it is the country that lay west of the strait of Tung kwan ting which we learned about in the second chapter. Shenkan, therefore, means the vice-kingdom of Shen (si) and Kan (su).

As a result of the last revolution the title of Tsung tu has now been abandoned and replaced by Tu tu.

tu, of the viceroy or governor-general was created, who first of all acted as civil governor of Kansu, but who, besides, /150/ had the general supervision of the civil- and military administration of Shansi and the vast Central Asiatic territories, which are called Sin kiang (pronounced: Hsin Tschiang) by the Chinese, i.e., "new

frontier territory" and embrace all of Chinese Turkistan and Dsungari (Ili). Since this time there has been only one governor in Hsingan fu, the ancient capital of the kingdom, a fu t'ai or a hsün fu for Shensi. 631

Thus Lanchow fu has become administratively a very important, if not the most important, city of Central Asia. It belongs to the few places which were left to the emperor in the great Mohammedan struggles of 1862-1873, when an independent Islamic-Turkish kingdom arose under the Sart Yakub Beg and when in Kansu, Hochow which lies a two-days' journey west of Lanchow fu, as well as Kin tse pu, the oasis of Tung fu hsiang mentioned in the last chapter, became centers of a large Islamic-Chinese insurrection. The fact that the Mohammedan leaders of the insurrection did not succeed in occupying this junction made it easier for Generalissimo Tso t'ung tang to recapture the provinces which had for years been lost to China. 721

The Mohammedans succeeded only once during the struggles lasting hundreds of years in breaking through the city gates, but even then (1781, according to the chronicle of Lanchow fu) the Hui hui of Hochow and the Salars could not hold it for long. In all their battles the Mohammedans of China always lacked far-sighted leaders, and their politics always foundered because of their purposelessness and the petty egoism and greed of individuals.

The city of Lanchow fu is surrounded by what according to Chinese ideas is an only moderately strong wall which, however, to the bands of the Mohammedan mullahs, armed with short pikes and swords, may have represented an imposing obstacle. According to my observations, the city lies 1,520 meters above sea level. (1) 712

1. Michaelis 1,473 meters; Potanin 1,495 meters; Kreitner-Loczy 1,594; Rockhill, first journey: 1,669 meters (?); second journey: 1,575 meters; Grenard 1,494 meters; Filchner 1,600 meters (?).

It lies in the upper part of a fertile alluvial plain which is many kilometers long and wide, through most of which the Hwang Ho flows as a broad stream. Red clay mountains covered over with loess rise up south and west of the city quite close to the surrounding walls, and were fortified during the Mohammedan wars of the 19th century. The photograph of the city which in Plate XLIII shows its location was taken from the northernmost point of these mountains and the outermost one in relation to the river.

shops there, but must leave the central part of the city before darkness sets in. 563

There had been a great deal of progress since my first visit to the city in the spring of 1904. In the summer of 1905 the old, very reactionary viceroy was replaced by one who had been in Berlin and Petersburg. This man had sent Splingaert, the interpreter of Baron von Richthofen, known to every Sinologist, /153/ in order to find European engineers who should open up a new era for the province of Kansu. He wanted to re-open the cloth factory, and build sugar and champagne factories. The very good coal mines which lay a short day's journey south of the city were to be made more accessible by means of a small railway. But above all, a university and technical school were to be opened, and, for strategic purposes, an iron bridge built across the Hwang Ho. 631 185 [316]

That was the program which everyone was discussing in this city of no newspapers, but there were for the most part unbelievably exaggerated and distorted rumors about it. Because a Chinese province is an independent unit, the governor-general was obliged to raise a large part of the funds which were necessary before he could carry out his program. He therefore wanted to open up another mint in which special Kansu money was to be coined and the silver and gold for this he wanted to get from the provincial government. He therefore needed European foundry experts; prospects of mining concessions for Europeans no longer existed here. But everyone knew that there was gold as well as silver in Kansu; for Kansu, like Szechwan, borders on Tibet and since ancient times gold has been washed in the rivers on the border. [436] [316]

It was in connection with this very program that I came into frequent contact with the higher officials during my three-weeks' stay in Lanchow fu. I was often obliged to attend Chinese dinners at which the Chinese are so fond of testing the drinking capacity of a foreigner. Their drinking games are particularly dangerous, being a sort of morra in which the loser must empty cups the size of a thimble, filled with warmed whiskey. For linguistic reasons alone it is very difficult for foreigners to win. But I found that the cultivated Chinese and Manchu begins to warm up to a foreigner when the latter, through this sort of thing, comes closer to him as a human being. Thus I learned the game "dry" from one of my servants and in the course of time I had many a "Chinese queue" on my conscience. I was amazed to see how brief the emotional flare-ups of these people were; or could they, perhaps, even if they had had too much of a 574 524 574

place for the wealthier class of Lanchow fu. During the season there the Chinese ladies are entertained with theater and festivals. There are /159/ woods on the slopes between the cliffs and a little mountain brook gushes merrily out of a narrow ravine. The Kansu know, as well as we do, where it is pleasant to be. 529

Beyond Kin hsien I was obliged, on the following days, to cross this rocky mountain range, the Hsin lu Shan, the continuation of the Kwan Shan which earlier travelers had pointed out and which is made up of granite and chalk and sandstone rich in coal seams. Loess masses cover the slopes far up; but here, too, the peaks are free of this yellow, ugly covering. But at a height of 2,800 meters I had not yet got beyond the haze and dust which had enveloped the mountains and valleys in a blue atmosphere for one and one-half months now since the end of October when last it rained, or rather snowed. Every day the sky was cloudless; but visibility was so limited that the horizon and all the outlines of the mountains were indistinct. Behind, that is, southwest of these mountains - they form only a narrow chain like theater wings - one comes to the basin of the sub-prefecture Di dao tschou and into the environs of the Tao Ho, one of the most important tributaries of the Hwang Ho. In this basin, too, there is loess everywhere, but it is not very thick (about 40 centimeters). Below it there are soon to be found red tertiary and mostly horizontal layers of clay of huge proportions. These have molded the hilly and mountainous landscape of today and formed the valley which is several kilometers wide at the city of Di dao. 133

Di dao tschou belongs to the good cities of Kansu. It has possibly 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, tobacco manufacturing establishments, many lumber companies connected with the spruce forests of the southern mountains, and is connected with Lanchow by a highway leading over the Kwan Shan. (1) Two important roads lead south 361 487

1. Part of the mountain range Hsin lu Shan, just described. As we mentioned earlier, the Chinese does not name mountain chains but only mountain peaks.

from here and to the province of Szechwan, one over Min tschou and the other over Kung tschang fu.

The city of Di dao is already on the border of China. The Tibetans appear as a new element among the Chinese and Mohammedans. A Tibetan prince lives in the city itself, the so-called kia (pronounced dia) or tiao tu se (2) who has his own subjects. In the district of 631 563

2. T'u se or t'u sse (not to be confused with tu se or du se,

631 563 captain) is the Chinese name for the hereditary and domiciled Tibetan princes.

Di dao there are families who pay the kia tu se a sort of head tax and families who belong to the neighboring prince, the Yang tu se of Dschoni near Tao tschou, and in between live ordinary and Mohammedan Chinese who are subject to the tschou, the sub-prefect of Di dao. (3) These Tu se belong to the old Tibetan or Mongolian

3. The district of Di dao is said to have had 71,432 families or 516,000 inhabitants in 1831.

aristocracy, they have their own jurisdiction, but are treated condescendingly as barbarians by the Chinese officials in the province far from Peking, who have no feeling for aristocracy. When they are invited to dinner, the tu se - even though they may be holders of important mandarin buttons - must sit at the end of the table among the youngest lieutenants. In hereditary succession they must buy their position in the form of large sums of money payable to the /160/ provincial officials. They, like the Mongol princes of the Ordos and of Ala Shan are subject to special officials of the nearest Chinese district.

563 From Di dao tschou I traveled west through a country of loess- and clay hills and after three days came to the city of Ho tschou. My way was a carriage way, at least the Chinese used it for carriages. It led quite close to the Tibetan border. I had scarcely crossed the Tao River at Di dao tschou on the narrow, swaying wooden bridge which is set up on high sawhorses each winter when the river is low, when I met wild-looking figures dressed in limp and, in many cases, torn fur coats and with pliant, but determined, bold and imperious movements. They were the first Tibetans. Most of them were mounted. With a sword in their belts they sat on bony, scrubby ponies and pulled their stirrups and thighs so high up that their calves lay almost horizontally against the sides of the small riding horses. When such a horseman appeared my servants became obsequious; however, I had only Chinese from the lowlands, who had never seen a Tibetan. But the bronze-colored figures were capable of making even a European uncomfortable.

The farmers living along the road also took on a different appearance. There was as yet no noticeable difference in the way they were their pigtails, bound their feet or built their houses

[text continues on p. 263]

in the Lumi kingdom. (5) In this, they say, perfect happiness is to 771

5. Lumi or "Rumi guo" to the Chinese Mohammedans means Turkey, the Oriental Rome.

to be found even on earth and from there you can without effort ascend to heaven. In the Lumi kingdom a great emperor reigns, they say, who is emperor of all Mohammedans; pillage and murder never occur there and, neither the emperor and his subjects nor the officials there are ever guilty of injustice. "The emperor of Lumi is our emperor, too," say all the Hui hui in Kansu, and they began their countless uprisings so that they might really belong to him.

In the year 1895, at the instigation of a few wealthy Mohammedans, there was no fighting carried on around the city of Ho tschou. 563 346 Thus, there are still a great many mosques preserved here; the oldest and largest of them were, however, already destroyed after the uprising in the '70s. But in the territory of the Salar a little farther to the northwest, through which I came on my further journey, there was a good deal of fighting in 1895. These Salar, remnants of a /162/ Turkish group which last emigrated to China from the West - in the Ming period, it seems - allegedly under the leadership of a mullah who is buried west of the city of Hsün hoa, are said to come from what is today Russian Turkistan. The center of their country and the place from which their eight gun (1) into which 631

1. Community or district. This gun is a word that I heard only the Salar use. It is said to be Chinese (?). Besides the eight chief gun of Hsün hoa, there are a few wai (outer) gun. Altogether there are only two or three dozen Salar villages. Probably gun means "aggregate of a thousand" (see also p. 165). The names of the eight chief gun are: Keitse (Geitse) gun, Tsa tscha gun, Su dsche gun, Tsaghan gun, which lie west of Hsün hoa; and Tsching schui gun, Man da gun, Nei man gun, Tschang ga gun, east of Hsün hoa.

from ancient times they have been divided, are ruled by the Chinese, is the city of Hsün hoa, the residence of a ting. (2)

2. To the Hsün hoa ting also belong large Tibetan territories and the large Tibetan monastery of Labrang with its large district which reaches a distance of a many-days' journey

C 631 into Ngolok country. Thus the ting of Hsün hoa is one of the largest districts in Kansu and in China, but Chinese influence in it is extremely slight.

C T 133 361 My way to Hsün at first led along a little stream on which the city of Ho tschou is situated, up an alluvial valley which is several kilometers wide. For many hours I traveled along it between the mountains of loess. At first the road was alive with many people and horsemen. There were also countless villages, just as China proper, hidden between extensive groups of trees. Out of the thick bluish-white haze of the loess country in which I at first still found myself, gradually rocky and high, snow-covered mountain peaks began to emerge. The mountains around me also became higher, more and more chains rose up out of the loess landscape. In front of me beyond the loess hills of about 2,200 meters altitude, the Tai tse Shan arose steep and bold, and many other chains, all of which again indicated a northwest-southeast strike, followed close behind. I stood at the edge of the Tibetan highlands. The way grew lonelier, villages became scarcer, copses began. The inhabitants looked stranger and were dressed more gaily in each new village, more and more red was worn. Around the dwellings white flags fluttered merrily on tall masts. By the roadside stood brightly-painted houses, monastery buildings and monumental tschorten (stupa); ethnographically-speaking we had also reached Tibet. On the second day beyond Ho tschou I crossed a high pass, the Dar di La(Sinicized: T 778 Da tse Shan), 3,490 meters. Countless stones, especially white quartz fragments had been gathered together on the highest point of this pass and formed something that resembled our Alpine "stone man." Out of this pile of stones loomed sticks with many scraps of cloth on which there were inscriptions and with tufts of wool. It was the first Tibetan lab tse or obo (3), a shrine dedicated to the mountain

3. Pronounced lab tse, written lap rtse (according to Chandra Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary). Obo is Mongolian but is used by the border Chinese along with the word schan schen ta (literally: tower of the mountain spirit).

T 291 spirits. We met many Tibetans on that mountain and especially many Tibetan women, on foot and dressed in rags. In spite of the

have only one-story houses with spacious yards. 361

According to my observations, Hsining fu is 2,300 meters above sea level, while Hedin estimated only 2,265 meters, Grenard 2,250 meters and Filchner, on the other hand, by far the highest figure, namely, 2,380 meters. It lies in the middle of a flat alluvial valley, two kilometers wide, the floor of which can be irrigated, which fact determines the relative wealth of the inhabitants and above all the great cheapness of food supplies. The spot where the city stands 361 has again, of course, been very cleverly selected from a strategic 487 and economic point of view, namely, just below the point from which two broad-bottomed valleys, each containing an important road, branch off to the north and south (2) from the larger Hsining

2. The southern road leads to the Gum bum monastery and the city of Kue de ting; the northern one to Dai tung and farther toward Kanchow fu and the old Yümen, the gate toward Turkistan.

Ho Valley running from west to east. The mountains which enclose 133 these valleys are covered with loess and consist of the horizontal, red sandstone and clay strata which we find today under loess in such extensive areas of Northwest China, and which I have so often had occasion to mention. These reddish mountains rise up as much as 300 and 400 meters above the valley floor and are hopelessly bare. The summer rains are scarcely able to alter their faded color. Not even a tree anywhere. Even the willows and poplars around the villages are scarce. One very seldom sees large old trees anywhere in Kansu; they were cut down and burned during the many rebellions when the fetters of reason and right of ownership were loosened.

There is a great deal of rain in the region and many natural 631 springs. It is a little granery. Grain is sent from here to Lanchow 661 fu and many other places. The district also has a large untouched store of minerals. It is counted among the good sinecures. The best picture of its wealth is probably given by the annual income of the lowest civil mandarin, the Hsien, which amounts to between 20,000 and 30,000 taels (one tael is more than three marks, for the Hsining taels are very large). His regular income is, of course, as always in China, only 60 taels, the "rest" are perquisites. /173/ Taxes and - so it seems - lands which were formerly not surveyed but have now been reclaimed by the Chinese, and above all sentences in the many litigations make up the large sums.

Hanchung, now officially known by the name of the district as Nanch'eng, is a first class Hsien, and is one of the three or four wealthiest and most populous cities in the province. It lies in the centre of the rich cigar-shaped plain of the Han valley, surrounded by mountains, and in its situation and general appearance much resembles a smaller edition of Chengtu in Szechuan. Two crops, wheat followed by rice, are regularly raised on the plain. A considerable quantity of silk is also produced and some cotton. The situation of Hanchung in the centre of the most fertile region in the province and at the point of intersection of four trade routes, south to Szechuan, west to Kansu, north to the Wei valley, and east down the Han to the coast, has made it a considerable trade centre. For the same reason it has always been one of the richest and most important likin stations in the province, where the Chinese officials, as elsewhere, do their best to throttle the transit trade and kill the goose which lays the golden eggs by the excessive imposition of dues and tolls. There are few more lucrative offices in the province than that of Superintendent of the Hanchung Likin.

Hanchung is the administrative capital of the upper Han basin, and is the seat of a Taoyin and a Chenshoushih. The position of the former is that of Civil Superintendent of the magistrates in his jurisdiction. It is nowadays less important than it was in the days of the Manchus. Since the abolition of the hierarchical system of Tao, Fu, Chou, and Hsien, the territorial administration is entirely in the hands of the district magistrates acting directly under the Civil Governor of the province. Thus the magistrates correspond directly with the Governor and send copies of their despatches and reports to the Taoyin, so that the latter is short-circuited and the abolition of the post is sometimes advocated as being superfluous. Under the old system the Hsien reported to the Chou, the Chou to the Fu, the Fu to the Tao, and the Tao to the Governor, each being responsible for the acts of his subordinate. The position of Chenshoushih is that of a General with powers of military administration. At the present time, when things are more or less unsettled and the military rule the roost, a Chenshoushih often has powers which amount practically to those of an independent

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

631

Military Governor, and the Taoyin, as a civil official, has little importance. This was the state of affairs at the time of our visit, when the upper Han basin was almost a separate province by itself, isolated from the rest of Shensi by the barrier of the Ch'inling Shan. When Yuan Shih-k'ai was busy with his monarchical scheme and was centralizing his rule by posting his own Generals and detachments of his Northern troops at various strategic points in the provinces, he sent a Northern Mixed Brigade into the upper Han valley to hold that region, and to keep open his overland communications with Szechuan. Owing to the geographical isolation of its position this Brigade and its Northern General were still in Hanchung at the time of our visit, a year after Yuan and his short-lived Empire had been swept away by the rebellion of 1916, and were continuing to control the basin of the upper Han though the rest of the province was enjoying a sort of independent home rule. It must be admitted that under the control of these comparatively well-disciplined Northerners the Han valley was much more peaceful and less preyed on by brigands than the rest of the province under home rule. Provincial independence and the loose federal system into which the Republic of China is now again drifting do not tend towards the maintenance of political stability and public security in the interior. So far the history of the past six years in China has proved the absolute necessity of a strong central administration[1], though, in the opinion of many competent Chinese and foreign observers, Peking, tucked away in a far distant corner of the country, with its apparently incurable atmosphere of reaction, is no longer the proper place for the seat of Government.

[1] It is now becoming questionable whether a strong central administration is any longer attainable in China, and whether it would not perhaps be better for the country to develop along the lines of a federation of more or less autonomous provinces.

Inner Mongolia Alt 6
N.W. China AF:3

M 133 shore. (1)

1. I often measured the amount of mud present in one cubic meter of water from the Hwang Ho and found that it averaged close to six kilograms; after a day of rain in Bau de tschou I even obtained 6. 9 kilograms per cubic meter.

M 578 /146/ I reached Lanchow fu on November 4, after having had to travel on the last day only through the large loess-filled valley basin of this city. On the night before there was a final scene which I shall not withhold from my readers for it seems to me characteristic for the way of living, the thoughts and aspirations of the poor Kansu people. It had grown late by the time we reached the town of Hsiao ho kou. And it had cost me considerable effort to succeed in having a gate opened. When I had finally found shelter at a small inn, a fight broke out which looked serious to me. Women scolded and shouted and two old Chinese fathers pulled each other's pigtails and tried to knock one another down, trampling and kicking. Even though the yard where I had left my animals was only 8 meters by 8 meters large and on each of two sides there was only a low small house of three sections /kien/, yet the hotel was run by two parties. And I had nine animals! The two owners had disagreed as to who was to feed the ninth animal and pocket the small amount of money for straw (about 25 pfennig). When they finally separated, one of them pulled one of my nags over to his side by its halter while the other held on to the animal's tail. No amount of persuasion on my part had any effect and yet I did not care to play the part of Solomon and pronounce judgment!

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CHAPTER IV

/147/ In Kansu and on the Border of Tibet

C 361 631 491 Lanchow fu is the capital of the province of Kansu. And whenever a man from Kansu told me about his Lanchow fu and all about the cost of flour and bread, tobacco and liquor in the city, he always told of the wonder of the world to be found there, namely, the pontoon bridge across the great Yellow River. "You foreigners surely have nothing like that," I was assured. "There is nothing like it under heaven." [text continues on p. 241]

it under heaven." 361

The common people usually call the city of Lanchow fu, Gao lan hsien, after the title of the sub-prefect or head of the district (hsien) who has his seat there and who chiefly deals with the people. (1) The city lies close to the right bank of the Hwang Ho where 631

> 1. This post of Gao lan hsien was supposed to be a very busy one but poorly paid. These officials were therefore usually transferred to a good sinecure after a year. If they knew how to make a good impression on their superiors and relieve them of a great deal of work, they usually got Tsin tschou in the following year. I heard of a mandarin who three times changed over from one of these posts to the other, i.e., in one year he had to supplement his salary, whereas in the next, his earnings were very good. [661]

the latter narrows down for a short distance to a width of only 250 meters. There is no other place up and down the river where there is a similarly favorable spot for crossing over.

Each winter at this place the Yellow River is frozen over for at least one and one-half months, so that even heavily-laden freight wagons can drive across. The opening of this natural bridge which took place toward the end of December was always a great festival occasion and was celebrated with great pomp. First of all the Gao lan hsien as fu mu kwan, i.e., father-mother-mandarin, as the patriarchally-minded Chinese calls his district chief, had to drive over the ice in his gala carriage, accompanied by a large retinue, in order to prove that the ice was safe. On the other hand, in fall and spring when the ice broke up, river traffic was often blocked for days or weeks. One could, perhaps, at the risk of one's life cross the raging stream between the ice floes on a raft of goat-skin bags. But in the spring when the ice had disappeared, the famous pontoon bridge, the afore-mentioned wonder of the world, was set up at the expense of the provincial government. Twenty-two box-shaped wide boats of poplar wood were held together with heavy iron chains and especially with thick hemp ropes, as may be seen on Plate XXXIV. On top of these were laid unfinished planks, but so unevenly that one seldom dared ride across on horseback. Everywhere there were large holes, everywhere the planks rocked and tipped. The wooden railing, too, was more to look at than to lean on. Even Europeans regarded the bridge as a wonder of the world, but only /148/ to 133 481 527 491

361 563 443 Dankar is a most interesting place, compared to the eternal monotony of other Chinese cities and city dwellers. And no wonde It is the most important gate into Northeast Tibet! There is no other city until one gets to Tatsienlu in the south that has such convenient connecting roads into the interior of Tibet as well as into the rich trade sources of the lowlands toward the coast. Not only the nomads living around the Koko Nor, but also the Tsaidam Mongols, even those from Tätschinär, Lhasa merchants and inhabitants of the Tibetan province of K'am all come to Dankar. They all get edibles, primarily. For many tribes the market place of Dankar, or Dunkur gäsching, as they say, is almost the only /180/ place where they can trade in their wool, skins and salt for their annual supply of flour, tea, and luxury items. The Tibetans of the northeast have become economically completely dependent on the Chinese.

485 437 631 The practical-mindedness of Chinese officials, which is alway bent on the cheapest possible management, has drawn its own advantages from this and prepared its administrative regulations accordingly. From olden times there has existed in Dankar the arrangement of the hsië dia (hsië kia) (1), that is, officially-recognized lodgings for nomads. In former times each tribe even had i own particular hsië dä where only the members of one tribe might live as long as they were in the city. Today this system has chang insofar as the nomads may freely choose their hsië dia, but everyo still adheres strictly to the rule that Tibetans and Mongols do not use the ordinary inns, but that these are open only to Chinese. There are about thirty hsië dia in Dankar. Their innkeepers, Chinese or Mohammedans, must buy the right to house Tibetans or Mongols from the Chinese municipal board. They are wealthy people who, besides a spacious house also have large stables and cattle yards with room enough to take in a Tibetan with 300 yaks who arrives one day and a Mongol who arrives the next with almost as many camels.

The hsië dia arrangement is ancient. We learn about it also from Huc and Gabet, the two French Lazarists who came to Dank in 1845 dressed as Mongolian lamas. Huc tells definitely that as

1. hsie means "to rest"; kia means "house" or "family" (pronounced dia in the Hsining dialect).

hsiē dia the guests are charged nothing for lodging and food. Ac- 485
cording to the general custom of the country, the innkeeper makes 437
his money only on those who have something to sell. He negotiates 631
the wool sales of his guests, the sale or exchange of horses; he is agent and interpreter, as well as lawyer in the yamen and mediator in criminal cases between the tribe and the mandarin. However, this versatile role of an innkeeper is not a Chinese invention. Far in the interior of Tibet and far south, even in Tatsienlu and in many other Tibetan border towns I found it customary to balance the hotel bill only by a certain percentage of the turnover. In Dankar the Chinese officials have also imposed upon the hsiē dia (1) a

1. In Chinese hsiē dia is used both for the institution as well as for the owner and the employees.

certain responsibility and an obligation to give notice to the police, and in this way have made him at the same time a sort of representative of the Chinese yamen. For this reason one must always have a license in Dankar in order to take in Tibetans and Mongol from the interior; this costs 60-100 taels. Through the hsiē dia the officials learn who comes and goes. Tribes who have not subjected themselves to the jurisdiction of the Chinese may not visit the market in Dankar. This is regarded as a great disadvantage for far and near the city is known for its cheap goods, especially food. For instance, the Ngolok dealers may never enter the city. They spend the night in some corner not far off. But with larger caravans, with goods, /181/ they cannot venture to appear in the city. They may not carry on trade. Their things would immediately be confiscated and they would be accused of some theft or robbery which some other Ngolok years ago may have committed against a Chinese or a wealthy Tibetan and which the Chinese mandarins had not had a chance to punish, as in the case of the Denang. The Chinese Kansu government does not have a single military post in all of Northeast Tibet and yet their officials control a very large part of the country, with the exception of Ngolokhkaksum which nominally belongs to Szechwan.

In the year 1894 when the well-known French traveler Dutreuil 000
de Rhins was robbed and murdered in K'am and the French government insisted on punishment for the criminals, the Chinese officials first had the hsiē dia in Dankar arrest all the people of that tribe who had come to trade in the city. By means of these hostages they

000 sewed together the two lappets of my skin, right there on the shores of the lake, to my complete satisfaction. Fortunately, it was not a serious injury, only the skin of my head was slashed, the bone and periosteum had only been lightly bruised.

The rest of the day we traveled in a southeasterly direction, up
631 the valley of the Ara Gol, which rises almost imperceptibly. This
361 valley presumably represents the former drainage basin of the Koko Nor during a previous period of greater moisture when the lake was connected with the present-day Hwang Ho. Toward evening, shortly before twilight, we reached the walls of Tsaghan tscheng (1), i. e.,

1. Tsaghan is Mongolian meaning "white"; tsch'eng, Chinese, means "city." Such malformations occur largely on the Chinese-Tibetan border. The place is also called "ying pan ga tang" and was formerly called "tsaghan tologha."

the "white city," in which Mongolian khans formerly resided, and where later for a long time the Chinese amban of Northeast Tibet had his official seat and his troops. It is supposed to be only 90 or 100 years ago that the yamen there was discontinued and transferred to Hsining. About 35 years ago the last Chinese military camp of Northeast Tibet, which was stationed here, was withdrawn. Since then Tsaghan tsch'eng is deteriorating more and more. Only once a
796 year on the fifteenth day of the eighth Chinese month, when the Hsining fu amban is commissioned by the government to attend to the worship of the sea deities of the Koko Nor, new life returns to this town of the steppes. All Mongolian and Tibetan vassals of the region must appear for this festival. The nomad princes then come and live in hundreds of tents. In the middle of the ruins of the city a large felt yurt is set up for the amban. On the afternoon before the holiday the princes present themselves before the amban. Early the next morning the ceremony of worship takes place on a small hill outside the city, from which point one can just make out the surface of the lake on the distant horizon. The amban and the assembled princes fall on their knees, incense sticks are lighted, a piece of yellow silk which says that the emperor offers this sacrifice, is burned and everyone bows to the earth nine times. /204/ Thereupon the amban admonishes all the princes to maintain peace among each other and to remain faithful subjects. Then everyone rapidly disperses. By evening of that day the city of Tsaghan tsch'eng lies as lonely and dead on the steppes as ever before.

The crumbled loam walls and the old roofless yamen and temple 361
buildings lay bleak and desolate when we passed through. We were 631
still merely crawling along at a snail's pace. In the interior of the city, in a corner of an old ruin, we brewed our tea once more before we traveled on into the night. In spite of our weariness, none of us wanted to spend the night here. The cold which set in anew after sundown was too intense. We preferred to fumble along across the barren steppes. Even though we were now going along a well-traveled caravan road, we had difficulty in finding our way in the dark to Schara khoto. We did not reach it until morning. We had covered 140 kilometers on our flight. All of us had sore feet from the solidly frozen riding boots, and the three rescued ponies were also near exhaustion because they were too heavily loaded.

Schara khoto (1) is today the farthest Chinese military outpost 701 712

1. A Mongolian name meaning "yellow city." The Chinese [103]
call the town Scha la ku to and say that this means "city of the green meadow."

from Kansu. The Chinese government had stationed here a schu be (first lieutenant), a lieutenant and a few sergeants with 30-40 men (belonging to the green banner). They were armed with swords and matchlocks and a few old German drums and French horns. Thus, the detachment does not play a very important role. The soldiers even have difficulty defending themselves against the attacks of marauding Tibetans. There is an old wall but it is so large that it would take at least a regiment to defend it. There is also a large old parade ground. Between this and the city which is empty to- 241
day there live about thirty Chinese families who cultivate a few small acres in the vicinity, raising barley and wild oats. Nothing else grows here. It is an unspeakably miserable spot.

One of the Chinese immediately received us very hospitably in 574
his mud hut, and turned over his large warm kang to us. Without 276
wasting any words he immediately prepared a few opium pipes for us, for the Chinese say this is the best restorative if one is over-tired. I was the only one who did not smoke and I did not wake up until the next night, whereas my companions, all of whom had smoked, walked about vigorously early in the day.

Two days later I traveled back to Dankar. On this stretch I was 000
accompanied by fifteen armed men and half way to the city I was

C Tibet, the last on the Hwang Ho inhabited by Chinese, in fact the
361 last town on this river, and has been fortified especially well by the government. Tibetans live all around it; some of them are farmers, others, especially in the south and west, are nomads. The city of Kue de is only 2,310 meters high. It is the warmest city of all the border towns of the entire fu, i.e., the prefecture of Hsining to which it belongs. But directly west of the city, just above a few islands the Hwang Ho flows through a narrow ravine which it has cut into a terrace 250 meters higher, with steep embankments. On this terrace there is nowhere a small field or a house. Thus, Kue de is an oasis in the midst of wild, bare mountains. When we /264/ left the Hsining Valley there was not a touch of green to be seen on the numerous willows and poplars, but in Kue de peach blossoms peeped coquettishly out from among the green shoots of pear orchards and budding wheat fields. (1)

C 563 631 T 101
1. This region at one time also belonged to the Hsi Kiang and later to the Tu ku hun, and beginning with the end of the seventh century, to the Tu fan (Tibetans). During the Yüan dynasty the city of Ho tschou formed the outermost Chinese government station on the border. There a department was set up for the Tu fan, and its sphere of influence reached as far as Kue de. Later the town of Kue de was, however, lost to the dynasty and was not regained until 1371 under Hung wu. In 1376 it came under the military district of Ho tschou wei and the Tibetans were given a horse- and tea-market as in Mo bai tschen. The city wall of Kue de was erected in 1380. At that time 48 soldier-families were settled here from Ho tschou who were assigned tax-free fields for themselves and their descendants, for which they were obliged to perform military service as militiamen. Thereupon Tibetans and other Chinese settled in the vicinity. In 1723 the city was hard pressed by the Mongols under Lobzang Dandsin whose headquarters were at Mo bai tschen, but it successfully resisted. In 1739 the town came under the rule of the Hsining Hsien. In 1762 Kue de became a separate
T hsien under Hsining fu, and later a ting.

[651] There are only a few Chinese farms belonging to the Kue de district, but, on the other hand, 54 tax-paying tribes of Tibetans (mostly farmers) and 19 partly-exempt Tibetan tribes (nomads). Nominally, more or less all Tibetans

belong to it on the right Hwang Ho bank as far as 180 kilometers (aerial distance) or eight to ten travel-days south of the city of Ting. In the east it borders the sphere of influence of the hsün hoang ting and farther south that of the tao tschou. The greatest Tibetan prince is the ts'ien hu of Lutsang, Lubungko, who gets an annual salary if he is not guilty of any major crime. After the last war in which at the end he played the part of mediator, he was awarded the red button and was given about 900 bushels of grain annually. After the Lutsang chief, the Dantschie ts'ien hu with the two tribes of Wanschgoro and Tschoch'ru (altogether 1,000 families) is the most powerful ruler. Other nomad tribes are: west of Kue de the Ts'aner, Tschebts'a and Rengan; south and southeast between the city and Lutsang: the Wulang Ats'o, Dschesa, Nerta, Kamba, Bara, Baa-Mongra (800 families) and Gonts'a. Many nomad tribes pay an annual tax in lamb skins instead of the horse tax which was instituted in the Ming period. Each nomad family is supposed to pay a tschü lin (lamb) skin worth 0.5-0.6 tael. In this way 9,000-10,000 skins are received annually. But the ting taxes the farmers around Kue de after each harvest for the amount of the seed that was sown in the fields in spring. The ting, in turn, is required to give gifts to the 24 monasteries in his district.

C 563 631 T 101

An earth wall ten meters high, with a rectangular ground plan, with very few gates through which a horseman can just about squeeze himself on horseback (that is to say, if he stoops down), gives us here an exact picture of the old Roman frontier camps on the former Limes germanicus. The wall encloses the official buildings and the chief shrines of the Chinese patron saints, besides a few dozen miserable Chinese shacks in which the soldiers and the officials with their families live. On the town wall I saw large piles of stones the size of a fist, which had been gathered together to be used for defense. The actual life and bustle of the city, buying and selling, is carried on in front of the south gate. There are a number of streets there along which Tibetans, Mongols, Mohammedans, as well as Chinese merchants have their shops and dwellings. This section is extremely picturesque. Countless lamas in their attractive costumes idly fingering their beads, lounge about there during the day around the open bazaars, the upper part of their gowns slung

C 361 631 [712]

361 over their shoulders, like the togas of an ancient Roman. Defiant-
631 looking Tibetan horsemen, their long guns with meter-long forked supports on their backs, ride through the streets on strong ponies, often bargaining haughtily from their saddles with the shop owners. This outer city or suburb is also surrounded by an earth wall with
674 gates, for Kue de is not very safe. A small theft or robbery is the order of the day, in spite of the fact that there are only about 400
432 families (2,000-3,000 inhabitants) living in the city. An incident that happened while I was there best illustrates the conditions. A Tibetan yeoman, son of a chief, of one of the Lutsang /265/ tribes in the southern part of the city, had sold a horse to a Chinese merchant. But hardly had the deal been closed when a rumor arose that the Tibetan had stolen the horse from a neighboring tribe. Now in order to pose, not as a common thief, but as a grandseigneur who would not let such a fatal accusation rest upon himself, and also to avoid conjuring up political difficulties for his entire tribe, our Tibetan was forced to return the stolen horse to its former owner, a Tibetan. For, just as was the case during the period of our robber barons, the Tibetans lay great stress on good manners and reputation. So the young man goes to the Chinese in order to buy back the horse. In his distress, he even offers slightly more than he got for it. But the Chinese is merciless. He will not under any circumstances cancel the bargain. Of course, the Tibetan cannot offer him so very much because he stole the horse in order to recoup his finances. What does a Tibetan do in such a dilemma? The next day as the Chinese is leading his horse out from its stable, the Tibetan knocks him down, swings himself onto the horse and disappears into the steppes, never to be seen again. His friends bring the animal to the owner from whom it was first stolen. Honor has been restored. A Chinaman does not count here.

631 On the morning after our arrival I went first to the ŏr fu, the ting, in the interior of the city. At the gate of his yamen I was received with a salute of guns, a great honor in China, for which I was indebted to the amban and which implied the wish that I should not go into the Ts'ao ti from here.

The yamen building was in a surprisingly dilapidated condition; the town is very unpopular among the officials. None of them stays more than a year and so no one has the offices and living quarters put into shape. When it rains only a few rooms are weather-proof. Even in the guest room large pieces of wall paper hang down from the ceiling. Through the holes one could see the

tiles of the roof beams and between the tiles the sun came in. Fortunately the weather was fair when I visited the house. 631

I was ushered into the same room in which during the previous 721 year the "war of Kue de" had begun. I sat on the same wide bench, on the same cushion covered with shabby red cotton material on which His Buddhistic Holiness, the much-feared Tibetan lama, the incarnation of the black monastery had sat the year before and exchanged honeyed, false words with the then ting of Kue de. He had come at the request of the Chinaman in order to bid farewell as a friend before setting out on a long journey, and had just received a large yüan bau, a piece of silver weighing about two kilograms, from the hands of the ting for whom he was supposed to buy incense and Indian dates in Lhasa. His retinue, about 300 armed men, awaited him on the plain outside the city. The two talked for hours. The Chinaman even wanted the Tibetan to dine with him. But the errand, the honeyed words, the invitation, all that had been merely a snare and a delusion.

The holy lama was known to be the head of a robber tribe which made life miserable for the poor city dwellers. His men had their tribal headquarters below Kue de, to the right of the Hwang Ho, behind high, steep mountains, in ravines which were accessible only by means of /266/ narrow paths and only in single file. From here they kept the whole countryside in a state of terror. No one could travel peaceably across the country. The largest caravans were plundered. The inhabitants of the city were on the point of deserting it. The city's commerce, its entire significance were destroyed. Right in front of its gates the bullocks and donkeys of the Chinese were snatched away from the ploughs. Anyone who pretended to offer resistance was shot down. Finally in 1905 a young, newly-arrived ting had the courage to defend the interests of his subjects. After giving a report of the situation to the central government, he was given the power to call the incarnation to task. He invited the great lama to his house. And when the invitation was accepted and the lama's coming announced a few days in advance, one courier after another galloped to Hsining with the request for further authority. The ting asked permission to arrest the lama. He asked for troops. But for days no answer was forthcoming. The amban lacked the courage to take over the responsibility. In fact, he was inclined to side with the Tibetans. The ting sent to Lanchowfu, and from there he telegraphed to Peking for detailed instructions. But on the miserable path to Lanchow fu it takes a rider two days, even if he can change

This war followed the pattern that had been established for 726 millennia in China. The people from Lanchow fu set out for war without any kind of plan, and hoped for some kind of solution short of open battle, either by means of endless negotiations, orders and counter-orders from the distant throne, or primarily by the presence of an army.

The good ting, a man of action, was, of course, immediately 631 discharged, lost his position and his honors because he could not pay for the whole war himself. A few years later I saw the young, vigorous and intelligent man still waiting patiently but not very hopefully in Lanchow fu for a settlement in his favor of the long-drawn-out civil suit against his superiors. But if Ru da lao ye should ever get another post, he will surely never again help an oppressed people! To me the most characteristic aspect of the whole thing was the fact that in Kue de shop-keepers, my host and many farmers spoke in the most exalted terms of Ting Ru as their savior, but no one turned a hair for the dishonored one. Unless one had a great deal of money in Old China, one did not dare be a person of action. One had to keep strictly to wu wei, i.e., not take any action and simply let things happen.

The present ting of Kue de turned out to be a very cultivated literary man and an archaeologist. He had a great understanding for the oldest Chinese characters. He had not bought his rank. He had, already in the 'sixties, brilliantly passed his state examinations, and later, too, he was famous for his classical poetry and the number of his classical quotations, so that it seems strange that he never took the higher state examinations and achieved a still higher position. But, of course, he was not a rich man's son.

An hour after my visit in the yamen, the ting called on me at 538 my inn. As a present he brought me a poem more than a square meter in size, which he had composed himself and written with his own hand, partly in Old Chinese symbols. It depicted the dangers of the Ts'ao ti, that is, of Tibet, in the blackest colors imaginable. He predicted that I would never escape if I ventured to go there. It almost seemed to me as though the amban had advised me to go to Kue de only in order to have me talk to this man. The refrain was always: Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate, as though the old mandarin had, with his opium-stained fingers, turned the leaves of Dante's Divine Comedy and as though the haughty Chinaman who disdains anything foreign had copied some of the great poet's most gruesome passages.

On the loess was tall, thick grass. But there was no running water anywhere. A few Tibetan tent communities lay scattered in between the loess deposits, taking advantage of the frequent spring snows. They belonged to the Gomi Tibetans. On the day before our arrival one of their yak had slipped on a steep slope in grazing and had fallen into the abyss and broken its neck. The owners were poor people and hard hit by the loss of the animal. But the Tibetans never use the meat of animals killed by an accident. They say that it pleased God to kill the animal, therefore it is not right for man to use the meat. My Mohammedans, too, would have nothing to do with the meat, for it was not kosher. The Chinese, on the other hand, laughed at the silly Tibetans, fetched half the ox from down in the hole and cooked and fried the meat all night long and the next day the donkeys of the soldiers had an added heavy burden to carry. In spite of their poverty, the Tibetans did not even take the skin off the animal, but let the soldiers have even that, although the yak skin was worth a seventh of the entire value of the animal.

On April 26 we first retraced our steps and then went south of the Bayan Nor to the west. The lake is very appropriately given the Mongolian epithet bayan, meaning the "rich one." There is an abundance of grass here and thousands of sheep and cattle grazed in the /292/ vicinity of it. These pastures once belonged to one of the squadrons of the Khoit Mongols and today to the Tschamri Tibetans who have their own chieftain and are quite independent of other tribes. They have 340-350 tents. Farther west in a valley of the South Koko Nor Mountains they own a monastery. Besides the Buddha images, the spirit of the Amne Sertschen, the mountain peak that rose before me on the morning after the attack, is worshipped here. The monastery belongs to the Gelugba. Wherever the Mongols used to be the rulers, the "yellow ones" are today the undisputed saviors. For it is the Koko Nor Mongols who are responsible for present-day significance of the Gelugba sect and the Dalai Lama. But there are only miserable remnants left of the once powerful patrons; only a great many place names and names of mountains were left over from the Mongolian period and adopted into Tibetan. The Mongols once lorded it here as did the Germans knights in Courland and Esthonia; for several hundreds of years the Tibetans were bondsmen to them. The Mongols were the civilizers here. Under their rule there was more order; they lived in the land and had an interest in it. Now conditions are intolerable. Chinese politics in Tibet are based on the

theory of divide et impera, and it suits them perfectly if the natives massacre each other. The Chinese have no real interest in the country. If they had, how could they have tolerated the governor of the huge province of Koko Nor, my amban from Hsining fu, who lived outside his district and was a frail, childish old man who left administrative matters completely in the hands of uncultivated secretaries and interpreters, and who never ventured farther into his kingdom than to Tsaghan tsch'eng (to the place of sacrifice, 50 lis west of Schara khoto) where he never stayed more than one day a year!

On this day, when the soldiers realized that I turned south from the Bayan Nor, their leader said that they would not be able to accompany me any farther, that they had already gone beyond the territory controlled by their superior officer. I saw no reason to keep the worthless gang any longer. I gave them their salary, they kowtowed to me and soon disappeared in the opposite direction, singing merrily. With them went a final letter to my parents which duly arrived at its destination three months later.

South of the Bayan Nor and the South Koko Nor Mountains which I have frequently mentioned, there stretches out a huge steppe known as the tala. I now planned to cross this because almost nothing was known about the size and nature of it. The name tala originally came from the Mongolian and, like the Tibetan yung, means simply a wide valley in the steppes. But today the Tibetans of the region use the word as a place name. The flat surface of the tala is shaped like an acute-angled triangle. The acute angle lies at the extreme west, somewhat farther west than the Dábassu Nor, the great salt lake which is famous for its easily-obtainable and pure cooking salt. The north side of the triangle is the South Koko Nor range, the south side is a chain which has been entered on our maps as the Semenow Mountains, after the famous Russian explorer, His Excellency Semenow-Tian-schansky. /293/ It is 200 kilometers from the top of this triangle to its base. The base is 80 kilometers wide and is formed by the Hwang Ho which comes roaring through a narrow, steep crevice, 150 meters deep. The Hwang Ho enters this region from the south and after it has flowed across the plain diagonally, it follows the eastern extension of the South Koko Nor Mountains to the city of Kue de.

The great plain was a determining factor for the course of the Hwang Ho. It, at last, conquered the river which leaves Tibet after a wandering course. One can see the steppes continue on the right

was accepted! Two Tibetans ride up to us and lead us to an attractive meadow not far from the tent of the humbo. There we pitch camp. Our animals are led to pasture by the Tibetan shepherds. But the warriors disperse as quickly as they have come. Most of them disappeared without having honored us with a glance. After all, a much greater danger for the tent village might arise the next minute from some other source! Poor Tibetans, they can never enjoy their property!

I now learned that we had come to the Sidia tribe. It is 130 families strong and at that time owned an extensive territory on the left side of the Hwang Ho, between the Tschürnong River and the Hwang Ho (Plate LXV). The humbo of the tribe was called Tschubttscha and did not have a mandarin button from the Chinese government, which means that his emperor did not recognize him. Nevertheless, the tribe is not as independent and wild as the Ngolok tribes. The Sidia Tibetans are still permitted to travel to the Dankar market and buy flour and other supplies.

The suzerainty of the Chinese over North Tibet is - as I have said before - entirely a food question; it is maintained only because of certain needs of the nomads. The latter have an abundance of nourishment as such, but apart from a few vegetables, onions and the potentilla roots, their diet consists purely of animal produce. They have meat and milk and milk products, such as butter, sour milk and dried pot cheese. But from ancient times the Tibetan nomads have been so used to cereals that they find it very unpleasant and unwholesome if they are obliged to get along without these. Most of them are modest and behave themselves and do not rob government caravans because if they did they would not be permitted to buy grain in the Chinese market. The Sung pan dealers come every year to the Sidia and the Ngolok, as well as to the Schüch'tsong, etc., but they do not bring much flour because selling flour does not pay. The great risks which the merchants assume on the way do not by any means balance the profits, and besides, too many pack animals are required. Furthermore, the home of these merchants, Sung pan ting, is in the Szechwan province and thus they do not come from a region abounding in grain. In Szechwan there is more rice, corn and tea cultivated. The Sung pan merchants bring mostly tea. The tsamba and the wheat which the nomads prize is more cheaply and consistently furnished by the Kansu markets, especially the city of Dankar with the extraordinarily fertile Hsining Valley beyond it. That is also why the resident minister of Northeast Tibet can have his seat in Hsining, that is,

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439 outside the territory ruled by him. The government in Hsining never encourages its compatriots, the Chinese merchants, to extend
631 their trade to Tibet. On the /317/ contrary, the Chinese who wish to do business in Tibet must pay the yamen large sums annually for their license and on top of it, the Chinese officials rigorously tax all goods that are brought across the border by Chinese. But the Tibetan nomads are permitted to cross the border free and without paying likin, if they belong to an irreproachable tribe. The Tibetans are treated as extraterritorial persons. But if a member of a tribe has committed an offense, the chieftain and the whole tribe are held
T responsible. If the fine imposed on the tribe is not paid, the market
[579] is not open to the tribe as a whole. It is, of course, not always easy to find out which tribes belong to a robber band, for the robbers of that region operate largely the way the highwaymen of former times in Europe did: they blacken their faces or wear a mask. All the populous Ngolok tribes on the Upper Hwang Ho have been forbidden for reasons of state to visit the market in Dankar because they have scored far too many misdeeds. For their flour supplies they travel into the valleys on the Upper Yangtze Kiang or to the Labrang gomba not far from Hsün hoa ting. The roads thither are very poor. And besides, the barley they buy there is more expensive and there is less of it than in Dankar because it goes through the hands of middlemen before it gets there. For these reasons alone the Ngolok tribe of
C
631 Horkurma (1) whose pastures are situated along the uppermost part of

1. I have visited this tribe repeatedly, the last time in the winter of 1907. In 1904 I was there with W. Filchner. Filchner mistakenly refers to it as "Rischowarma"; he mistook the name of a town for the name of a tribe. At that time the tribe was encamped at Retschüwarma, meaning Re Tschü estuary, that is, into the Hwang Ho. The tribe, of course, consists only of nomads who change their camp site every few weeks and can therefore never call themselves after one particular camp site.

the Hwang Ho has been trying for decades to come under the jurisdiction of the Hsining government. But the Hsining government does not want to accept them because the Horkurma group is justly considered one of the most notorious of the robber bands. It was Horkurma men who once assaulted General Prschewalski's caravan and whose attack the great explorer describes in a letter to the Tsarevich, dated August 8,

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1884, (2) in the following words: "They threw themselves into the C 631

2. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, 1885, p. 171.

attack with piercing shrieks. The hooves of their steeds rumbled hollowly on the damp field. Their long spears glittered and gleamed; their long cloth garments and their black wavy hair flew in the wind. The wild, bloodthirsty horde descended on us like a cloud" etc., etc. In 1907 I saw an old man in the tents of the Horkurma, who has been limping around since that time. A Russian bullet smashed one of his legs and I had to present him with an extra khádar for this.

The Sidia Tibetans had been at the spot where we encountered them for only a few days. Shortly before, the old mother of the chief had died. The tribe had quickly pushed on to the new encampment, after having left the old woman's body in a ravine, so that it could be devoured by vultures. Since then, there were many hundreds of butter lamps burning in the tent of the chief and priests were constantly praying there. The /318/ fear of the spirit of death is what drives the relatives forth into a new camp so quickly. For the same reason, the clothes of the dead person are no longer worn by any of the relatives, and the smallest object must be released from the spirit's ban before the heirs accept it. The Tibetans believe that otherwise the deceased will inflict all kinds of discomfort and misfortune on the new owner of these things. The dead and the living hate each other. T 768 775

We did not travel on until May 22. Meanwhile it had rained much and heavily. The summer monsoon had set in in full force. The temperature stayed above freezing. Heavy cloud masses came up from the southeast. C 132

During the two days, the humbo had visited us only once in our tents. Most of the time no one paid any attention to us. All my men were vexed and anxious because the humbo had not reciprocated in giving us presents. They concluded that he was hostile to us. But instead of being on the alert they became ill-humored. At night I found the sentries sleeping in their tents and during the day I discovered three of the men openly smoking opium. In the contracts I specified that I would not tolerate opium smokers, and each one I hired had assured me that he did not smoke. Now I discovered that there were some who did. But when, by reason of my contract, I took away their opium and also wanted to confiscate their apparatus for smoking, they applied their knives to their throats and threatened to 000

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loaders) and heard that some of us - as Da Tschang lied to them - were soldiers of the amban. I wanted to buy sheep from them but they had only small flocks. They[1] are very poor, live far away from the markets, and cannot, like the Koko Nor Tibetans, pay for their flour needs in part by salt transports, but can only barter their skins and sheep wool. One afternoon, accompanied by Da Tschang, I went from tent to tent peddling thread and canvas, needles, razor blades and wool belts, combs, knives and rosaries. In one of the tents I was a witness to the native method of shaving and hairdressing. The local Fan tse dressed like the Chinese. But they shaved a larger area of their heads, and allowed less top hair to grow long. Their method of shaving cried to heaven. They used their every-day knives that hung on their belts and shaved completely dry, or moistened their hair with a little cold water. Like all Tibetans, they plucked the hair of their beards with pincers. T 609 T 511 437 T 302

Close to the black Rengan tents, separated only by a small brook, were the whitish felt yurts of the Schang rdi Mongols. I set up my camp, number 51, in their midst. The Mongols were also not very hospitable, in fact almost hostile, but I would not let myself be frightened off and stayed several days among them. In the end I succeeded in getting them to sell me sheep and milk, but I was not permitted to enter their yurts. I appeared in European dress among them and had to fight their notion that I could cast a spell on all the silver I spent so that it would come back to me after a time. C 563

Schang rdi has a peculiar political position in Northeast Tibet; it /336/ is not under the jurisdiction of Hsining fu and its Mongolian banner general, but under the sdeba gschung, the Lhasa government. (1) C 631

1. In the Meng gu yu mu dyi (the Chinese chronicle of the Mongol nomads) it is mentioned as the Schang tsa country of a kampo of Pan tschen Erdeni (of Tashelhunpo).

Like all of the Tsaidam territory, it is largely inhabited by Mongols. (2) [563]

2. Tsaidam literally means "salt swamp." It is a word used by Mongolians and Tibetans (ts'a meaning "salt," dam, "swamp)" One always speaks of five Tsaidam dominions: Taidschinär, Dsun, Barun in the south, and in the north: Kurluk and Kukut.

Here, too, Mongolian rule was weakened by the rebellion mentioned

[1] [The Rengan Tibetans. — Analyst] [text continues on p. 563]

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631 on page 313 of the Mongol Lobdzang Dandsin in 1723, against Chinese suzerainty. Since that time the small Mongol barons or earls - or whatever one chooses to call them - are banner leaders directly subject to the Chinese government. When the small canton of Schang rdi was left without a leader more than 200 years ago, the Mongol aristocrats presented the manor estate to the Dalai Lama and the Lhasa government, because they were unable to agree as to who among them was to inherit it. At that time they were not even obliged to ask permission of the Chinese government to do this. Now Lhasa sends a kampo, a high Tibetan priest from Tashelhunpo (corresponding to a bishop in the hierarchy), thither, who levies taxes for his government and is replaced every three years. The Schang territory, because it belongs to Lhasa, has become a place of refuge for all those who have reason to fear Chinese justice. Since the autumn of 1904 the Pamba group of the Gân ts'a tribe is also living here, the same who, the summer before, murdered a good acquaintance of mine, the amban interpreter Ts'ai on the north shore of the Koko Nor. It was Ts'ai's official duty to visit thirty families. A dispute arose and when Ts'ai was about to depart and step out of a tent, the people collapsed it over his head and stabbed him through the tent wall. The group then packed up their belongings immediately and set out for Tsaidam, the dominion of Schang rdi. The custom of the inviolable right of hospitality is unknown to the Tibetans. They can murder and plunder a guest in their tent without scruple. This fact was confirmed by all the Chinese merchants whom I questioned. They can be kept within bounds only by good weapons and [186] a resolute bearing. Chinese never trust the Fan tse; on the contrary, they believe them capable of any kind of betrayal and baseness. They say: "The Fan tse is like a dog; if you show fear, it gives him courage and he gets more and more impudent. But if you deal harshly with him, he draws in his claws and never stirs."

However, this knowledge does not help the Kansu government very much. In the last thirty years it has pulled itself together sufficiently to deal only one good blow at the Tibetans. This was the result of pressure brought to bear by the French, when the murder of Dutreuil de Rhins had to be avenged. But the Kansu officials miscalculated this corrective expedition so dearly, that the central government in Peking is loathe to consider such undertakings. It is true, the money for this expedition largely flowed into the pockets of the officers. No one speaks more of "face saving" /337/ than the Kansu people, but that is not affected by the fact that since 1800

[text continues on p. 565]

they lose one district after another in their part of Tibet, and that their officials cheerfully return from the interior after a defeat, as did the Dankar ting, for example, in 1905 when he came from the Ngolok country, or that they allow the murder of a Ts'ai by the Tibetans to go unavenged and unpunished. Thus, even the Mongol banner leaders who are much less war-like than the Tibetans permit themselves all kinds of tyrannies.

My Camp 51 beside the tent village of the Schang Mongols was again in a beautiful spot (Plate LXXIV and LXXIII). There toward the north the rocky crags become gradually lower and the mountains descend to the sands of the Tsaidam border, so that one was able to see a distance of about 100 kilometers to the north. In the south there is a sharp ascent up to more than 4,000 meters and the peaks there are snow-capped. But on the lower part of all the northwesterly, northerly and northeasterly slopes, the mountains are covered with small stands of mountain cedars, forming glades of old, gnarled trunks. The fresh green pastures that extend down from the edge of the woods were alive with countless white dots - sheep and goat herds. There were black masses in between comprising the yak cattle, and dappled masses consisting of horses and camels. Horses are insatiable; they graze from morning till night. Cattle are more quickly satisfied. Ploughing up the earth with their horns, wildly snorting, grunting, their bushy tails held high, the yaks disport themselves on the pastures. It is a good thing that the Mongols and Tibetans have the custom of letting only the hornless males go uncastrated and of using them for breeding steers. But even these are not as wild as ours. It is peculiar that hornless animals occur very frequently among domestic yaks. When they do have horns these are not bent in all kinds of ways like those of the European and Chinese colored cattle, but are always regular and shaped like those of the wild yak. In fact, the build of the tame yaks is exactly like that of the wild ones, except that they are smaller and have a weaker bone structure. (1)

1. I never once saw a white spot on the wild yak. Their tail is also completely black.

The Mongol women here wear their hair like the Tibetans. They part it in the middle and twist it with butter into countless tiny braids which are joined and hang down the back. They also wear a separate braid that starts at the crown of the head, and from which a piece of red cloth ribbon a few centimeters wide extends down the back. This

see it?

That is where Hoang schang (emperor) burns incense and makes offerings to the mighty spirit. Five or six years ago I was there with Be tschal sche (3). At that place he lighted a few small Chinese

3. The equivalent of Bi tieh sche, commissar, a Chinese form of the Manchurian title bitheschi for the official who was sent from Hsining to Dscherkundo in Yü schu every three years, and who at the same time made an offering at the Sea of Stars in the name of the emperor.

incense candles and burned some yellow sacrificial paper. This must be done every three years at the command of the great emperor in Tsching tsch'eng. (4) Six white sheep are also dedicated to the great

4. Literally, "capital," the most common name for Peking among the Kansu people.

spirit each time, so that he will protect the great lowland in the south of China from floods. Each of us brought along a stone and added it to the obo; then we threw ourselves on the ground facing the Kuenlun Mountain and touched the earth three times with our foreheads, just like our Schu be (5) and like Be tschai sche. But the Mongol leaders

5. Probably corresponding to the officer's rank of captain of the green banner in the Manchu empire.

burned cedar twigs and rode around the obo.

Then we released the six sacrificial sheep. And on we went toward the south. After ten days we came to the first tents of "Those with the Red Hats." (6)

6. Hung mao tse- "those with the red hats" (namely, lama) is what the Hsining-Chinese call the K'am Tibetans who are under the administration of Hsining. (In the Hsining dialect tse equals te.)

/15/ "South of the obo is an old battlefield," Tschang went on to report, "and to this day the Hung mao tse (the red-hatted ones) sing of it:

rdya nagbo sdyenba dar
sog serbo sdyenba niam.

The offering of the black-clad Chinese rose up,
The offering of the yellow-clad Mongols was forced down."

The last remark referred to the conquest of Tibet by the Manchu dynasty. In 1724 under Emperor Yung tsch'eng, the Manchu general and prince "Ta" (Ta ai) created the minister-residency of Hsining fu. To this day he is known to every K'am Tibetan and honored in songs (1)

1. In the year 1731, i.e. eight years after the defeat of Lobzang Dandsin (See pages 312 and 313, Vol. I), Norbo Taidschi, the Dsassak of the western Torghut banner, as well as Duke Latsab, the Dsassak of the southern, left Khoschot banner, and Araptan Taidschi of the southern, front Torghut banner rose up against the Manchu. All three banners were near Rardscha gomba on the Hwang Ho. The Norbo people drove out all Chinese that had settled down on the Koko Nor. It was the last flare-up of the love of liberty and the old lust for power of the Mongols of Koko Nor. The Khoit of the Bayan Nor immediately came to the assistance of the Chinese, and in 1732 under the amban Ta ai these last heroes of freedom were defeated on a battlefield south of the Soloma and not far from Muru (muren) ussu. Norbo was captured and beheaded in Hsining. In this way a larger part of K'am was brought under the administration of Hsining.

as the Selanf dorge amban, the Hsining amban with the yellow, golden girdle.

Suddenly, without any organic relationship, the wide plain of the Sea of Stars, which is many kilometers broad, stretches out from the midst of numerous hills and mountains. It looks like a filled-in lake through which the Soloma (the Mongolian name for the upper Hwang Ho) follows its winding course. Somewhat farther to the east of the place where the obo of the Odontala (Mongolian name for "Sea of Stars") looms up, the blue mirror of Ts'aring Nor begins. It is surrounded with many green hills and sends out countless inlets far into the hilly country, between low slopes filled with hollows

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German castle, while the ordinary priests' houses are spread out on the main mountain behind like a neat little village. (Plate XXVI). In the dschong on the cliff lives the ruler of the Dscherku tribe (Tibetan: sde schok), the Tsawu be hu. At present this is an incarnate lama of the Saskya sect, but it has only been in Manchu times that he has taken the place of the former secular and hereditary princely house. There is now fixed spiritual ownership instead of the hereditary succession of the old aristocratic families. The same soul which from time to time merely enters another body, so to speak, is now permanent master. But, strangely enough, this soul always keeps choosing aristocratic families. He still delivers his taxes to the Chinese every three years. For the rest, he as well as his neighbors are subordinate to the Nañ tsien king. In addition to him a second living Buddha has set up his labrang on the mountain. T 792

Since it is the most important place in a wide area, Dscherku ndo is also the center of the Chinese (i. e., Hsining) government in the entire "Hung mao ör de ti fang" or "Yü fu" (Peking dialect: Yü schu). At the time of my visit there was, however, only a single man, a Fan tse to boot, from Dunkur who was the representative and political agent of the Chinese in this country. This "Lo ts'a" was given board at Tibetan expense, but was not entitled to anything else, and his only duty was to be able to give information, if necessary, about important events in the country. Real Chinese officials could be found here only once every three years and these consisted of a commission to collect taxes. The latter were taken over from Mongolian times and the amount has been fixed since the year 1732. The commission was made up of a civilian and a military mandarin /Bi tieh sche (2) T C 631 651

2. Bi tieh sche is written pi t'ieh shih in Mayers, The Chinese Government. The name derives from the Manchurian word bitheschi meaning "writer" and one who knows how to write. These officials finally always had Chinese secretaries under them.

and Schu be who in Tibet wore red buttons/ with three interpreters and three secretaries, for whose protection close to twenty Chinese soldiers with four flags and several Mongolians from Tsaidam were taken along. On the journey thither the people always went from Dankar north of the Koko Nor across Tsaidam and the Odontala (Sing /143/ su h'ai) to the northernmost Yü fu tribe, Niamtso, then by way of the tribes of Guts'a and Antschun as far as Dscherku ndo which they finally reached

after three or four months. The nomads living along the route were obliged to furnish free means of transportation (ula) and plenty of free food (seven sheep a day). En route disputes between tribes were ironed out as much as possible, and secretaries and interpreters received earnings from this as well as from the ula. The commission stayed in Dscherku 10 to 13 months, that is, strictly speaking, long enough until the K'amba tribes had paid their taxes, whereupon the Chinese traveled back to Hsining fu with ula out of K'am by way of Deda, Lab (e) and Tendo, approximately along the route that I had taken to K'am. The result of these strenuous journeys, besides the moral reminder of Chinese supremacy was a sum of 2,000 taels. However, in the last few years it had never been collected, but had shrunk to 600 taels because the tribes always sought to avoid payment and maintained that they were unable to collect the proper amount. They said this was caused by progressive poverty which was supposed to have been caused by over-population and increasing summer droughts. I was told by various people that there had been very poor harvests the preceding years. However, my six Schen si merchants thought that the chief reason for the refusal to pay taxes lay in the small amount of authoritative power which China develops in K'am. (1)

1. The expenses involved in the sojourn and the return journey of the Chinese, which the K'amba had to pay in kind amounted to another 3,000 taels or so.

The ula, that is, free transportation back to Hsining, was arranged so that the K'amba gave the Chinese two oxen and one horse for each man and 15 oxen and 5 horses to transport the silver and the goods that had been got in trade, giving them a total of 75 to 80 oxen and 35 horses as their property and only a few guides besides.

The tax which each individual family was required to pay in money every three years was 0.075 tael (about 22 pfennig). Originally each 100 families were required to furnish one horse. As long as the value of a horse was still 7.5 tael (1780) the horse tax was figured in silver and this figure has been retained. On the basis of 0.075 tael per family and five members to each family, one can estimate the population of the Yü schu at 133,300 laymen and 22,000 tax-exempt lamas (that is, approximately one-sixth of the population) or a total of 155,300 souls. I regard this as a fairly accurate figure (i.e., 1.9

emigrated from the Koko Nor only 100-150 years ago (?). Potanin speaks of an Arigi- and a Yundscha-tribe who were driven out in 1843 by the amban of the Koko Nor and wandered to K'am.

4. Kozlow, Mongolia i Kam, Vol. II, p. 262ff., ascertained the following tribal names: Namtso, Gutse, Amchek, Ayun, Haschi, Tschintson, Detta, Tschawut, Rada, Butschun, Surman, Yunscha, Kanar, Tsatschüka, Dobtschu, Tendo, Lab, Mongoltschin, Tsantschu, Gertschi, Raschi, Yuischu. Most of them are not in accordance with the ones I heard of. Of those who are said to live farthest toward Central Tibet he discovered the names Riu chi, Bak scho and Sogo deme (the latter is probably identical with the Bönbo on the Sog Tschü, the tributary of the Salwen near the Ba chen capital and the Truksun monastery. Farther on he writes that the Bak scho live northwest of Tsiamdo in Ts'ien tsang.

I had touched the northeast corner of the Nan tsien kingdom near Lab gomba and Deda. From there the boundary approximately follows the 97° eastern longitude south in the direction toward Tsiamdo and two days' journey from this important place it touches the Wei- or Ts'ien tsang- (Chinese) or foremost Lhasa-territory whose chief town is actually Tsiamdo (Tschiamdo). From here, at about 31 1/2 degrees northern latitude, the boundary turns to the northwest and follows the course of the Tsche Chu upward, but in such a way that the right bank of this river is already under the jurisdiction of the sde ba gschung of Lhasa. Toward the west the sphere of influence of the Nañ tsien King seems to extend in some places as far as 93° 30' eastern longitude. There in the north a territory joins it which is also called Dya sde by its neighbors, but which belongs to Bonbo and has its own overlord, the King of Hortsi. It extends 92° and (with 39 tribes originally) is nominally under the jurisdiction of the amban in Lhasa. (5) Just in that region the boundary is most uncertain because

5. According to Bower, Across Tibet, page 133, isolated parts of Dya sde extend far to the west of 92°.

the power of the priests and officers of the Central Tibetan ecclesiastical state seems to be mounting and friction is the order of the day.

C T 619 631 131

The Tschang tang is the boundary on the northwest, and represents a favorite excursion and hunting area for individual hordes, not only because of its wild yak herds, but also because of the connecting roads between Nag Chu ka (or Lhasa) and Tsaidam (or Dunkur), as I myself unfortunately was obliged to experience in the most drastic manner.

T C 631 619

The individual tribes are very loosely united nowadays. /145/ The Nan tsien King is actually able to rule only his own tribe which, with 9,000 families, is by far the most populous of all, and which possesses fruitful acres in between magnificent forests and alpine pastures in the deep valleys of the upper Mekong (Tsa Chu) and its southern tributaries the Ba Chu and the Tsche Chu. The king's tribe is again divided into 35 sDe schok (sub-tribes). The royal residence lies on the banks of the Ba Chu, a right tributary of the Mekong. The kingdom is hereditary and only nominally required the sanction of Peking. The kings never had to go to the capital in order to kowtow to the Emperor. Like most of the kings of the neighborhood and also some of the be hu, they descend from the Mongolian rulers of the Hor (Schara uigur or Tu ku hun). (1) The dyalbo (written rgyalbo) or king is given the title tsien hu (lord of a thousand) or tu se (native official), but the Schen si traders spoke of Nan tsien dyalbo or simply of the wan or wang (king). He wears a coral button as a sign of his rank and possesses an old Chinese patent or seal according to which his rule extends to the boundary of Tsaidam and as far as the Koko Nor.

1. See footnote to p. 424, Vol. I.

The tribes which are dependent on the king, as well as the tribes which are almost or entirely independent (sde and sde schok) are either under a be hu (master of 100) who usually wears a blue button on his hat, or at least under a be tschen, who wears a white button. If they are not lamas their office is also hereditary and goes to the oldest son or, in case the latter is recognized as an incarnation and is needed as holy man in a monastery, it goes to the second eldest.

T C 175

We wonder why this large country is dependent on Hsining and not, like the neighboring areas, under the administration of the province of Szechwan, only so long as we take into consideration the geographical conditions and the distance between the actual province of Koko Nor and Dya sde (even the couriers figure on 17 days on horseback between Tendo and Dankar, without counting the change of horses, 800 kilometers) and do not think of the historical development and the conquest of Tibet by the Manchu. It is well-known that the policy of the first Manchu emperors was to enlarge the boundaries

they always had to march in single file. Half of the troops were armed with modern repeater guns, the rest with old Mausers; 300 of each 1,000 men were equipped with long lances on which large three-cornered flags of all different colors fluttered, as they entered Tao tschou. Behind each division rode the officer in charge of it and saw to it that no man escaped. If someone for any reason had to stay behind he was first obliged to hand over his gun. The supply train was amazingly small and consisted of yak oxen, an ula from Merema and Tawa. In the endless procession the large copper cooking pots and the opium and tobacco pipes of the men, as well as the badly-packed small personal belongings of the officers were very carefully carried by soldiers. Beside their guns the troops carried only their few cotton garments and wore hemp sandals which were undoubtedly the best foot-gear what with the poor roads, the many brooks without bridges the slippery stones and the endless climbs up and down. C 704

Native families of rulers have maintained themselves to this day, remnants of the old Mongolian- and Tu ku hun times, in the districts of Tao tschou, Min tschou and Di dao tschou. The mightiest is the Yang tu se, the king of Dschoni. Today he rules only over Tibetans, 48 tribes of them, who annually bring him small gifts. His feudal lands reach as far as Szechwan in the south. However, among the majority of his subjects his word does not carry much weight. They rob merchants and carry on wars whenever they /Plate LXIX faces p. 305 in the original text./ /306 choose. The Dschoni tu se himself, however, in his low and easily-accessible native country, is today with all his clan subject to the general supervision of the tschou of Tao. Even weaker and smaller is the Chan tu se who lives 15 li below Dschoni in the Tao Ho Valley. The Ma tu se also has little more authority; he is already in the Min tschou district near the town of Tang tschen, 150 li south of the chief city of the district, and rules over 2,000 families. Of the fourth, the Kia tu se, I have already spoken briefly in connection with my journey through Di dao tschou. Dschoni, Tschan, Ma, Kia on the one hand and the tschou of Tao, Di dao, and Min on the other, are often referred to as the Wu hu and the country as the Land of the Five Rulers. For the "democratically"-minded Chinese used to complete personal freedom and privilege, conditions in the wu hu are very foreign; they are completely baffled that here, not as elsewhere in the Kingdom of the Middle, the ruler should have a claim and levy taxes, but that the individual families and the heads of families belong to the various rulers, so that, as often happens here, subjects of all five live together C T 631

C T 631 in one small village and must pay their hereditary ruler an annual head tax from that one place and, in disputes, must take refuge from his tribunal.

C 304 One striking peculiarity of the Tao tschou Chinese women is the way their feet are bound. The great toe is bent up vertically whereas the rest of the toes are as usual bent under the sole of the foot (Plate LXX). Thus the foot is not shortened as much as in the usual form of crippling; but inasmuch as the foot must be crippled throughout North and West China, and the country people, especially, cling obstinately to the old custom, this less severe fashion developed when women evidently sought to make walking easier for themselves. In the ever-changing struggles between Mohammedans and Chinese the defeated side originally always had to sacrifice all their women to the rage of the victors. They lost their mothers and daughters. With the 3-inch feet developed by the ordinary method of binding, the women never escaped; after a few lis their little feet were completely chafed and the poor things could only crawl on their knees. With the new way of foot-binding, which must have been prevalent for at least four generation, the Tao tschou women can march as well as their Hsining sisters who merely curl their smaller toes under but even so achieve a tolerably trim little foot! This Tao tschou makeshift is also worn day and night beginning with the eighth year. The strips of cloth which bend the toes are never taken off, but only changed and, as always, even husbands are not permitted to see the naked foot of their wives. A woman would be mortified to death. Even I was not permitted to see the feet shown on the photographs in nature. The owners of the feet made the pictures themselves with my camera. Only in front of this dead object and for a bribe did two little women who were poor as beggars dare to expose themselves.

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000 My portrayal of East Tibet would not have been complete if I had not concluded my journey by visiting the political center of the north, Labrang /307/ or Lawrang, the Gomba of the Mongol king Hwang Ho nan chün wang, head of Amdo, the most successful rival of Gum bum. The distance thither is figured at four ts'an lu (days' journey) from Batser (Tao tschou); the road goes northwest and again through Tibetan country, through Amdo, that is, the "low country" of Tibet which consists of moderately high mountains with broad valleys which permit extensive barley cultivation and present valley

632

632 TOWNS--political organization of municipalities (e.g., towns, townships, boroughs, parishes) embracing a number of communities; governmental personnel (e.g., executive, advisory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection (e.g., appointment, election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority, prerogatives, functions, and activities associated with each position; etc. See also:

Physical characteristics and facilities of settlements 36

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The
621 sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village
[622] headman. But again the council of elders has considerable
[623] authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit,
nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined
• [632] together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to
[792] have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly
nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary
[622] Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond
that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-
t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu,
Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability
of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the
border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of
any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organiza-
tion, economically and politically, as well as physically.
[423] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual
families, but the grazing lands and forests are community
property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the
village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of
timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their
621 encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary
241 Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the
village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horo-
[787] scope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual
[292] fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simul-
taneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field.
And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be com-
pletely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field
to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are
too large one hires extra help. During the course of the
growing season all the villagers periodically parade through
the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These com-
munal activities have both religious and economic bases.
From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been
[787] selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the communi-
ty's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground,
[776] the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated
[782] that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks.
From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been
plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a
community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals.
[625] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that
[486] the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through
[651] their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

*563 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village
621 units would not have been so important in the local administrative
631 system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by
farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper,
*563 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which
361 are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market
• 632 towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here
443 as they do in other parts of the country.

*563 In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem
621 farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The
first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble
the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families con-
stitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu-
[443] liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a
[632] village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town.
Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the
village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery
can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up.
The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a
new settlement.

*563 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways.
621 One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the
771 ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past.
At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year,
and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring
certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such
a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for
[794] the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned
with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the proces-
sion, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or
Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such
religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for
additional services are often held in times of drought or other
community disasters.

*563 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity.
545 Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The
621 entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun.
In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very
*563 much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the
621 mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities.
769 Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the
[764] Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the
graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper
money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not
necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally
and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

they were to forward orders from above to the lower level governments; to make decisions or suggestions concerning the personnel, laws, and financial arrangeme nts of the province; and to coordinate and supervise work in the area. There were, however, some new points. They were required "to execute the decisions of the provincial people's congresses."

a. limitations on authority

The significance of this requirement was lessened by the qualification: "provided that these decisions have been approved by the Government Administrative Council or the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions." Thus, nothing could be done on the provincial level that was not acceptable to the officials of higher levels. Second, the provincial councils were to "annul or revise the decisions and orders of the municipal and county people's government councils, or the municipal and county people's congresses under its jurisdiction, whenever these decisions and orders are contradictory to those of the higher level people's government." The higher government officials could over-ride the local interests.

b. increased authority

Under this system, the provincial governments of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang actually were branch offices of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, until the power of the latter was weakened in 1952. With the abolition of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council in June, 1954, the traditional importance and position of the provincial governments was fully restored. However, primarily they still are instruments of the central government.

B. People's Congress and People's Councils

The day after the First National People's Congress passed the new Chinese Communist Constitution, on September 21, 1954, the same congress passed the organic law for local governments. Taken at face value, this law gives more power to the local governments as well as to the people. From the town level up to the province, each is supposed to have a people's congress and a people's council, the congress representing the people, and the council acting as the executive body. Their position and interrelation can be seen in the following excerpts from the law:

1. Role of peoples' congress

Local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of government authority in their respective localities. (The Organic Law of People's Congresses and People's Councils at all Local levels in Chinese Peoples' Republic, p. 1, Article 3.)

a. election of deputies

Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central authority, counties, and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses

almost every phase of their lives.

The functions of the people's councils, reveal the contradictory character of the Communist system of local government. The Councils are responsible for carrying out decisions of the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, but they also have to carry out all decisions and orders from higher level government organs. The people's councils are the servants of the people, but they also are entrusted with stopping the execution of inappropriate decisions of people's congresses at the next lowest level. This power is especially significant since the higher people's councils must decide what decisions are inappropriate.

c. bureaus, offices and commissions

The Organic Law for local governments states that the provincial people's councils may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions according to local needs:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;
(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Industry;
(9) Commerce;
(10) Transportation and Communications;
(11) Agriculture and Forestry;
(12) Water Conservancy;
(13) Labor;
(14) Culture;
(15) Education;
(16) Public Health;
(17) Physical Culture;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups, the councils may also add a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

So far, no material is available concerning the actual structure of the northwestern provinces under the new law. However, it is known that the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs have been abolished.

Under the new law, the municipal people's council may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Safety;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;

(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Taxation;
(9) Industry;
(10) Commerce;
(11) Labor;
(12) Culture;
(13) Education;
(14) Public Health;
(15) Physical Culture;
(16) Municipal Construction;
(17) Public Utilities;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups they may also establish a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

The county people's councils may establish, according to need, the following divisions or bureaus:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Finance;
(4) Food;
(5) Taxation;
(6) Industry and Commerce;
(7) Agriculture and Forestry;
(8) Transportation and Communications;
(9) Culture and Education;
(10) Public Health;
(11) Administrative Office.

The people's councils of the hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns may establish, according to need, the following working committees:

(1) Civil Affairs
(2) Public Security;
(3) Armed Forces;
(4) Production and Cooperation;
(5) Finance and Taxation;
(6) Culture and Education;
(7) Mediation.

Members of the local people's congresses and other suitable individuals are encouraged to serve on these working committees.

D. Comparison with Nationalist Organization

If this system is compared with the system of local governments under the Nationalists, the following differences can be noted:

(1) The Nationalists adopted the council system only at the provincial level.

(2) Under the Nationalists, the heads of the provincial bureaus and

of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders, "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralization of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Hu-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 20, 1954).

V. Political Structure and Political Progress

A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were also established in the five provinces then comprising the Northwest: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang.

While the members of the Military and Administrative Council were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the members of the provincial and municipal people's governments were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by conventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities. Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

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633 CITIES--political organization of urban aggregates larger than towns (e.g., cities, metropolitan districts); governmental personnel (e.g., executive, advisory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection (e.g., appointment, election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority, prerogatives, functions, and activities associated with each position; etc. See also:

Settlements and urban and rural contrasts . . 36 Political machines. 667

HISTORICAL SETTING

I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

to the southeast, were interested in the recovery of Turkestan. They had a purely defensive policy for the northwest land frontier. They fortified the passes in the Kansu Corridor and conciliated the Uighur inhabitants of Turkestan by granting them honors and privileges and not interfering with their governments.

The Ming court was more concerned with the Mongols in the north. The strongest of these were the Oirats who at first submitted and then rebelled. The Yung-lo emperor personally led a series of expeditions into Mongolia and succeeded in holding them in check. But as the military strength of Ming China ebbed after his death, their power increased. In 1449, one of their chiefs, Esen, inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Ming forces and took the Ming emperor as prisoner. At the height of their power, the Oirats controlled an area as far west as the northern portion of Tienshan, as far south as Kansu and as far east as Chahar.

Throughout the Ming period, there were incessant encroachments by the Oirat, but the most serious were those led by Altan Khan in the 16th century. In his three major invasions of China, his horsemen despoiled the provinces of Shansi, Ninghsia and Kansu and extended the orbit of his power from Uriangghai in the north to Chinghai and Tibet in the south. He built a vast, though evanescent Mongol empire. Finally, in his old age he accepted a title from the Ming court and halted his raids on China.

Thus, for about eight hundred years from the latter part of the T'ang to the beginning of the Ch'ing, the extent of the Chinese empire did not go beyond the Kansu Corridor and the vast region of the Northwest was free of Chinese rule. During this long period, the Chinese were not only unable to recover Turkestan but they were also uninterested in its recovery. The advance of the border peoples into China's North and Northwest pushed the Chinese to the South and Southeast. Gradually, with the rise of the southeastern coastlands as the cultural and economic centers of China and with the development of maritime travel, there was greater intercourse between China and the outside world by sea. The nation turned towards the Southeast to face the sea and the importance of the Kansu Corridor declined to that of the backdoor of China.

Another reason for the reorientation was economic. Climatic changes resulting in increased aridity led to the shrinkage of the chain of oases that formed the caravan routes. This made travel difficult, and the desiccation of the soil reduced the fertility of the Wei River valley, once the home of Chinese civilization and the base for China's imperialist expansion. Natural calamities, such as floods, droughts, pestilence, and famine, and the devastation of wars added to the impoverishment of the area and quickened the shift of population centers from the Northwest to the Southeast. Sian (Ch'ang-an) the capital of China for two thousand

years, ceased to be the leading metropolis, dropping in rank to a city of secondary importance. This decline of the Northwest had been in process since the end of the Han dynasty and had accelerated during the T'ang. The decreasing productivity of the land made it harder and harder to maintain large bodies of troops to defend the Northwest frontier. Supplies for the defense forces, not to say for campaigns to the Far West had to be brought up by canals from the Southeast, a tenuous system which, once obstructed, would constrain the withdrawal of Chinese troops from far-flung outposts in the Northwest and render abortive any attempt at their recovery.

II. The Succession of Steppe Empires

A. The Scythians

Historically, the first empire to break out of the steppes was founded by the Scythians. They are supposed to have been a North-Iranian people, who nomadized in what is today's Turkestan and Western Siberia. The Greek historian, Herodotus, has left a rather intimate description of their manners and folkways. They are mentioned also in Assyrian, Persian and Indian sources (under the name Saka). Of the three groups of Scythians who inhabited respectively the Ferghana-Kashgar area, the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, and western Siberia north and northeast of the Caspian Sea, it was the last that set events in motion. In the second half of the eighth century B.C. this group fell upon the Cymmerians, a Thraco-Phrygean people settled north of the Black Sea. This conquest catalysed a migration of nations, the echo of which was heard even by the prophets of Israel. It was the first known inroad of the steppe nomads into the southern cultural world.

The Scythian Empire continued until the third century B.C. Its southward drive under the leadership of Ishpakai was stopped by the Assyrians in 678 B.C. Ishpakai's successors, Bartatua and Madyes, expanded their empire towards the south and the west. In ca. 628 B.C., however, they were repulsed by the Medes under Kyaxares. The Persians under Cyrus battled against the Scythians in the region east of Khiva in ca. 529 B.C. and 15 years later under Darius in the southern Ukraine. The Scythians finally were decimated by the Sarmathians, another North-Iranian nomadic tribe, who pushed the Scythians into the Crimea towards the end of the third century B.C.

There is abundant archeological evidence of the Scythian Empire. Their particular art style, the so-called animal style, set the pattern for subsequent craftsmen of the steppe. Its influence was felt all over Central Asia well into the confines of early Chinese dynasties.

formations. The unconformity and faults are due to the mountain making movement in the Palaeozoic and Mesozoic stages. All these constructional mountains extend from northwest to southeast, paralleling each other.

Although the Ch'i-lien Mountains provide a natural screen between Kansu on the north and Chinghai on the south, there are many passes in the mountainous areas. Generally speaking, all the passes are around 9,000 feet high. For instance, Pien-tu-k'ou, on the upper stream of the Hung-shui is at the elevation of 8,100 feet; Peh-yai-k'ou on the upper stram of Shan-tan-ho is at the height of 9,800 feet; Wu-lung-k'ou on the upper stream of Kou-shui is at the height of 8,400 feet. All of these are well-known passes. However, Pien-tu-k'ou is the short-cut from the central portion of Kansu to the main section of Chinghai Province, and it covers the shortest distance from Chiang-ye to Sining, the capital city of Chinghai.

The topographical features of Kansu are rather open and simple on the west and northwest in contrast to the southeast, where the land has suffered local deflections and dislocations from earthquakes. The Shu-le River runs through the northwest corner of Kansu, and projects westward to the eastern border of Sinkiang Province. The altitude is about 3,000 feet. There are fewer mountains in the northwestern section of Kansu, simply a few hilly lands merging into the desert. Although the Shu-le River is the major water system in western Kansu, water constantly sins and disappears into the sandy gravels after it runs down from the hilly lands.

South from the Ch'i-lien-shan is the Chinghai Plateau. Linking with the Tibetan Plateau to the south, it forms the huge plateau region of west China. The Kun-lun mountain ranges run through the core of the area, projecting eastward to form a few paralleling ranges. The southwestern section of the area is much higher and its topography is rugged in comparison with the northern section. Two notable basins, the Tsaidam and the Sining, are situated between the Ch'i-lien Mountains to the north and the Kun-lun Mountains to the south. In the western sections of the area there are numerous lakes and streams which are the sources of the most important river systems of China, namely the Yellow River and the Yangtse River. The Tsaidam Basin is swampy. Its elevation is estimated at some 8,100 feet with the western edge of the basin much sharper than the eastern margin. The Chinghai Basin, in the eastern section of the area, is the most essential one. It is named after the salt lake, Koko Nor. Sining is the major city in this basin. It is not only the pivot station between the Mongolian Gobi and the Tibetan Plateau but also the economic and political center of Chinghai.

TABLE XV. Distribution of the Urban Centers

Province	Cities	Approx. Population	General Remarks
Shensi	Sian	560,000 (1951)	Administrative & Industrial Center
	Nan-cheng(Han-cheng)	50,000 (1951)	Commercial
	T'ung-kuan	10,000 (1951)	Strategic
Kansu	Lan-chow (Kao-lan)	150,000 (1951)	Adm. & Trade Center
	Yin-chuan (Ninghsia)	80,000 (1951)	Capital of former Ninghsia Province
	Hsia-ho (Labrang)	5,000	Lamasery; religious center.
Chinghai	Hsi-ning	50,000 (1951)	Admin. & Trade Center.
Sinkiang	Urumchi (Tihua)	80,000 (1951)	Capital, strategic, com'l. & industrial center
	Chitai (Ku-cheng-tze)	30,000 (1931)	Wool Trade center
	Kuldja (I-ning)	30,000 (1931)	Com'l. center, built by Chinese 1762
	Turfan	100,000 (1931)	Com'l. center
	Kashgar (Shu-fu)	80,000	Industrial & com'l. center.

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*668 offices were usually members of the Provincial Council. The
635 people in the Council also ran the administrative organs; under the Communists, however, most of the members of the People's Councils have no part in the bureaus and offices where real power lies.

(3) Under the Nationalists, the chairman of the Provincial Council had effective control. Under the Communists the chairman of the provincial People's Government in the past, or the governor of the provincial People's Council at present, may or may not have control. For instance, the chairman of Kansu in 1950, Tent Pao-san, was merely a figurehead, and the newly-elected governor of Shensi, Chao Shou-shan, looks like another. But Ma Ming-fan, chairman of Shensi in 1950, definitely held power. In brief, the influence and power of a local official under the Communists does not depend on his official position in the government, but on his relations with the party. Ma Ming-fang was important because he was also the Deputy Secretary-General of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.

(4) Under the Nationalists, when a minority leader such as Ma Hung-k'uei was appointed provincial chairman in the Northwest, he had authority in fact as well as in name. The Communists publicize the northwest local government members who belong to minority groups, but in practice what matters is the assignment given to the member by the Party. If a trusted party member - be he Chinese or Muslim - is assigned to run the office he is the actual head, even if he has a low rank. However, he is only a wheel in the party machinery, and has very little freedom to act on his own.

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[631] (5) Under the Communists, the local governments at every level are much larger and more powerful than under the Nationalists. See Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 for the structure and personnel of the provincial governments in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang in 1950, and Table 6 for the relationships between local governments in the present stage.

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The specific structure of each provincial government in Northwest China and of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as of 1955, is not yet available. Except for the abolition of the Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs, one may assume that the present structure of these provinces and of the Sinkiang Uughur Autonomous Region are approximately the same as in 1950.

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• 633
Sian was a municipality directly under the central government authority from late in 1949 until 1954. The people's government of the city had thirteen different bureaus and offices, and the area was divided into twelve districts. In 1950, the mayor was Chia T'o-fu and the deputy mayors were Fang Chung-ju and Chang Feng-po. In 1952 the mayor was Fang, with Chang Feng-po and

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*668 Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central
• [633] People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major changes in Northwest China:

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[633] (1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.

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[635] (2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.

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[668]
[635]
(3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region on October 1, 1955.

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Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu, and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1, 1955, are shown in Table 9.

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After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes, but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

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A. Earlier Systems

In the past, although the Chinese government gave little publicity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minorities in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minorities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

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B. The Communist System

The Communists have a definite program for changing the social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is necessary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface, they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they control them from within through hand-picked Party members. So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

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634 DISTRICTS--political organization of moderately extensive territories embracing a number of settlements or municipalities (e.g., a subtribe, an English or American county, a French department); governmental personnel (e.g., executive, advisory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection (e.g., appointment, election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority, prerogatives, functions, and activities associated with each position; etc.

161 Beyond the Alashan, Nan-shan, and Ta-chi-shih mountains in
133 most parts of Chinghai, western Kansu including most parts
of former Ninghsia covering the Alashan and Khara Gobi
deserts and all Sinkiang, where the annual rainfall is generally
below five inches except in the higher elevations, the small
population is intensely concentrated in a number of small
isolated oases scattered along the base of the snow-capped
high ranges. Numerous snow-fed mountain streams come down
the Nan-shan, the Kunlun, the Tien-shan and the Altai.
[312] Before they disappear in the nearby deserts, they provide a
reliable source of water for irrigation. Hence a string of
487 oases are scattered between deserts and mountains. The so-
called Kansu corridor along the Nan-shan, the Silk Road
312 along the Kunlun, the Tien-shan nan-lu (Southern Road)
361 and the Tien-shan pei-lu (Northern Road) along the south and
161 north foothills of the Tien-shan (Celestial Mountain) Range
are all developed along these oases which provide the only
available natural stations along all the trade routes through
Northwest China and Central Asia. These oases are the sole
centers of human settlement for agriculture, horticulture,
animal husbandry, and pastoralism. Since they are so intensively
487 cultivated and populated, in most cases they form administrative
361 hsien or county seats, i.e. from southeast to northwest along
634 the Kansu corridor, Ku-lang, Wu-wei, Yung-chang, Shan-
161 tan, Chang-yeh, Lin-tse, Kao-tai, Chiu-chuan, Yü-men,
An-hsi, Tun-huang, etc. Along the Silk Road at the foot of
the Kunlun Mountains east-westward are No-chiang, Chieh-mo,
Keriya (Yu-tien), Tse-leh, Lo-pu, Ho-tien, Mo-yü, Pi-shan,
Yeh-chang, Sha-che, Ko-ko, Yingihissar (Ying-chi-sha),
Shu-le, etc. Along the Tien-shan
nan-lu, east-westward are Qumol (Hami), Shan-shan, Turfan,
Ho-sho, Yen-chi, Korla, Lun-tai, Ku-che, Pai-chang, Wen-
su, Aksu, Ke-ping, Pa-chu, Ka-shih, Shu-fu, etc. Along the
Tien-shan pei-lu, east-westward are Barkul (Chenhsi), Chitai,
Urumchi, Chang-chi, Ching-hua, Sui-lai, Wu-su, and Ching-ho
to Sui-ting in the Ili valley. Thus the distribution of population
occurs in clusters or isolated pockets of densely peopled
areas, dotted along the foot of the high mountains, but separated
by desert wastes.

361 In the enclosed upland Tsaidam and Koko Nor Basins of
233 Chinghai province, a small number of nomads exist mainly in
the part which is oriented toward and exposed to the limited
311 moist wind, where the grassland is suitable for limited grazing.
The location varies from basin to basin. In the Tsaidam, the
pasture is found in the southeastern part, while in the northwestern
part lies the Koko Beile Desert. In the case of the Koko Nor Basin,
the climatic orientation is reversed. Similar conditions prevail

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

*175 they were to forward orders from above to the lower level govern-
*668 ments; to make decisions or suggestions concerning the personnel,
635 laws, and financial arrangements of the province; and to coordinate and supervise work in the area. There were, however, some new points. They were required "to execute the decisions of the provincial people's congresses."

a. limitations on authority

The significance of this requirement was lessened by the qualification: "provided that these decisions have been approved by the Government Administrative Council or the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions." Thus, nothing could be done on the provincial level that was not acceptable to the officials of higher levels. Second, the provincial councils were to
[632] "annul or revise the decisions and orders of the municipal and
[634] county people's government councils, or the municipal and county people's congresses under its jurisdiction, whenever these decisions and orders are contradictory to those of the higher level people's government." The higher government officials could over-ride the local interests.

b. increased authority

Under this system, the provincial governments of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang actually were branch offices of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, until the power of the latter was weakened in 1952. With the abolition of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council in June, 1954, the traditional importance and position of the provincial governments was fully restored. However, primarily they still are instruments of the central government.

B. People's Congress and People's Councils

631 The day after the First National People's Congress passed the
*668 new Chinese Communist Constitution, on September 21, 1954, the same congress passed the organic law for local governments.
[671] Taken at face value, this law gives more power to the local governments as well as to the people. From the town level up to the province, each is supposed to have a people's congress and a people's council, the congress representing the people, and the council acting as the executive body. Their position and interrelation can be seen in the following excerpts from the law:

1. Role of peoples' congress

Local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of government authority in their respective localities. (The Organic Law of People's Congresses and People's Councils at all Local levels in Chinese Peoples' Republic, p. 1, Article 3.)

a. election of deputies

[666] Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central authority, counties, and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses

*668 (6) Finance;
647 (7) Food;
632 (8) Taxation;
631 (9) Industry;
(10) Commerce;
(11) Labor;
(12) Culture;
(13) Education;
(14) Public Health;
(15) Physical Culture;
(16) Municipal Construction;
(17) Public Utilities;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups they may also establish a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

*668 The county people's councils may establish, according to need,
647 the following divisions or bureaus:
• 634 (1) Civil Affairs;
631 (2) Public Security;
(3) Finance;
(4) Food;
(5) Taxation;
(6) Industry and Commerce;
(7) Agriculture and Forestry;
(8) Transportation and Communications;
(9) Culture and Education;
(10) Public Health;
(11) Administrative Office.

The people's councils of the hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns may establish, according to need, the following working committees:
(1) Civil Affairs
(2) Public Security;
(3) Armed Forces;
(4) Production and Cooperation;
(5) Finance and Taxation;
(6) Culture and Education;
(7) Mediation.

Members of the local people's congresses and other suitable individuals are encouraged to serve on these working committees.

*668 D. Comparison with Nationalist Organization

635 If this system is compared with the system of local governments under the Nationalists, the following differences can be noted:
(1) The Nationalists adopted the council system only at the provincial level.
(2) Under the Nationalists, the heads of the provincial bureaus and

TABLE 10 (continued)

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NAME	DESCRIPTION
CHINGHAI PROVINCE	
Tibetan Autonomous chou of Hai-pei	Including the three counties of Ch'i-lien, Hai-yen, and Kang-ch'a, and the Moslem autonomous hsien of Wei-yüan
Tibetan autonomous chou of Hai-nan	Including the five counties of Kung-ho, Hsing-hai, Kuei-te, Kuei-nan, and T'ung-te
Mongol, Tibetan, and Kajakh autonomous chou of Hai-hsi	Including the Mongol autonomous hsien of Tu-lan
Tibetan autonomous chou of Huang-nan	Including the three counties of T'ung-jen, Tse-k'u, and Chien-cha
Tibetan autonomous chou of Yü-shu	Including the 6 counties of Yü-shu, Lang-ch'ien, Ch'eng-to, Chih-to, Tsa-to, and Ch'ü-ma-lai
Tibetan autonomous chou of Kuo-lo (Kolo)	The southeastern part of Chinghai bordering Sikang and Szechuan; situated east of the Tibetan autonomous chou of Yü-shou and south of the Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ung-te. It covers 240,000 sq. kilometers, and has a population of more than 110,000 Tibetans. It is to be divided into 4 counties, the names of which have not yet been determined
T'u autonomous hsien of	Formerly Hu-chu county
Moslem autonomous hsien of Hua-lung	Formerly Hua-lung county
Salar autonomous hsien of Hsün-hua	Formerly Hsün-hua county
Mongol autonomous hsien of Ho-nan	Formerly Ho-nan district

TABLE 10 (continued)

*668 631 • 634 *563

NAME	DESCRIPTION
CHINGHAI (continued)	
Moslem autonomous hsien of Wei-yüan	Formerly Wei-yüan district
Mongol autonomous hsien of Tu-lan	Formerly Tu-lan district
Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ien-chü	An area west of Kokonor
KANSU PROVINCE	
Mongol autonomous chou	Including the county of Tun-k'ou and the Alashan Banner
Tibetan autonomous chou of Kan-nan	Including the two counties of Hsia-ho and Lin-t'an and the Cho-ni autonomous hsien, plus an area cut from Hsi-ku, Min, Wu-tu, and Ho-ch'uan
Moslem autonomous chou of Hsi-Hai-Ku	Including the three counties of Ku-yüan, Hsi-chi, and Hai-yüan
Moslem autonomous chou of Ho-tung	Including the four counties of Lin-wu, Chin-chi, T'ung-hsin, and Yen-ch'ih
Moslem autonomous hsien of Chin-yüan	Formerly Hua-p'ing county
Moslem autonomous hsien of Chang-chia-ch'uan	Chang-chia-ch'uan
Tung-hsiang autonomous hsien	Su-nan-pa, the eastern district of Ho-chou
Moslem autonomous hsien of Kuang-t'ung	Probably the former Ling-ting county
Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ien-chu	Wu-shao-ling

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TABLE 10 (Continued)

*668 631 • 634 *563

NAME	DESCRIPTION
KANSU PROVINCE (continued)	
Mongol autonomous hsien of Su-pei	Formerly Su-pei administrative chü
Kazakh autonomous hsien of A-k'e-sai	Southwest of Tun-huang
Mongol autonomous hsien of O-chi-na (Edsin) Banner	Formerly Edsin Banner
Cho-ni autonomous hsien	Formerly Cho-ni administrative chü

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Table 3. CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE IN REGIONAL, PROVINCIAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

	total	Han Chinese	From the National Minorities	Unknown
Regional: Top level (in 1952)				
NW MAC	43	35	8	--
Provincial: Second level (in 1950)				
Shensi People's Government Council	39	37	2	-
Kansu " " "	29	21	8	-
Chinghai " " "	22	12	7	1
Sinkiang " " "	31	13	15	3
Total	121	85	32	4
(Total in 1951)	133	78	55	-)

County Magistrates: Third level (in 1951)

Shensi:	Chinese, head of all municipalities and counties
Kansu:	in the Linhsia Administrative District, 6 counties: 3 Chinese, 3 from the minority nationalities
Chinghai and Ninghsia:	in 35 counties: 13 Chinese, 22 from the minority nationalities
Sinkiang:	80 counties, 13 Chinese, 67 from the minority nationalities.

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be any main roads leading anywhere from Lonan no difficulties were raised except over the prevalence of brigandage. Brigands are of course almost universal in China nowadays, but they are always supposed to be worst in districts marching with a provincial border line, such as those we were now traversing. But our party was too formidable a one to have anything to fear from local brigands such as these.

A long day's march brought us to Shang Chou. The track follows up the flat valley of one of the headwaters of the Lo Ho for 20 li, and then crossing a low rise, drops over the edge of the red plateau of Lonan into a narrow winding gorge hemmed in by bare mountains of red sandstone, which is followed until it debouches on to the valley of the Tan Chiang a little above Shang Chou.

Shang Chou is nowadays a decayed little place, though formerly quite an important centre, a *Chou* in charge of four surrounding *Hsien*. After the Revolution of 1911 the former *Fu*, *Chou*, *T'ing*, etc. (Prefectures, sub-Prefectures, and so on) were all reduced to the rank of *Hsien*, or district, of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class, the class being determined largely, it seems, by the land-tax receipts, and, as many districts have been entirely renamed, most of the existing maps of China are in this respect out of date. Shang Chou, now called Shang Hsien, is a 1st class district. It lies in the valley of the Tan Chiang, an affluent of the Han River, on one of the most important trade routes in and out of Shensi, that from Hsian Fu to Lant'ien, across the Ch'inling Shan by two low passes, and down the valley of the Tan Chiang to the mart of Lungchuchai, whence boats ply *via* Chingtzu Kuan in Honan to the Han River, Laoho K'ou, and Hankow; though the importance of this route has somewhat declined since the railway from Honan Fu has reached to within three and a half days of T'ungkuan.

At Shang Chou we were in the basin of the Yangtzu, the insignificant rise on the edge of the plateau of Lonan being the Yangtzu Yellow River watershed.

We were here quartered in the local school, which, as we usually found to be the case, was easily the best and cleanest building in the place. The existence of a comparatively well-kept school house, with maps and educational

that on which we were engaged, must according to immemorial custom be provided with food and accommodation free of charge by the towns and villages through which they pass, and not only they themselves, but the cloud of parasites who accompany them, servants, soldiers, coolies, and animals as well. The local magistrates of course try and recoup themselves from the people, but in a very poor post they might almost be ruined by the passage of such a party.

There are patches of rice fields round Chenan, but most of the district is composed of a maze of wild mountains, the lower slopes of which are often dotted with the valuable wood oil tree, a pretty sight in blossom in April. The Chinese assert that the district is rich in minerals, copper, iron, asbestos, and antimony. It is a third class district and the post of magistrate is of course a poor one, as the land tax receipts amount to less than a thousand taels per annum. But amongst our party was an official who had been magistrate at Hsiaoyi, a day's journey further north in the mountains, who affirmed that compared to the latter district, Chenan was a garden; for Hsiaoyi, it seems, has no land tax receipts, and practically no population. It should be explained that the land tax is usually collected in grain and remitted to the provincial treasury in silver, the process of exchange from the one into the other not being effected without a certain percentage remaining in the hands of the local official; hence the amount of the land tax is usually considered the standard by which the wealth of a post may be measured.

A road runs due south from Hsian, the provincial capital, through the Ch'inling Shan *via* Hsiaoyi and Chenan to Hsingan on the Han River, being the most direct route between these two important cities, but it is so rough as to be little used. It is bad enough in the dry season when it follows up and down the stream beds in the simple manner of so many mountain trails in China, but when the water rises and the path has to take to the cliffs of the gorges it is very much worse and probably quite impassable for pack animals and chairs. We found the stream bed still just practicable in April.

The number of burnt-out ruins of hamlets, farmsteads, and huts along the trail we had just traversed could not fail

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CHAPTER III

FROM HSINGAN UP THE HAN VALLEY TO HANCHUNG

Hsingan and the resources of the Han valley—Hanyin—Shihch'uan—Hsihsiang—Kulupa—Catholics and Protestants—Hanchung—Northern troops in the Han valley.

HSINGAN FU is now a first class district city known as Ank'ang Hsien. It lies on the southern bank of the Han River at the head of a small but very fertile plain, where the river emerging from gorges flows for a few miles through more open country before disappearing into the mountains again. It consists of two cities, called the old and the new. The old city which is the commercial centre and contains most of the shops and general population is built right on the river from which it is protected by an embankment. A mile to the south lies the new city, a much smaller enclosure, containing residences of gentry and retired officials, Government schools, etc. The new city lies on higher ground and is said to have been built as a refuge in time of flood. The alluvial plain between the two cities is enclosed by stoutly built dykes running from the river up to the rising ground to the south. We were well housed in a Government building in the new city which forms a pleasant residential quarter as compared with the crowded streets of the old.

Hsingan is an important commercial centre and serves as a gateway into the whole basin of the upper Han, the Yangtzu's longest tributary. This upper Han basin may be likened to a miniature edition of the province of Szechuan, an extremely rich mountain region intersected by innumerable little fertile valleys and plains, with Hanchung, the administrative capital, comparable to Chengtu, Hsingan, the commercial gateway, to Chungking, and the Han with its gorges and rapids to the Yangtzu. To complete the likeness many parts of the Han basin are just as red as the famous "red basin" of Szechuan. A great variety of products are collected at Hsingan from this rich region and shipped down river to Laoho K'ou and Hankow, such as cereals, vegetable oils, fruits, nuts, varnish, wood oil, silk, tea,

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Hanyin T'ing, now called Hanyin Hsien, a third class 634
district, is a prosperous little place lying at the head of the
fertile Yo River valley, and, like most of the Han basin
towns, is more like a Szechuan than a Shensi city.

From Hanyin to Shihch'uan Hsien is a day's march, 487
called 90 li. The path continues westwards up the narrowing 133
valley leaving the main stream which comes down from the
north on the right hand. After about 15 li the valley ends [243]
in low hills skilfully terraced into rice fields, up which the
trail runs to reach a low divide, some 600 feet above and
two hours' march from Hanyin. This is the first obstacle
to a Hsingan-Hanchung railway, but from here on till it
reaches the eastern end of the Hanchung plain near Yang
Hsien there will be many difficulties to surmount. From
the pass the track, entering the district of Shihch'uan,
descends through a defile and then through terraced rice
fields amongst the red clay hills to the valley of the Ch'ih
Ho, a stream flowing down from the north, and reaches
the township of Ch'ihho P'u, 45 li from Hanyin and at
about the same elevation. The same mountain range, which
is further on pierced by the Ch'ih Ho in a gorge, continues
on the left hand and the same red clay hills on the right. The
path continues down the valley for an hour's march, and
then leaves it to climb over a spur to the north, and so into
the valley of the Han, here no wider than the river bed,
and flowing from north to south. For the rest of the way
to Shihch'uan the trail runs up the Han along the mountain
side on the left bank.

Shihch'uan, a third class Hsien, lies right on the river. [361]
It is an important strategic point in these parts as the trail
from Hsian across the Ch'inling Shan *via* Ningshan T'ing here
debouches on to the Han and the Hsingan-Hanchung road.

The next stage to Ch'a Chen, called 80 li, is a rather
dangerous one for pack animals. Crossing the Han by a [491]
ferry the trail runs up the gorges of the Han, a smaller
edition of those of the upper Yangtzu, being ledged in the
cliff side some distance above the water. In places it is
narrow and there are some corners which are difficult to
negotiate; but we met with no accidents, partly because the
assistance so constantly rendered to us by the local officials
included repairs to bad and dangerous portions of the trail.

of the North West and must consume a great deal of grain. 136
Strangely enough the Chinese peasants, often poor to the verge of starvation, seldom touch them,1 partly because of 262
the cost of powder and shot, and partly perhaps because of 136
the curious prejudice the Chinese cultivator has to eating anything wild, for fear lest it should make him "wild in the 825
heart." The ordinary Chinese appear much to prefer a skinny old chicken to a nice plump pheasant because the former is not wild. While we were routing out pheasants on these hills we put up four deer, apparently a large kind of roe, which showed very little alarm and kept on reappearing at intervals for the rest of the afternoon.

The T'ing, usually translated "sub-prefecture" and now 634
abolished, appears formerly to have been always the centre 563
of a sort of military district located in mountainous country for the purpose of holding aboriginal tribesmen of some kind in check. Thus one will find many T'ing on the western confines of Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kansu facing the Tibetans; in the Miaotzu country of Kueichou and adjacent provinces; on the borders of Lololand in Szechuan; on the Burma-Yunnan frontier; and in Northern Shensi on the Mongolian border; but not in provinces like Anhui, Kiangsu, Shantung, etc., which have never contained a non-Chinese population. There are quite a number of T'ing in the Nan Shan of Shensi. But every vestige of an aboriginal non-Chinese population seems to have disappeared, if it ever existed. I have a vague recollection that some European scholar has evolved a theory that the non-Chinese tribes now living in Southern China originated in the mountains of Southern Shensi. Incidentally it may be noted that the former T'ing are usually marked in foreign maps of China as more important places than the Hsien. But with the exception of a few larger places such as Tachienlu and T'engyueh, nine out of ten of the T'ing are miserable little walled villages in the mountains, nowadays ranking as the poorest of third class Hsien.

Leaving Fop'ing the track climbs up the range im- 487
mediately to the north by zigzags to reach the pass about
a thousand feet above the valley, whence there is a fine 133
view over a wilderness of mountains all around. To the N. and N.W. lies T'aipai Shan, a bare rocky ridge still carrying a good deal of snow in May. This pass (about 7000 feet) is

1 [pheasants -- ANALYST]

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descent, the path following along a winding ridge, and then dropping into the valley of a streamlet, which leads after an hour's march to the hamlet of Liangshê, 80 li from Fenghsiang, where we stopped the night. On the following day an easy march of 40 li down the valley, through cornfields full of pheasants, brought us to Linyu Hsien. The latter is a tiny city, the centre of a miserably poor third class district, lost in the brigand-infested loess mountains not far from the Kansu border. It is an isolated little place, lying on an unfrequented mule trail into Kansu *via* Lingt'ai. The magistrate, an intelligent young man of the student class, led a lonely and somewhat miserable existence, apart from the danger from brigands, and admitted that he only looked upon this, his first appointment, as a stepping-stone to something better. Most of the many magistrates we met took but little interest in their work, regarding their posts either as a necessary evil to be endured for a short time as a stepping-stone to something better, or as a means of getting rich quick. And yet their work of administration is really most interesting and affords many opportunities of improving the lot of the people. But they can hardly be blamed for taking so little interest in their districts in view of the present system under which they may at any moment have to make way for another place-hunter. Thus it often happened that we came across magistrates who, never leaving their dilapidated little yamens, had only the vaguest knowledge of the geography and inhabitants of their districts.

Life in Linyu city, as in countless other little Hsiens buried in the interior of China, is that of the middle ages, and the appearance of its streets and walls, with ancient cannon and gingals and heaps of stones all ready to hurl on the heads of an attacking force of brigands, has probably changed but little for hundreds of years. Revolutions, rebellions, and battles in the plains below, in which the contending forces pump lead at one another with modern rifles and machine guns, have little effect in these isolated hills, except that the brigands become more and more formidable from year to year.

Linyu lies on a loess bluff overlooking the junction of two streams from the west and north, flowing in beds of shale and sandstone at the bottom of deep narrow valleys

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suitable and satisfactory state of affairs. Unfortunately my enquiries showed that these decapitated bodies were not those of the real brigands of these regions at all, but of some strangers who arrived at the city gates and could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and who had accordingly been executed so as to be on the safe side.

Most of the magistrates in Shensi are now natives of the province, young students and military officers of the new school, but in one of the districts on this road we met an official of the old type of magistrate *de carrière*, a Hunanese who had just come down from Chinese Turkestan where he had been serving for years. Though the virtues of the new type of local official in China may be great, it was a pleasure to meet a gentleman of the old school with his many and varied experiences, and we had a long talk about mutual acquaintances serving in the deserts of the far North West.

From Yichün the path follows down the ridge descending gradually for 35 li to the village of P'iench'iao, where the mountains give way once more to loess hills and the ridge flattens out into a plateau. The track continues across this tableland, winding to and fro to avoid the usual rifts in the loess falling away into the valleys on either side, and then descends steeply for the last five li to reach the district city of Chungpu lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east.

We were now once more in the loess with its glaring dry heat and choking dust. The season of the year was early June, when all over North China there is a spell of very hot dry weather, corresponding, presumably, to the heat of Northern India before the monsoon. In July and August the rains break, and though the steamy heat is then trying enough, and the loess is turned into slimy mud, the change is a great relief.

At Chungpu we were met by the Taoyin of Northern Shensi, whose seat is at Yülin Fu on the edge of the Ordos. His post is at present a most difficult one owing to the northern districts being so overrun with brigands. He told us that the extreme north of the province was much less desolate and more prosperous than the districts we were now traversing. We had heard much of the terrible "bitter-

487 this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a
few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the
133 bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet
called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The
crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable
throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest
and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After
the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path
runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and
then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here con-
taining a considerably less volume of water than where
crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due
to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between.
[311] Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood
have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan
Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and
depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings
one to Fu Chou.

361 Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city,
is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into
712 the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes
of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley
with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol
ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former
importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed
condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated
little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact
that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese
[166] remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact
that it had been sacked four times by brigands during
the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up
residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or
634 provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities
and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The
625 post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly
unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men
579 to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei
tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if
he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The
official of one of these cities informed me that it was in-
advisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

place having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there
would be nothing to attract another raid provided there were 579
no modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver,
opium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go
for. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou 712
was a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain
behind the town, built by the magistrate and the few
remaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In 534
the centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient
bronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang
Dynasty, the only object of value which survives the
periodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to
Ch'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west
trails in these parts.

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 487
to 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through
poor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The 133
loess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the 361
whole region gives the impression of turning into desert.
Several miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of 342
caves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts
built of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity
of wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for
constructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably
the people are so used to living in caves that they do not
feel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is
not to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in
winter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage
which is always going on in the loess these caves are con-
stantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct
when it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan
is a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a
city.

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River 487
and follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after
three to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass 133
(4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen
Shui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously
enough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent
and descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy
downs. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

From Hoyang to Ch'engch'eng, a short march of 45 li, 487
the trail runs west across the same undulating plains, 133
traversing two deep cañons *en route*. Ch'engch'eng, a [634]
second class district city, is a replica of Hoyang.

The next stage to P'uch'eng is a very long march,
called 105 li, probably over 30 miles, for the li are long on
these prairies. The trail runs south across the plain past 361
numerous hamlets, descending gradually, for three to four
hours' march, and then drops by easy gradients in the loess
terraces to the walled township of Yungfeng Chen, 50 li
from Ch'engch'eng, in the valley of the Lo River. These
little walled towns often have the characters for their names
inscribed over the gateway, like stations on a railway, a
custom which is most useful to the traveller, and which I
have not noticed elsewhere.

Five li west of Yungfeng the Lo River, at low water a 487
few feet deep and fifteen yards wide, and of the consistency [491]
of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. The Lo here flows
from north to south; on the right bank rises a loess bluff 133
a few hundred feet high, and on the left the open valley
some miles wide stretches up by easy slopes and low terraces
to the level of the plateau. From the ferry the trail ascends
the bluff constituting the edge of the tableland, and then
runs west across the usual undulating wheat prairies, dotted
with walled farms and villages, for the rest of the way to 361
P'uch'eng.

P'uch'eng lies in the open plain backed by low
mountains about ten miles to the north. It is a large and
important place, a first class district city and the centre of
a great wheat-growing region. Many prominent men in
Shensi have their homes in the district, which therefore, in
these days of home rule, exercises considerable influence in
the province. These large first class districts in the loess of
Central Shensi, such as P'uch'eng, Lint'ung, Weinan, and
Fup'ing, the very heart of ancient China, have always been
proverbial for their agricultural wealth, and to this day the
provincial Government subsists largely off their land tax [651]
revenues.

From P'uch'eng to Fup'ing, another long march of 95 487
li, the trail continues west across the same undulating
prairies past many villages including the township of 133

hands of Peking and the Northern Generals, when it was over; and the power of the North to retain in its hands the nominal government of the country, though it has so far proved itself incapable of subduing the South and the South West in a military sense, remains the only decisive and stable factor in the situation.

From Paoch'eng to Mien Hsien is a distance of 90 li by a good road up the Han valley plain, dotted with many prosperous hamlets and villages; at the time of our passage it was largely under cotton where the land did not permit of irrigation for rice. Fifty li out a tributary river from the north is crossed by an iron chain suspension bridge and the large village of Huangsha P'u on the banks of the Han is reached. Further on another river from the mountains to the north has to be crossed by a ford, and though it was now the rainy season, the magistrate of Mien Hsien, who was travelling with us, assured us that its passage would present no difficulties, as he had crossed it coming to meet us on the previous day. But it had been raining all day, and rivers in China are wont to increase and decrease in size with extraordinary rapidity. When we reached this particular stream we found, instead of the ford a foot deep, which we had been led to expect, a roaring torrent deeper than a man's height. A dilapidated little temple was discovered near by in which we made shift to camp for the night while waiting for the rain to stop and the waters to subside; but before darkness fell the magistrate's efforts resulted in a boat being secured, and we packed up again and started off to try and reach Mien Hsien that night. The passage of the river was a long business, but everything was got over in the end, and we continued our journey in the dark. The path seemed to run more or less along the banks of the Han, into which I nearly rode on more than one occasion, past the township of Ts'aiyuan Chen, which is a larger place than the district city and evidently a trading centre connected with the junk traffic on the river; and ten li further on the East Gate of Mien Hsien is reached, where we arrived about nine in the evening, wet through and tired out.

Mien Hsien, a second class district city, lies at the extreme western end of the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain, which extends eastwards to below Yang Hsien. The out-

the edge of a precipitous cañon, which has engulfed the road during recent years, and . . ntinue again on the further side, while the track now in . . winds round the head of the ra. .ne. All through the loess country of Shensi and Kansu it is the . . e story, the track winding about to avoid the rifts, which are ever widening and working backwards by the collapse of their vertical walls. We were met on the provincial border by some Kansu officials and a couple of dozen Mahomedan braves, picturesque looking warriors mounted on handsome Kansu ponies, from whose appearance it was evident we were entering a new country. All Chinese in the North can ride after a fashion; but a Kansu Mahomedan, a Mongol, or a Tibetan sits his pony as though born to the saddle. Thus escorted we dropped by a long descent of ten li through a gully in the loess to Ching Chou (now Chingch'uan Hsien), and found ourselves once more in the valley of the Ching Ho.

From Ching Chou to P'ingliang Fu is a distance of 130 li, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the village of Paishui Yi, 75 li out. The road, a broad tree-lined highway, runs up the valley of the Ching Ho, which is well cultivated and populated. The trees along this road, which extend on and off all the way from Hsian to Lanchou, are said to have been planted by the order of the great General Tso, the conqueror of the Mahomedans, and if so, all travellers in summer time have reason to be thankful to him for the welcome shade they afford. At Paishui Yi we were met by the P'ingliang magistrate, one of the very best district officers we came across in all our journeys, who proceeded that same evening to take advantage of his presence in the village to try a case in the courtyard of the rest-house in which we were stopping; no red tape or ceremony of any kind, but a quick, straightforward hearing. Kansu is an old-fashioned and conservative province, and at the time of our visit was jogging along in much the same way as under the Manchus, without having adopted many of the new methods of the Republic. This magistrate was a regular territorial official *de carrière*, the son of an official, and, though still quite young, had served for some years as a magistrate under the previous regime. Consequently he was thoroughly conversant with his work, and compared

favourably with many of the young magistrates in Shensi, promoted to their posts straight from the schools or the army through revolutionary influence, and without administrative experience of any kind.

P'ingliang, lying near the head of the Ching Ho valley at an altitude of over 4000 feet, is an important place, an agricultural market town in a wheat-growing region, and the administrative centre of Eastern Kansu. Being the seat of a Taoyin and a General, we had as usual a festive time during our short stay. The town, like most Kansu cities, is half empty, but the east suburb, the Mahomedan quarter, is busy and full of well-stocked shops. It was there that we first noticed the white caps of the Kansu Mahomedans, of whom we were to see so much during the next few months. The prosperity of the suburb compared to the city and their presence there were connected by the fact that until recently no Mahomedan was permitted to reside inside the walls of an official city in Kansu (one of the suppressive measures taken against them after the great rebellion); with the arrival of the republic, however, and its watchword of equality for the five races (Chinese, Mahomedans, Manchus, Tibetans, and Mongols), this disability was allowed to lapse. Frequent reference to the Mahomedans of the North West will be made in the following chapters, but the subject of Islam in China is an obscure and contentious one, and it should be noted that the statements here made are not the product of scientific enquiries, but merely the results of conversations with Chinese, mostly of the official classes, who, though sometimes Moslems themselves, were only acquainted with the superficial facts and popular traditions relating to the Mahomedans and their religion.

I estimate the Mahomedans of Kansu to constitute from a quarter to a third of the total population. They are freely scattered throughout the districts of the province as merchants, especially dealers in horses, but they are settled on the land more especially in two regions, in the South and the North respectively, roughly separated by the Great West Road. In the South they form a kind of Mahomedan wedge between the Chinese and the Tibetans of the Kokonor, centring round Hochou and Hsunhua on the Yellow River; in the North they extend from P'ingliang through Kuyuan,

and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia.

magisterial business. She held her office by inherited right, and was reported to us as a person of remarkable ability. This chance meeting subsequently led to some correspondence with this very interesting lady, to whom we sent a present of a well-bound copy of the New Testament, and from whom we received a cordial invitation to visit her at Lotus City, and to instruct her people, an invitation which so far we have not been able to accept. Père Huc, in writing of Pingfan over a hundred years ago, spoke of the ruddy complexion and brown or even red hair not infrequently seen, as well as of the religious habits of its people. We were immediately struck by the same characteristics. One afternoon we were visited by a group of fortune-tellers. An old woman, aged seventy, was escorted by two younger ones, whose hazel eyes, red cheeks and brown hair differentiated them entirely from the Chinese around. The object of their quest was quite definite: 'We have heard,' said the old woman, 'that you are able to show us how to obtain remission of sins, and we have come to ask you to instruct us.' Two days later she was back again: 'All you told me is true,' she began; 'my son has been reading to me the book you sent, and I want some more of the same kind.'

All too quickly the month of our stay passed by, and the missionaries, whose house we were occupying, returned; we then moved on to Liangchow. On the day of our departure, we were deeply touched by the love and courtesy shown us by these townsfolk. Presents of food for the road were brought to us by several of our newly-made friends, and after dark a little boy arrived with a bag of extraordinarily good anthracite supplied by the mines of Chenfan, and suitable for burning in our foot-warmer braziers.

Whether in winter or in summer, whether by litter

The days spent there were very hot and tiring, but eminently worth while.

CHAPTER XXXI

JADE GATE TO ANSI

To get away from Hwahaitz proved a more arduous business than reaching it had been, and fifty miles of the dreary Gobi still stretched between us and the town of Yümen—Jade Gate—which was our next objective. In the whole of these fifty miles there was only one spot where water was obtainable, and this was merely a brackish spring near to a hut in which lived an old couple. We left Hwahaitz at 4 p.m. on a very hot day, but after sunset it turned bitterly cold. At 2 a.m. we reached the hut, where, having rolled ourselves in a coverlet, we lay down on the sand, but by 4 a.m. the wearisome spectacle of the sun staring at us over the rim of the world, fetched us reluctantly back to our wanderings. By 3 p.m. we joyfully sighted the distinctive tower of Jade Gate, and a more exhausted, travel-worn party seldom entered its portals, but as this was our third visit to Yümen there were plenty of friends to greet us. The gay little town was now looking its best, the opium fields were in bud, the wheat was green, while the freshness of early summer was still upon the foliage. We spent some days in the city, and discovered that a few changes had taken place since our last visit. The Mandarin, with whose wife we had been friendly, had left, and his successor had modernised the entrance of the Yamen. A decoration of crossed flags ornamented the main entrance, over which a clock face was painted, the hands pointing as usual to

the hour at which the midday meal is served. In place of the customary fresco of the tiger endeavouring to seize the sun in its jaws, which symbolises the covetousness of the man who seeks to devour his neighbour's goods, the wall was frescoed with the 'Map of China's Shame,' showing China and her dependencies, with prominent scarlet patches indicating those portions which have been seized by foreign powers, and a similar map was exhibited in all the towns we visited in North-West China.

The business men, with whom we were friendly, seeing the group of students with us, at once seriously warned us of the trouble we might certainly expect in attempting to cross the Turkestan border with them. We learnt that young men were constantly impressed at that point, and afterwards were neither allowed to continue their journey nor to turn back, as the Governor of Sinkiang was raising an army of defence, and was conscripting every man who passed that way. They consequently earnestly begged us not to risk such complications as might ensue on the attempt to take our fellow-workers with us into Turkestan. Needless to say, the students themselves, keen, enthusiastic, and ready as they were to face every emergency, felt quite confident that all would turn out well, but our wider experience caused us to spend many anxious moments as we faced this new contingency. Our attention was also drawn to the fact that the Turki merchants, who usually travelled in large numbers up and down the road, were no longer to be seen, since, by the Governor's regulation, no man from Sinkiang could enter China, neither could one from Kansu pass into Sinkiang.

For many years the atmosphere of China had been so constantly disturbed by rumours, that if we had paid much attention to them our work must have come to a

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635 PROVINCES--political organization of extended regions embracing a number of districts (e.g., a Persian satrapy, a Roman or Inca province, an American state); governmental personnel (e.g., executive, advisory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection (e.g., appointment, election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority, prerogatives, functions, and activities associated with each position; etc. See also:

Tribe and nation 619

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-pu) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

Among the Chirese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

HISTORICAL SETTING

I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

Most of the magistrates' yamens throughout Northern and North-Eastern Kansu were dreadfully dilapidated, but the one here was about the worst we saw, being scarcely habitable, and in keeping with the rest of this ruined little city. The magistrate complained that the inhabitants of his district were poor to the verge of starvation.

I was told that the road across the Liupan Shan was made by General Tso to facilitate communications during the campaigns against the Mahomedans, the former route, which is still used to a limited extent, passing from Wat'ing to Kuyuan, and thence *via* Haich'eng and Chingyuan to Lanchou.

From Lungtê to Chingning Chou is a march of 90 li down the valley, which is cultivated but very arid-looking, and dotted with wretched farms and hamlets. There are no trees except those which line the road. The arid climate of North China is often ascribed to the destruction of the forests by the Chinese in ancient days, but it is doubtful whether the loess was ever covered by trees owing to its peculiar consistency; it is certainly quite unsuited for the growth of trees nowadays. Further on the valley becomes quite barren, the ground being covered with a white alkaline efflorescence, and 15 li from Chingning it narrows to a gorge with the path ledged in the hillside, eventually debouching on to a more fertile valley where irrigation is practised. Chingning, a considerable market town, lies in this valley.

On the following march the road turns up a side ravine, climbs a long steep hill to a pass in the loess, and descends through a maze of loess hills to a valley which leads down to the village of Kaochia P'u (45 li); it continues to follow this valley for another hour's march and then turns north-west up a long narrow defile in the loess, a weary trek with repeated little steep descents and ascents in and out of side nullahs, for the rest of the way to Ch'ingchia Yi, 90 li from Chingning, a walled village and former posting stage and fort. These posting stages, with which we became so familiar on the main roads of Kansu, are mostly provided with official rest-houses called *hsingt'ai*, in which we were usually quartered; though very dilapidated they provided quite good accommodation in the summer, being usually uninhabited and therefore free from smells. The

with the goods of the Mahomedan merchants of Ho Chou.

We passed the night at Ch'ingshui, where we met a military officer sent up to escort us down into China Proper who calmly informed us with little apparent interest that China and Japan were at war. This news afterwards turned out to be a local echo of the crisis existing between the two countries two months previously, and the incident shows that even today momentous events on the coast have comparatively little interest for the inhabitants of the far interior. Below Ch'ingshui the path continues through winding gorges with the foaming torrent hemmed in by forest-clad mountains for 20 li to the likin barrier of T'ungmen Kuan, where the gorges debouch on to an open cultivated valley. This is one of the numerous "Gates" leading into and out of China Proper on her western and northern frontiers. There is a bit of an old wall to be seen, perhaps a portion of the Kokonor loop of the Great Wall. From here to Ho Chou, a distance of 60 li, a good highway runs down the fertile valley past numerous Mahomedan villages. We did not see the valley at its best, because it poured with rain during the whole march, and the clay soil was turned into a slippery morass; at one place, crossing a nullah by a narrow causeway, one of our mule litters containing a cook was overturned into the ditch, and remained literally upside down with the eight legs of the two mules pointing skywards for some time, till they were hauled out in that position, no damage being done.

Ho Chou (new name T'aoho Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in a most delightful valley plain, from five to six thousand feet above the sea, sheltered by high mountains, and as fertile as a garden. The mountains to the west and south-west (T'aitzu Shan) are very bold and rocky, and carried a good deal of snow at the time of our visit (middle of July). Ho Chou itself consists of a small Chinese town with large and busy Mahomedan suburbs, containing many fine mosques and seminaries. It is the centre of Mahomedan power and influence in the province, and General Ma Anliang, who actually lives a day's journey or so away near the Yellow River, has a fine residence in the suburb. The Chinese magistrate in the city seems to have little to do

with the Mahomedan population of the district. At the time of our visit there was also a Chinese General with a few hundred old-fashioned Chinese troops in the city, the Mahomedan troops, of whom there are many thousands in the neighbourhood, being quartered in the surrounding Mahomedan districts. We spent a day in Ho Chou, which I thought a delightful place, feasting and receiving callers.

The Chinese differentiate between two kinds of Mahomedans in Kansu, the Sala, the descendants of a Turkish tribe which came from the neighbourhood of Samarcand some five or six hundred years ago and settled on the upper Yellow River round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and the original Mahomedan population of the province, which also came from Turkestan, but at a much earlier period. The former are really Chinese Turks, while the latter are probably so mixed with early Chinese colonists who adopted Islam as to merit the title of Mahomedan Chinese. The Chinese look upon all the Moslems as being of a different race to themselves, and they are assigned one of the five colours of the republican flag, which symbolises the union of the five Mongoloid races of the former Chinese Empire. They are locally known as Hui Hui, or Hsiao Chiao Jen; the origin of the former name is still occupying the attention of scholars, and has been explained in various far-fetched and unsatisfactory ways; the latter means People of the Lesser Religion. The Mahomedan religion itself is known as Ch'ing Chen Chiao (Pure and True Religion). The Sala, who are considered by the Chinese to be the more fanatical and dangerous, show their comparatively recent Turkish origin in their long narrow faces, large eyes, and strong beards, and a Turkish dialect of some kind still survives amongst them.

There are two large sects amongst the Mahomedans of Kansu, those who follow the Lao Chiao (Old Religion) and those who follow the Hsin Chiao (New Religion), which I have heard compared by the Chinese to the Catholic and Protestant Churches of Christianity. These two sects are bitterly hostile to one another, and generally speaking the Mahomedans are always quarrelling amongst themselves about religious matters. But, in spite of these apparent internal dissensions, they present on the whole a united

front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Government schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church. Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

li out cultivation and houses are reached at Kaochia Ta Men, the beginning of the large Chenfan oasis, and for the rest of the stage the road runs through rich irrigated lands with occasional excursions into sand dunes.

Chenfan Hsien is a prosperous little district city in a highly fertile oasis. Immediately round the town is a belt of rich cultivation, and patches of irrigated land occur in the desert for 200 li to the north. There are no villages in these oases, the people living entirely in walled farms. Wheat is the main crop raised, and the abundant water supply from the snow-fed streams for irrigation purposes, combined with an almost rainless climate, appears to assure good crops with machine-like regularity. Chenfan compares favourably with most towns in Kansu, the streets are clean and well kept, there is a noticeable absence of ruins, and the shops display a surprising variety of goods. At the time of our visit the district enjoyed the services of one of the best territorial officials we met throughout the North West, a young man who really appeared to have the interests of the people at heart, and to devote himself as far as lay in his power to improve their lot. He remarked that the post, though so isolated, was pleasant enough in the summer, but that in the winter the north winds from the Alashan desert were terrible, much worse than the severest winter sandstorms ever experienced at Peking. The inhabitants of the surrounding oases seem entirely cut off from the rest of China, and form little self-supporting communities. Chenfan itself, however, is, strange to say, in direct communication with Tientsin and the coast by means of a much frequented camel route from Kueihua Ch'eng to Liangchou across the Mongolian grass country and the Alashan desert. This road, which debouches from the desert at Chenfan, enables the Mahomedans of the Ho Chou and Hsining neighbourhood to communicate with the coast without passing through Chinese Kansu at all.

From Chenfan we had to proceed to Hsining, the frontier town on the high road to the Kokonor and Tibet. Enquiries showed that we had the choice of two roads, to the north or south of the snow mountains behind Liangchou respectively. As the latter would have meant retracing our steps to Kulang, we decided to follow the former, which entailed going due

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

west until we had got behind the Liangchou mountains, and then dropping south to Hsining along the Kokonor border. There is a shorter trail south-west from Liangchou, passing apparently more or less directly over the snow-range, but we were told that it was very difficult, seldom used, and probably impassable for loaded mules. There are only a limited number of trails leading up from the plains of Mongolia through the Nan Shan to the Kokonor plateau, and the route we followed, though little known to foreigners, is probably one of the most important of these tracks. It reaches the plateau by means of a famous gorge known as the Pien Tu K'ou (meaning Passage across the Frontier), and the section of our route from Chenfan, in the Alashan desert, to Êpo, in the Kokonor, is probably a portion of an important trail connecting Urga with Lassa, placing these two capitals of Lamaism in communication without the necessity of passing through settled Chinese territory. Our first few days' march lay across a portion of the Alashan desert to regain the Great West Road at Yungch'ang, a very trying experience, since the season of the year was the end of July, when nobody travels in the desert if he can possibly avoid it.

The first stage on this road being a very long one of 100 li across the desert, the magistrate had kindly arranged for us to break it into two by sending on tents to some wells 30 li out. Leaving Chenfan the road runs south through the oasis for 15 li, crosses the main branch of the Chenfan River by a ford, and then turns west into the desert. Two hours' march further on we reached the wells of Sha Ching, where we found a luxurious camp established for us by the forethought of the magistrate. The water from the wells is evil-looking and very brackish, but we had arranged to bring sweet water with us. The contrast between these rich oases, such as Chenfan, and the absolutely lifeless desert, lying side by side so that one passes in one stride from the one to the other, is most striking. The great wealth of the irrigated land is evidenced by the fact that the district of Chenfan, though containing so much desert, offers a highly lucrative post to its magistrate; that is to say the land-tax receipts, consisting of grain, are large; the grain collected in this fashion by the magistrate is remitted by him to the

provincial treasury in silver at an old-established rate much below the market price, permitting a considerable profit to be made on the transaction. The productiveness of the land is of course entirely dependent on the irrigation streams from the snows of the Nan Shan, the magistrate informing us that he had been nine months at his post and only seen rain fall on two occasions.

The following day's march of 70 li to the oasis of Shehsia Kou would have been easy enough had we not lost our way. We started at 3 a.m. in order to try and reach the wells of T'ou Ching, 40 li out, before the sun got too hot. The trail led across a waste of sand hills and soon ceased to exist. The desert is devoid of all vegetation and lifeless except for antelope, which were constantly in view; what they find to eat I cannot imagine. After we had been marching for some hours the soldier from Chenfan who was acting as guide announced that he had lost the way. Looking for the wells where we were to have our midday halt was like searching for a needle in a haystack, and the position was unpleasant enough. Altogether we wandered round, steering more or less west, for some seven or eight hours, suffering greatly from thirst, with the sand often over the ponies fetlocks. Our only landmark was an ancient ruined tower, the remains of some old fortification in this region, perhaps a part of the Great Wall. At last one of the soldiers sent out to reconnoitre from a rise descried the tents pitched at the wells in pretty well the opposite direction to that in which we were then trekking, and an hour later men and animals were satisfying their thirst. Another three hours' march across the desert brought us to the oasis of Shehsia Kou, where we were comfortably lodged in the interior of one of the fortified farms so common in this region.

The next stage is another desert march of 80 li to the village of Ningyuan P'u, but there is an oasis, Tung Wan, half-way, the going is better, and we took care not to lose our way. Ningyuan P'u is a walled village at the mouth of an irrigated gorge where the mountains meet the desert plain. From here to Yungch'ang is a distance of 75 li. The trail follows up the irrigated valley for 35 li to the hamlet of Tsungchia Chai, where it turns up a barren stony ravine, crosses a low pass, and descends across an arid sloping

accompanied us that in crossing it we passed again from the Kokonor territory into Kansu.

From the pass the track drops steeply into a rough stony ravine, the stream in which is followed in a south-easterly direction for the remaining 70 li to Yungan Ch'eng. For the first half of the way the track is very bad, lying down the bed of a stream which is apt to rise in wet weather and render the road impassable; further on the going improves, the gorge opening out on to a flat grassy valley, and the last hour's march is over prairie, spoilt for riding, however, by the countless holes of a small rat-like rodent; in places the ground is alive with these little animals, dodging in and out of their holes like miniature marmots. The bed of the stream flowing down from the pass is apparently rich in gold, and Mahomedan gold washers were at work at various points when we passed. They live in tiny tents and appear to pass a very hard life for small returns. The industry is under the patronage of the leading Mahomedan Generals. We followed the washing in several spots and always saw a few grains of gold dust produced; nuggets are, we were told, occasionally found. We had descended this stream almost from its source, so that in this case the gold-bearing rocks from which the gold has been washed cannot be far off. Very large profits can be made in ordinary times by buying this gold on the Kokonor and selling it in Shanghai.

Just before reaching Yungan we passed some Mongol tents, identical in appearance with the felt yurts to be seen in the grass country north of Kalgan, and it seemed strange to come across these people here, whom one associates with summer trips to the north of Peking. The Kokonor territory is the meeting-point of the Tibetan and Mongol races, and here, as elsewhere, the black rectangular tents of the former may be seen almost side by side with the round grey tents of the latter. It appears that the Mongols, who originally occupied the country far to the south, are gradually retreating northwards before the encroachments of the more virile Tibetans. Unlike the Tibetans, who are in these parts all robbers by nature, the Mongols are peaceful and inoffensive herdsmen, who give the Chinese authorities no trouble. They are organized into Banners under their own Princes,

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nominally responsible to the Chinese officials at Hsining. Mongol tribes are found living in the bend of the Yellow River, near the Golok country, and even as far south as the country between Jyekundo and Nagchuka towards Lassa, but appear to have become completely Tibetanised, and to retain only the tradition of their origin.

Yungan is a replica of Êpo, only poorer, an old walled post with the interior almost entirely in ruins. It lies not far from the Tatung River, surrounded by grassy downs and overlooked by rocky snow-capped ranges. One is here on the reverse side of the outer barrier range of the Nan Shan, the snows of which provide the water for the streams which fertilize the Liangchou oases. This portion of the Kokonor border is the meeting-point of the four widely-spread races of High Asia, Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols.

From Yungan to Pei Tatung is another long march of over 100 li. The trail runs east and then south-east across undulating grass prairies dotted with herds of yak for 45 li to a solitary inn or ranch known as Paishui Ho, whence it continues across a plain, gradually approaching the Tatung River, to reach Pei Tatung. The going is excellent across grass all the way. Pei Tatung, lying on the left bank of the Tatung River, is another walled village mostly in ruins. Barley is grown in the neighbourhood, the first cultivation met with since entering the Pien Tu K'ou from Maying Tung. The valley of the Tatung River in this neighbourhood consists of a rich grass prairie bounded on either side by rocky snow-capped ranges; to the south the mountains approach close to the river; to the north they rise on the other side of the plain. Between Kueitê on the Yellow River and Kanchou in Western Kansu the Nan Shan consist of three huge parallel ranges, dividing off the valleys of the Tatung, Hsining, and Yellow rivers. We were now between the two highest and most northern of these ranges.

The following day's march occupied us from dawn till eight o'clock at night, the distance being called 100 li but entailing the passage of the Tatung River and of a high pass known as the Tapan Shan. The river, some eighty yards wide (in August), deep, and very rapid, has to be crossed immediately on leaving Pei Tatung. Men and loads

bridge has replaced the old bridge-of-boats, which until 491
quite recently spanned the great flood. Green sedan- 634
chairs, we found, were still used by the officials, and the 493
Yamens still retained the grand style which had existed
under the Manchu Government—a pomp which entirely
vanished from Shansi with the entry of the Republic,
and has also since passed from Kansu, with the arrival
of Marshal Feng's armies. We spent three weeks in 797
Lanchow, staying most of the time in the central China
Inland Mission compound, but paying visits to the
Borden Hospital on the further bank of the river, and to
the large boys' school at the foot of the Blue Lotus
Hills, both of which are under the auspices of the China
Inland Mission, which is the only society working in
Lanchow. The whole visit was brimful of interest, and
we were particularly struck with the way in which the
Christian community had impressed itself on the civic
life of the town.

The great Yellow River, during summer months, 502
supplies a waterway by which the journey to Peking
may be accomplished in about thirty days by raft.
These rafts are floated by means of inflated goat and [501]
bullock skins, which are roped together and carried
very swiftly down-stream. Though the journey is
popular, being quicker and easier than if taken by road,
yet the element of danger is always present, and Dr.
George King, at whose hospital we stayed when in
Lanchow, was drowned in May 1927 when travelling by
this route. His raft caught on a sandbank, and in
helping the men to release it, he fell into the water and
was swept away.

During the winter months the river is frozen over and
can be crossed on foot. When the stream is freezing,
and while it is thawing, the toll of accidents is always
heavy. During the whole of our stay the surface of the

3;Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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which a tiny spring kept overflowing. Green mosses 788
lined the bed of the crystalline rivulet, and the diamond
drops reflected the sunshine. The wheel turned with
a subdued creak, which seemed almost like the murmur-
ing of the prayer inscribed on its lines of chamfered
edges—Om mani padme hum—' Hail thou jewel in the
lotus flower '—the offering of a blinded people to its
undiscerned god.

A mile[1] apart from each other stand two walled 361
cities, the more imposing of the two being the Manchu
town formerly occupied by the pensioners of the ruling
dynasty, but which now consists of a great enclosure of
uninhabited or ruined houses, so that in a space equal
to the area of a large town, at the present hour only
six or eight families are living. Of the remaining
former inhabitants many have been massacred, others
have fled, and the ranks of the beggars have been
replenished by these truly unfortunate people. The 366
Chinese city consists of quiet streets busy only on market
days, the shops of which being so poorly provided with
the necessities of life that vegetables are brought a
three days' journey to be sold here. Its western wall
is flanked by a suburban thoroughfare composed of
inns, wheelwrights' and blacksmiths' shops, which,
together with food-vendors, supply all the necessities
of traveller, carter, and muleteer. Some very fine 563
temples crown the summits of the surrounding hills, and 782
parties of Tibetans riding to and fro on the Sining
road, leave offerings of silken *khada*[1] hanging to the
idols, before which their obeisance has been made.

In the first home which we visited in Pingfan we met 634
a man who was courier to a woman-magistrate of the
aboriginal tribes. Her residence was in Liencheng—
Lotus City—but she constantly visited Pingfan on

[1] Votive scarves.

[1][Valley of Pingfan--Analyst]

civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years , the extreme northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

provinces of Northwest China. How much resulted from natural increase and how much is due to recent immigration, is hard to say, because there are no available data. Nevertheless, judged by some current information, the large increase of population of Shensi and Kansu is probably due more to natural increase than to im migration, while the cause for the relatively small increase of Chinghai and Sinkiang is perhaps just the opposite.

D. Distribution of Population by Provinces, Ethnic Groups, Occupation, and Urban Centers
(See Table XIV.)

Before the abolition of Ninghsia in 1955, its population was less than 800,000 living in an area of about 90,000 square miles with a density of about eight persons per square mile. At that time, the density of former Kansu Province was eighty per square mile. Thus the average population density of Chinghai, Sinkiang, and former Ninghsia would be about the same, seven to eight persons per square mile.

Shensi: The population of Shensi Province is predominantly Chinese, concentrated in the Han-chung Basin and the Wei-ho Valley Plain. The former is in the southern part of the Province, drained by the upper Han River flowing into the Yangtze at Kankow. The latter is in the east central part of the Province, drained by the Wei-ho which enters the Yellow River above Tung-kuan. The Han-chung Basin and Wei-ho Plain are the two most densely peopled areas of the province of Shensi and the whole Northwest Region. Northern Shensi is hilly and mountainous. It is more thinly populated. There are about four million Mohammedans or Chinese Moslems known as Dungans. They are distributed more in the northwestern part of the province. In addition, a small number of Mongols are found near the Ordos in the north.

Kansu: The former province of Kansu is fairly populated and known as the "Secondary Homeland" of the Moslems in China. The number of Dungans amounts to nearly one third, while the true or Han-Chinese account for about one half of the total population of the province. The rest are Mongols and "Fan" natives. The Mongols are distributed mostly in the former Ninghsia Province; there are the Alashan Mongols scattered in the desert of Alashan in the east, and the Ölöt (Oirat) Mongols along the Ta-hei-ho or Jo-shui or the Edsin River in the west. The "Fan" natives are found in the southwest close to Chinghai Province. They are related to the Tibetan family. Thus they are often called Hsi-Fan or Western Fan or Tsang-fan, the Tibetan natives. The Shero-Yögur, Sarigh-Uighur and Monguor form smaller minority groups.

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635 162 Chinghai: The total population of Chinghai province is just over one and a half million. Althoug it is the smallest in number it is the most varied in composition, and it is the most unevenly distributed. About two thirds of the total population live in the few counties of the Hsi-ning district along the Huang-shui (Hsi-ning-ho) and Ta-tung and the main upper Yellow River in the eastern part of the province. These counties originally belonged to Kansu and were added to Chinghai when the province was formed in 1928. The remaining third is widely scattered. As a result of the territorial shift in provincial administration, the population of Chinghai is predominantly Chinese. The Chinese and Dungans plus some Moslems (Salars) are distributed mainly in the eastern portion of the province. According to a questionable report some 25,000 Salars have recently moved from Sinkiang into the province of Chinghai. Also a small group of Kazakh have recently migrated into Chinghai. Some of them are found in the extreme Northwestern part of the province, bordering Sinkiang.

The next important elements are the "Fan" or Tibetans and Mongols. The Tibetan "Fan" are found in the higher parts of the province, such as the Nan-shan Mountain Belt in the north and the Ta-chi-shih massif in the southeast and Yu-shu district, or open plateau areas south of the Baian Khara divide, drained by the upper Yangtze River. The Mongols, Monguors (Tu-jen) and Oirats are found essentially in the upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor.

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635 162 Sinkiang: Sinkiang is the largest province in size, covering one sixth of the country-s total area. It is twelve times larger than the province of Hopei. It has the smallest population among all the provinces except Chinghai . Apart from the north and southwest part of the Dzungarian Basin and the Ili Valley where they are more evenly spread, the people are concentrated in isolated clusters of oases scattered around the Takla Makan Desert in the Tarim Basin. The main portion of the population of Kashgaria or the Tarim Basin is concentrated in these oases at the edge of the desert and along the foot of the encircling mountains. The valleys of the surrounding mountains are occupied by nomads and semi-settled natives leading a pastoral life.

The composition of the 4.8 million population of Sinkiang is most complicated. Sinkiang is known as a "Natural Museum of Ethnology of the World." Here one finds Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Turks, as well as some Indo-Europeans living side by side. As Pevtsov has said: "From the ethnological point of view the natives of Kashgaria resemble a mixture of ancient
S [771] Aryans of the Iranian branch with Turco-Mongols. By religion they are Sunni Moslems; they are very friendly toward foreigners.

TABLE IV. China's Northwest:Coal Reserve Distribution by Provinces.[1]
(Reserve in million metric tons and production in tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Total	Production(1955)
Shensi	750	71,200	71,950	650,000
Kansu	59	997	1,656[3]	110,000 (240,000 in 1947)
Ninghsia(now belongs to Kansu)	173	284	457	140,000
Chinghai	240	584	824	40,000
Sinkiang		31,980	31,980[2]	180,000

1. Mining Report, 1945, Chinese Geological Survey, cited by Nelson Dickerman:Natural resources of China, Foreign Minerals Survey, II, No. 7, (1948) Washington D. C. U.S. Bureau of Mines and also by George B. Cressey: China's 500 Million, 1955.

2. Present coal reserve of Sinkiang is estimated at 35,040 million metric tons.

3. A new discovery of 32 million metric tons of coal in 3arly 1955 should be added to Kansu's total reserve.

TABLE V. Iron Deposits in Sinkiang Province*

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Aksu	Ko-kan-chia	two deposits not of highest quality
	Tieh-pen-erh	" " " " " "
	Ko-la-pu-la-ko	
Ching-chi	Meng-ko-tu-ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi-kou	seven furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (Ili)	So-erh-ko-ling	
Pai-cheng	Ming-pu-la-kou mtn.	mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	T'a-erh-chi mtns.	
	Ya-se-la-min mts	
	Neng-li-ha-ta mtn	
	K'o-shih-ko-ko-pa-shih mtn.	

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TABLE V. (Continued)

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Ta-cheng(Chuguchak)	K'o-la-ta-fu-pan to Ch'erh Shan	vein 130 miles long largest in province
T'a-pan-cheng	unnamed	
Yengi Hissar	I-Ko-jih-ya-yen mtn	
	A-ha-mai-ti mtn.	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 113-14.

TABLE VI. Distribution of Iron Ore Reserves of N. W. China by Provinces*
(Reserve in 1000 metric tons, and production in metric tons)

Province	Proved	Estimated	Total	Percent	Production
Shensi	4,847	6,000	10,847	0.50	1,800
Kansu	2,196	310	2,486	0.10	24,000
Ninghsia	5,079	2,500	7,579	0.35	
Chinghai		5,000	5,000	0.23	
Sinkiang	47,537	1,200	48,737	2.23	

*PAI, CC: General Statement on the Mining Industry. Geological Survey of China, special Report, No. 7, Dec., 1945.

N.B. 1. The total iron ore reserve of Shensi has been raised from 0.5% to 2.3% of the nation's total. That would give it an approximate total of 50,000,000 metric tons.

2. The total iron ore reserve of Kansu has been raised to 12,600,000 metric tons.

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TABLE VII. Chief Copper Ore Deposits in Sinkiang*

Locale	Deposits	Comment
Sui-ting (Ili)	Wu-tsu-tao shan	
I-ning	Ha-erh-han-tu Shan	
K'ang-shan	unnamed	
Karashar	Ku-erh-tai shan	
Kashgar	Wu-lan-wu-su river	20% pure copper
	Su-hun-shan	40% pure copper
Kucha	New copper works	
	Old copper works	
	Su-pa-shih works	
Pai-cheng	Ho-se-erh works	
	Ko-ta works	
	Kung-po works	
	Upper works	
	Lower works	
Ta-pan-cheng	San-chia shan	
Tihua	Chai-o-pao	

*Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, p. 117.

TABLE VIII. Distribution of Copper Deposits of Northwest China

Province	Location of Deposit	Content	Remarks	Lat. & Long.
Shensi	Yu-feng-chia(Lo-nan)	10% Cu	Malachite	
			3,780 tons	
			(metal	
Chinghai	Ta-hsia (Lo-tu Hsien)	5.3% Cu	worth investi-	36.33 x 102.16
	Wei-chang-kou(Hsün-hua)	45% Cu	gating	35.38 x 102.35
Sinkiang	Gorban Bogdo (Tihua)		" "	43.42 x 88.18
	Jorga (Pai-cheng)		" "	
Wen-su, Turfan, Aksu, Yenchi (for the rest see previous table.)				

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TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
NorthChina	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
Lower Yangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

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TABLE XV. Distribution of the Urban Centers

Province	Cities	Approx. Population	General Remarks
Shensi	Sian	560,000 (1951)	Administrative & Industrial Center
	Nan-cheng(Han-cheng)	50,000 (1951)	Commercial
	T'ung-kuan	10,000 (1951)	Strategic
Kansu	Lan-chow (Kao-lan)	150,000 (1951)	Adm. & Trade Center
	Yin-chuan (Ninghsia)	80,000 (1951)	Capital of former Ninghsia Province
	Hsia-ho (Labrang)	5,000	Lamasery; religious center
Chinghai	Hsi-ning	50,000 (1951)	Admin. & Trade Center
Sinkiang	Urumchi (Tihua)	80,000 (1951)	Capital, strategic, com'l. & industrial center
	Chitai (Ku-cheng-tze)	30,000 (1931)	Wool Trade center
	Kuldja (I-ning)	30,000 (1931)	Com'l. center, built by Chinese 1762
	Turfan	100,000 (1931)	Com'l. center
	Kashgar (Shu-fu)	80,000	Industrial & com'l. center.

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Table 6

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Secondary Education in the Northwest in 1946

Province	Schools: Middle	Normal	Vocational	Total
Shensi	143	65	29	237
Kansu	160	25	14	199
Chinghai	4	10	2	16
Ninghsia	5	6	2	13
Sinkiang	8	11	4	23

(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

114 697 done in public welfare. The information about the situation in the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

635 645 747 657 It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

645 657 The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers; organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

657 747 731 Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

657 747 [722] [727] The activities of the National Relief Commission included care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them were sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Chinghai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organised under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

747 797 The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

Administrative Council was not completed until January 27, 1953. P'eng Te-huai was released from his post as chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council with a new assignment to command the Chinese Volunteer Corps in Korea, with the title of vice-premier of the Government Administration Council.

After this, the final step in abolishing the whole system of the administrative regions and their administrative bodies became almost insignificant. By a resolution in the thirty-second meeting of the central People's Government Council, formal abolition was achieved on June 19, 1954.

II. The Provincial and Other Lower Level Governments

A. Relationship to Regional Government

The provincial governments traditionally have been important links in the Chinese governmental system. During the decades prior to the Communist victory, when the regional power groups had become extremely influential, this fact was even more true. After the Communists took over, however, the power of the provincial government was temporarily weakened by the establishment of the administrative regions. When the Government Administration Council passed the Organizational Regulations of the Provincial People's Governments on January 6, 1950, the provincial governments were reduced almost to instruments of the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions. The first article of these regulations mentioned that the people of a province would execute their political power through the provincial people's congress. The second article promised that the provincial government, including the governor, would be elected by the provincial people's congress. However, the second section of Article 2, had most significance. It stated:

"In the first stage of liberation, for the sake of a speedy establishment of a revolutionary order, the provincial People's Government Council should be nominated by the government Administration Council, subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council; or by the People's Government Council of the administrative region... subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council."

The appointed term of the provincial People's Government Council was two years. But through reappointments, the same provincial People's Government Council could be continued indefinitely.

1. authority

In the same regulations, the provincial People's Government Councils were given authority similar to that of the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions. For instance,

I. Introduction

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of
(1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
(2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1)	New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000 people
2)	Kazakhs	300,000 "
3)	Kirghiz	70,000 "
4)	Taranchi	43,000 "
5)	Uzbeks	8,000 "
6)	Tatars	5,000 "
		3,426,000

It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese about 210,000 people
2) Dungans about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1)	Ölöts	15,000 people
2)	Torguts	18,000 "
3)	Khoshuts	21,000 "
4)	Chahar	8,000 "

Table 5
Primary Education in the Northwest in 1945

Province	Complete primary schools	Proportion to Hsiang and Chen	Junior primary schools	Proportion to pao	Total schools	Students Children	Students Adult
Shensi	1,137	1.2 school to 1 Hsiang or Chen	12,591	1.77 school to 1 pao	13,979*	852,237	512,519
Kansu	821		6,551	2 schools for 3 pao	7,372	398,260	173,133
Ninghsia	86	3 schools for 5 Hsiang or Chen	357	2 schools for 5 pao	443	36,509	16,754
Chinghai	195	.83 school for 1 Hsiang or Chen	752	.78 school for 1 pao	947	51,535	33,112
Sinkiang	201	1 school for 6 Hsiang or Chen**	677	1 school for 4 pao**	2,694**	298,600	45,500

* Including provincial, private and other schools.
** Including 1,515 private schools.
(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

they were to forward orders from above to the lower level governments; to make decisions or suggestions concerning the personnel, laws, and financial arrangements of the province; and to coordinate and supervise work in the area. There were, however, some new points. They were required "to execute the decisions of the provincial people's congresses."

a. limitations on authority

The significance of this requirement was lessened by the qualification: "provided that these decisions have been approved by the Government Administrative Council or the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions." Thus, nothing could be done on the provincial level that was not acceptable to the officials of higher levels. Second, the provincial councils were to "annul or revise the decisions and orders of the municipal and county people's government councils, or the municipal and county people's congresses under its jurisdiction, whenever these decisions and orders are contradictory to those of the higher level people's government." The higher government officials could over-ride the local interests.

b. increased authority

Under this system, the provincial governments of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang actually were branch offices of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, until the power of the latter was weakened in 1952. With the abolition of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council in June, 1954, the traditional importance and position of the provincial governments was fully restored. However, primarily they still are instruments of the central government.

B. People's Congress and People's Councils

The day after the First National People's Congress passed the new Chinese Communist Constitution, on September 21, 1954, the same congress passed the organic law for local governments. Taken at face value, this law gives more power to the local governments as well as to the people. From the town level up to the province, each is supposed to have a people's congress and a people's council, the congress representing the people, and the council acting as the executive body. Their position and interrelation can be seen in the following excerpts from the law:

1. Role of peoples' congress

Local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of government authority in their respective localities. (The Organic Law of People's Congresses and People's Councils at all Local levels in Chinese Peoples' Republic, p. 1, Article 3.)

a. election of deputies

Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central authority, counties, and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses

almost every phase of their lives.

The functions of the people's councils, reveal the contradictory character of the Communist system of local government. The Councils are responsible for carrying out decisions of the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, but they also have to carry out all decisions and orders from higher level government organs. The people's councils are the servants of the people, but they also are entrusted with stopping the execution of inappropriate decisions of people's congresses at the next lowest level. This power is especially significant since the higher people's councils must decide what decisions are inappropriate.

c. bureaus, offices and commissions

The Organic Law for local governments states that the provincial people's councils may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions according to local needs:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;
(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Industry;
(9) Commerce;
(10) Transportation and Communications;
(11) Agriculture and Forestry;
(12) Water Conservancy;
(13) Labor;
(14) Culture;
(15) Education;
(16) Public Health;
(17) Physical Culture;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups, the councils may also add a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

So far, no material is available concerning the actual structure of the northwestern provinces under the new law. However, it is known that the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs have been abolished.

Under the new law, the municipal people's council may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Safety;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;

(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Taxation;
(9) Industry;
(10) Commerce;
(11) Labor;
(12) Culture;
(13) Education;
(14) Public Health;
(15) Physical Culture;
(16) Municipal Construction;
(17) Public Utilities;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups they may also establish a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

The county people's councils may establish, according to need, the following divisions or bureaus:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Finance;
(4) Food;
(5) Taxation;
(6) Industry and Commerce;
(7) Agriculture and Forestry;
(8) Transportation and Communications;
(9) Culture and Education;
(10) Public Health;
(11) Administrative Office.

The people's councils of the hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns may establish, according to need, the following working committees:

(1) Civil Affairs
(2) Public Security;
(3) Armed Forces;
(4) Production and Cooperation;
(5) Finance and Taxation;
(6) Culture and Education;
(7) Mediation.

Members of the local people's congresses and other suitable individuals are encouraged to serve on these working committees.

D. Comparison with Nationalist Organization

If this system is compared with the system of local governments under the Nationalists, the following differences can be noted:

(1) The Nationalists adopted the council system only at the provincial level.

(2) Under the Nationalists, the heads of the provincial bureaus and

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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

TABLE II

SHENSI PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Ma Ming-fang
Vice-chairman: Chang Pang-ying
Chang Feng-hui
Han Chao-o
Members: 35 (1 Moslem, 34 Chinese)
Secretary-general: Shih I-chih
Deputy secretary-generals: Li Tsu-chien
Ch'i Kuo

COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
Director: Ma Ming-fang
Deputy director: Yang Yü-t'ing
Members: 13

COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL
Director: Han Chao-o
Deputy director: Li Ho-pang
Ts'ui T'ien-fu
Liu Ming-tsai
Members: 12

BUREAU OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION
Commissioner: Yang Po-lun
Vice-commissioner: Lü Hsiang-ch'en

BUREAU OF PUBLIC SAFETY
Commissioner: Chang Pang-ying
Vice-commissioners: Liu Tsu-i
Chia Huai-kuang

BUREAU OF FINANCE
Commissioner: Yang Yü-t'ing
Vice-commissioners: Feng Shao-hsü
Kuo Ai-cheng

BUREAU OF INDUSTRY
Commissioner: Chang I-ch'eng
Vice-commissioner: Wang Fu-ch'u

BUREAU OF COMMERCE
Commissioner: Li Wei-hsin
Vice-commissioner: Ch'en K'ai

BUREAU OF COMMUNICATION
Commissioner: Huang Tzu-ch'iang

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTY
Commissioner: Hsieh Huai-te
Vice-commissioner: Su Tsü-sheng

BUREAU OF LABOR
Commissioner: Chang Yü-ming

BUREAU OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION
Commissioner: Ching Yen-cheng
Vice-commissioners: Lu Ch'ieng-liang
Feng I-hang

BUREAU OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Commissioner: Ch'en Ch'un-ping
Vice-commissioners: Wang Chi-t'ao
Wei Ming-chung

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TABLE IV

CHINGHAI PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Chao Shou-shan
Vice-chairmen: Chang Chung-liang
Liao Han-sheng
Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o (Tibetan)
Ma P'u (Moslem)
Members: 17 (3 Tibetans, 1 Mongol, 2 Moslems, 11 Chinese)
Secretary-general: Chang Kuo-sheng
Vice-secretary-general: Ma Lo-t'ien, Tsa-hsi

COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS
Director: Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o
Deputy director: Sun Chün-i

COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL
Director: Liao Han-sheng
Deputy director: Wang En-hui

BUREAU OF CIVIL AFFAIRS
Commissioner: Ch'eu Ssŭ-kung

BUREAU OF PUBLIC SAFETY
Commissioner: Hsieh K'e-ming
Vice-commissioner: Li Kuang

COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS
Chairman: Ma P'u
Vice-chairmen: Tsa-hsi, Chou Jen-shan

BUREAU OF FINANCE
Commissioner: Chao Ch'üan-pi
Vice-commissioner: Hsia Lung-yao

BUREAU OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE
Commissioner: Fu Tzu-ho
Vice-commissioner: Hsieh Hung-hu

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
Commissioner: Chao Ching-feng

BUREAU OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION
Commissioner: Wang Chih-yün
Vice-commissioner: Wei Fu-tsu

OFFICE OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Director: Huang Chia-lung
Deputy-directors: Liang Ch'ang-han
Ch'u T'ien-jen

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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

TABLE III

KANSU PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Teng Pao-shan
Vice-chairmen: Wang Shih-t'ai
Chang Te-sheng
Ma Hung-ping (Moslem)
Members: 25 (5 Moslems, 2 Tibetans, 18 Chinese)
Secretary-general: Ch'en Ch'eng-i
Vice-secretary-generals: Hsieh Ch'eng
Sheng Ch'iu-wo

- **COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS**
  Director: Wang Shih-t'ai
  Members: 9
- **COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL**
  Director: Sun Cho-ping
  Members: 13 (12 men and 1 woman)
- **BUREAU ON CIVIL AFFAIRS**
  Commissioner: Li P'ei-fu
  Vice-commissioners: Wei Tsû-yu
  Hsien Wei-ch'ün
- **BUREAU ON PUBLIC SAFETY**
  Commissioner: Li P'u-shan
  Vice-commissioner: Liu Lan-t'ing
- **COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS**
  Chairman: Ma Hung-ping
  Vice-chairmen: Fan Ming,
  Ma Ch'ing-nien
  Members: 18
- **BUREAU OF FINANCE**
  Commissioner: Huang Ching-po
  Vice-commissioner: Ma Nan-feng
- **BUREAU OF INDUSTRY**
  Commissioner: Yang I-mu
  Vice-commissioner: T'ien P'ei-ming
- **BUREAU OF COMMERCE**
  Commissioner: Yü Chien-hsin
  Vice-commissioner: Shih Ting-hsin
- **BUREAU OF COMMUNICATION**
  Commissioner: Yang Tzü-heng
  Vice-commissioner: Li Cheng-h'ua
- **BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY**
  Commissioner: Hsieh Lan-ping
  Vice-commissioners: Huang Cheng-ch'ing
  Lu Wei-kung
  Ma P'ei-lieh
- **BUREAU OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE**
  Commissioner: Hsin An-t'ing
  Vice-commissioner: Ma Chi-ch'uan
  Liu Hai-sheng
- **BUREAU OF PUBLIC HEALTH**
  Commissioner: Liu Yün-chung

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TABLE 7

Administration Units in Shensi, Kansu, and Chinghai

NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Shensi province	Sian	4 municipalities 4 counties under direct supervision of the provincial government 8 special districts having a total of 91 counties and 2 districts
Kansu province	Lanchow	6 municipalities 1 county under direct supervision of the provincial government 1 mining district under direct supervision of the provincial government 9 special districts 4 autonomous chou (special districts); under these and the special districts there are altogether 80 counties, 9 autonomous hsien (counties), and 1 banner
Chinghai province	Sining	1 municipality 5 counties under direct supervision of the provincial government 4 autonomous hsien (counties) 6 autonomous chou (special districts) having a total of 21 counties and 3 autonomous districts at the county level.

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

I. Historical Background

Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of attempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

N *668 635 offices were usually members of the Provincial Council. The people in the Council also ran the administrative organs; under the Communists, however, most of the members of the People's Councils have no part in the bureaus and offices where real power lies.

(3) Under the Nationalists, the chairman of the Provincial Council had effective control. Under the Communists the chairman of the provincial People's Government in the past, or the governor of the provincial People's Council at present, may or may not have control. For instance, the chairman of Kansu in 1950, Tent Pao-san, was merely a figurehead, and the newly-elected governor of Shensi, Chao Shou-shan, looks like another. But Ma Ming-fan, chairman of Shensi in 1950, definitely held power. In brief, the influence and power of a local official under the Communists does not depend on his official position in the government, but on his relations with the party. Ma Ming-fang was important because he was also the Deputy Secretary-General of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.

(4) Under the Nationalists, when a minority leader such as Ma Hung-k'uei was appointed provincial chairman in the Northwest, he had authority in fact as well as in name. The Communists publicize the northwest local government members who belong to minority groups, but in practice what matters is the assignment given to the member by the Party. If a trusted party member - be he Chinese or Muslim - is assigned to run the office he is the actual head, even if he has a low rank. However, he is only a wheel in the party machinery, and has very little freedom to act on his own.

N [631] (5) Under the Communists, the local governments at every level are much larger and more powerful than under the Nationalists. See Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 for the structure and personnel of the provincial governments in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang in 1950, and Table 6 for the relationships between local governments in the present stage.

N *668 635 S 668 635 The specific structure of each provincial government in Northwest China and of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as of 1955, is not yet available. Except for the abolition of the Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs, one may assume that the present structure of these provinces and of the Sinkiang Uughur Autonomous Region are approximately the same as in 1950.

N *668 633 Sian was a municipality directly under the central government authority from late in 1949 until 1954. The people's government of the city had thirteen different bureaus and offices, and the area was divided into twelve districts. In 1950, the mayor was Chia T'o-fu and the deputy mayors were Fang Chung-ju and Chang Feng-po. In 1952 the mayor was Fang, with Chang Feng-po and

Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major changes in Northwest China:

(1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.

(2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.

(3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region on October 1, 1955.

Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu, and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1, 1955, are shown in Table 9.

After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes, but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

A. Earlier Systems

In the past, although the Chinese government gave little publicity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minorities in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minorities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

B. The Communist System

The Communists have a definite program for changing the social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is necessary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface, they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they control them from within through hand-picked Party members. So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

attempts of the native peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and international complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Azizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of politics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

S
175 alities and classes to participate in the governments; and third,
668 to establish people's democratic United Front of democratic nationalities under the leadership of the people's provincial governments and various branches of the CCP committees." (JMJP Oct. 1, 1950).

In response, the people's council of Sinkiang passed a resolution urging the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship based on a union of all democratic classes and all nationalities, built around the alliance of workers and farmers. This was to be achieved by the establishment and consolidation of the united front, by the annihilation of reactionary elements, by the re-education and reform of former government functionaries and by the absorption of progressive elements into the government.

The extent to which the Chinese Communists succeeded in implementing their policy of a United Front in Northwest China may be seen in (1), the alignment of the top ranking officials and the parties, (2) the mobilization of the people, and (3) the building of an army of trained men - the cadres - to serve as instruments of Communist policy.

N
A. Top Echelon Officials

*175 The men in power in the northwestern provinces at the time
*668 of the Communist takeover belonged to an assortment of political
554 factions and held to a hodge-podge of views and interests. There
635 were the Communists, many of whom had held official positions
S in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, who were immedi-
175 ately summoned to take charge. There were the members of the
668 Democratic League, which had thrown in their lot with the Com-
554 munists and which maintained branch offices in Sian and Lanchou.
635 The Nationalist officials in China Proper who defected formed themselves into the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and they were joined by the Nationalist officials in the Northwest. Among the national minorities, there were those who held responsible positions under the Nationalists and who, as prominent men among the national minorities, were carefully preserved by the Communists. Another group of native leaders who rose to power were the former participants of the Ili revolt.

The administrative structure formed from these varied political groups was a cunning piece of assembly. The non-Communist figures had to be given conspicuous display in order to give the impression of a coalition government, but their line had to be stiffened by Communist officials so that it would answer to the dictates of Peking. Each of the top-ranking officials held three or more concurrent positions in one or more places.

Political: in the Central People's Government, in the regional Military and Administrative Council (later the Administrative Council), in the provincial or the municipal governments.

N Military: In the People's Revolutionary Military Council, the
*175 Northwest Military District, or the provincial sub-districts.
*668 Party: In the Central Committee of the CCP, in the Northwest
554 Bureau of the Central Committee and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau, and
635 in the provincial committees.
S Mass organizations: In the national committee and in regional
175 committees.
668 The positions held were either vertical, from Peking down to
554 the provincial level, or horizontal, in more than one collateral
635 agencies. The system of interlocking political positions may be seen in the cases of the following men, chosen at random as illustrations. The positions they held were as of 1952:

Hsi Chung-hsün: In Peking, he was a member of the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, and a member of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. In the Northwest, he was vice-chairman of the Military Administrative Council, director of the Commission of Land Reform, deputy director of the Commission on Culture and Education, and political commissar of the Northwest Military District. In the Party, he was an alternate member of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau.

Ma Wen-jui is primarily concerned with party work. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he is a member of the council, he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and member of the Commission on Political and Legal Affairs. In the party, he was concurrently director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee and director of the Committee on Women's Work.

S Saifuddin Azizi, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic
175 League, was also a member of the Northwest Military and Admin-
668 istrative Council and a member of its Political and Legal Commis-
554 sion and its Nationality Affairs Commission, which have offices in
635 Sian. In Sinkiang he was vice-chairman of the Provincial People's Government and fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the CCP. In Peking, he was a member of the Central Peoples Government Council, a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He was also reportedly commander of the 5th Army in Sinkiang.

S Among the non-Communists, the men who had climbed the
N highest in the Communist hierarchy were the members of the
175 Democratic League. One of these was Han Chao-e who, in Peking,
554 was a member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League,
635 a member of the Central Committee of the China Farmers' and Workers' Democratic Party, and a member of the People's Supervisory Commission in the Central People's Government. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission.

Land Reform Commission. In the Shensi Provincial People's Government, he was vice chairman and director of the People's Supervisory Commission.

In the case of Yang Ming-hsüan, one can see the tie-in between the Democratic League and the Chinese Communists. Before the rise to power of the Chinese Communists on the mainland, he was a vice chairman of the Communist-controlled Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Regional Government which had its headquarters at Yenan. Later, he became chairman of the Northwest branch of the China Democratic League, with headquarters at Sian and thus helped to prepare the way for the take-over by the Communists in 1949. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was a member, he was director of the Cultural and Educational Commission and a member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

It would be tedious to list the concurrent posts held by other key figures in the Northwest. Table 1. shows the number of responsible positions (director, chairman, secretary, member of councils and committees, military command and head of mass organization and minority party branches) held by a few of the members of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in Peking and in the Northwest provinces in 1952.

B. Parties

Having integrated the leaders of non-Communist political bodies into the government, the next step was to reorganize them and to utilize them as arms of the Communist Party. The Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, headed by Saifuddin, was reorganized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League (not to be confused with the China Democratic League). It brought over 17,000 trained cadres, veterans of the Ili revolt, to the Communist cause. The official announcement of the reorganization, in 1950, stated that the Sinkiang League was to be guided by the CCP and would base its work on the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It was to be established in parts of Sinkiang as part of the democratic United Front.

In December, 1953, the Northwest branch committee of the China Democratic League held a conference at Sian, to hear Yang Ming-hsüan, chairman of the branch committee, and other League leaders report on the work of organization, propaganda, and education. Yang exhorted the members of the league to unite and educate the intellectual masses to take part in building the economy, national defense, and culture of the Northwest. Responding to the resolution of its parent body in the spring of 1953, the Northwest branch committee called upon its membership to concentrate its efforts in mobilizing and organizing the students and teachers in

TABLE I

CONCURRENT POSTS HELD BY OFFICIALS IN THE NORTHWEST IN 1952

(All Communists, unless specified otherwise)	GOVERNMENT					MILITARY		PARTY		MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND MINORITY PARTIES	
	CENTRAL		NORTHWEST								
	ADMINISTRATIVE	LEGAL AND JUDICIAL	MAC	LEGAL AND JUDICIAL	PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL	CENTRAL	NORTHWEST	CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CCP	NW AND SINKIANG BUREAUS	CENTRAL	NORTHWEST
Chang Chia-fu		1	1	1							
Chang Chih-chung (KMT-RC)	1		3			2				3	1
Chang Chung-hsün		1	1			1	1	1			
Chang Pang-ying			1		2				2		
Chang Tsu-fang (woman)			4							1	
Chia T'o-fu			4		1				1		
Han Chao-o (DL)	1		3		1					2	
Hei-jao-chia-ts'o (Tibetan-NC)			3		2						
Hsi Chung-hsün	2		3						1	1	
Ma Hai-wu		1	2	1							
Ma Ming-fang			2		1				1	1	1
Ma Hung-pin (CM-NC)			4		2						
Ma Wen-jui			3						3		
P'eng Te-huai	2		3			2	1	1	1	1	
Saifuddin (Uighur)	3		3		1				1	1	1
Wang Feng			4						1		
Wang Shih-t'ai			4				1			[illegible]	
Wang Tzu-i	1		5						2		
Wu Hung-pin (CCM-DL)			1		2					3	1
Yang Ming-hsuan (DL)			3							1	1

ABBREVIATIONS: CM Chinese Moslem DL Democratic League NC Non-Communist KMT-RC Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee

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of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders, "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralisation of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Hu-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 20, 1954).

V. Political Structure and Political Progress

A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were also established in the five provinces then comprising the Northwest: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang.

While the members of the Military and Administrative Council were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the members of the provincial and municipal people's governments were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by conventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities. Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

Table 3. CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE IN REGIONAL, PROVINCIAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

	total	Han Chinese	From the National Minorities	Unknown
Regional: Top level (in 1952)				
NW MAC	43	35	8	-
Provincial: Second level (in 1950)				
Shensi People's Government Council	39	37	2	-
Kansu " " "	29	21	8	-
Chinghai " " "	22	12	7	1
Sinkiang " " "	31	13	15	3
Total	121	85	32	4
(Total in 1951)	133	78	55	-)

County Magistrates: Third level (in 1951)

Shensi:	Chinese, head of all municipalities and counties
Kansu:	in the Linhsia Administrative District, 6 counties: 3 Chinese, 3 from the minority nationalities
Chinghai and Ninghsia:	in 35 counties: 13 Chinese, 22 from the minority nationalities
Sinkiang:	80 counties, 13 Chinese, 67 from the minority nationalities.

The line-up of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and the provincial people's governments in 1951 shows that the responsible officials were either Communists or hold-overs from the previous governments who were approved by the Communists. In cases where the former governors were retained, as in Kansu and Sinkiang, one or two of the vice-governors were Communists.

To cater to the desire of the minority peoples for a voice in government, many of the native representatives were elected to be members of the people's councils. But they were mainly permitted to serve in the lower levels of the administrations, the Chinese practically monopolized the upper levels of government. Table 3 shows the number of chairmen, vice-chairmen, and the members of the councils.

It should be noted that the term "Chinese" refers to those of the Han race and that the term "national minority" includes also the Chinese Moslems, a people once known as Dungan and now as the Hui, or Moslems. In the Linhsia Administrative District in Kansu, for example, although the number of Chinese and Hui county magistrates were the same, the Chinese still predominate. Numbering 52 per cent of the population, they had 56 per cent of the seats in the district people's council, while the Hui, who numbered 48 per cent of the population had only 55 per cent of the seats.

These local people's governments or people's councils had little authority. Their principal responsibility was the transmission of the decisions and orders of the Government Administration Council in Peking. Military and financial matters were subject to the decisions of the Central Government (cf. Organic Law of Regional Governments, December 16, 1949).

B. Regional Autonomous Areas

The training of an army of national minority cadres had as its basic purpose, not only the staffing of the lower levels of the administration, but also the preparation of the ground for the establishment of regional autonomy for the minority peoples in the outlying regions of the Northwest. "The nucleus of work in the promotion of nationality regional autonomy and nationalities democratic coalition governments," stated the Jen-min Jih-pao in an editorial (March 22, 1951), "lies in the universal and large-scale training of the nationalities' own cadres. It is only after the nationalities are provided with their own revolutionary cadres that their political, economic and cultural development can be further assured."

The nationality autonomous governments which were first set up in the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, were prepared by "the construction work of political and military cadres," (NCNA, May 17, 1953), who did the work of propaganda and organization of the people. (NCNA December 19, 1953). For example, the estab-

going to the polls, but in Chinghai where it was reported that 95 per cent of the people went to the polls, the election was only one-fourth completed.

In Sinkiang, the Communist authorities were more cautious. The experimental elections began in May, 1953, in 17 basic election units (hsiang) selected from the ten administrative districts, then in 36 basic election units. In these experimental elections, 80-95 per cent of the electorate turned out. With the successful conclusion of the experiments, the real basic level elections began in September in 665 basic level areas in Sinkiang, followed in December by the second group of 860 basic level area elections. By April, 1954, the basic level election in Sinkiang was concluded, having been held in 2,424 basic units in 83 counties and municipalities. In urban areas, 89 per cent of the voters turned out, while in southern Sinkiang, the turnout by the Uighur population was 95 per cent. The elections during 1953 had been supervised by 1,127 cadres who formed 144 election courts and 98 mobile investigation teams, which uncovered 204 cases of irregularities and nonconformity.

The fruit of the efforts of the election cadres was the election of large numbers of cadres and party members. Sixty-three per cent of the 619 new party members employed in the Sinkiang provincial and Urumchi municipal governments were elected as delegates. In 312 hsiang in Sinkiang, out of the 7,088 of the delegates elected, 5,248 were Communist Party cadres, and the bulk were Chinese. In Ninghsia, only 25 per cent of the 9,700 deputies elected in the basic level elections were Chinese Moslems (Hui).

Moreover, the elections in the Northwest, as in the rest of China, were by no means universal. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, one of the top officials in charge of the nationwide elections, revealed that basic level elections were not held in a quarter of the regions inhabited by national minorities, and the number of national minority people who were not given a chance to vote came to 8,708,169. The reason for defranchising these minority people, he said, was due to the "lack of requisite conditions," which were (1) the native cadres were unsatisfactory and (2) the people failed to appreciate the nationality policy of the government. (NCNA June 19, 1954).

In contrast to the publicity given to the basic level elections in the Northwest, the elections in the higher levels were conducted quietly and, in many cases, the results were not published. However, from scattered information gleaned from the Communist press, the following picture emerges: in Shensi, Kansu, and Sinkiang, the incumbent governors were re-elected. Only in Chinghai, was there a change in the governor. In these four provinces, three of the governors are Chinese. In the three provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai, about half of the thirteen vice-

governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen, nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

A word must be said about the representation of national minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32. Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82. It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not mean that the people have been given the right to govern themselves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control

In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their final stage, there were structural changes in the administration of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was relaxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

I. Introduction

A. Historical Administration of Area

1. Ch'ing Dynasty

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Shensi and Kansu were two of the eighteen provinces which formed China proper. The police system and the problems of public order and safety were similar to those of the other provinces. (See Section on Public Order and Safety in General Handbook.) However, in the Chinghai area, the maintenance of order was mainly entrusted to the native local chiefs. In Sinkiang, a network of military garrisons under the rule of Manchu military officers was established. Its main purpose was to suppress possible rebellions by the minority groups. The daily administration and maintenance of order among the minorities at the lower local level, however, here also rested with the minority chiefs and local leaders. The efficiency of this system is illustrated by the record of the riots. Periodically, at intervals of roughly thirty to fifty years, a major rebellion broke out. Numerous small riots occurred between the big conflicts. As a whole, however, the Ch'ing dynasty's maintenance of public order in the northwest was considered to be successful.

2. Post 1911

When the revolution came in 1911, the situations varied in the different provinces. The weakness of the central government in Peking helped further the development of local forces. In Shensi, Kansu (and Ninghsia) and Ch'inghai, there were various warlords who occupied and dominated a certain portion of the land at various times. The purpose of the police forces under the warlords was to maintain their dominant position. Their police forces were efficient or less so, depending on the personalities of the leaders. Often they were backward and cruel, but usually they followed the traditional pattern of the Chinese bureaucracy. Most of the warlords adopted the "closed-door" policy. Outsiders, especially those viewed as potential trouble-makers, were not too free to travel around. This simplified police work since the local population was comparatively less educated and, except for the Moslems, more submissive than the outsiders.

In Sinkiang, the situation was complicated by two factors. First, it was exposed to foreign agitation, particularly from Russia and Great Britain. Second, it had a mixed population with the Chinese in the minority. Therefore, the purpose and mission of the police forces in Sinkiang were traditionally difficult. Maintaining the leader's power involved dealing with foreign influences and with the various local peoples. These constant challenges made the police forces in Sinkiang more alert and efficient than in other

the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest. When he was twenty-one years old, Ma Hung-pin started his military career by serving as commanding officer of the cavalry corps in charge of the Sining mines in Chinghai Province, and at the same time he was a member of the reclamation commission and mining commission of that province. In 1911, he became commanding officer of the cavalry batallion in charge of the patrol of the western region of Kansu. His first military merit was achieved when he pacified the disturbances of the two Mongol banners in western Suiyuan who were stirred to revolt by the independence achieved by Outer Mongolia in the first years of the Chinese Republic. In 1914, he was the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry Batallion and stationed in western Suiyuan guarding the Yellow River Bend and keeping a watchful eye against the Outer Mongols. Because of his meritorious record in the pacification of bandits in his area, he was awarded several medals and was promoted to lieutenant general by President Li Yüan-hung of the Peking Government. Later he also received a medal from the government of Belgium for his excellent work in protecting Belgian missionaries. In 1920 he was appointed as Defense Commissioner for Ninghsia (not a province at that time) and was charged with the duty of defending the frontier areas. In 1926 he was given the post of Pacification Commander of the Shensi-Kansu border regions. In 1927, when the Northern Expedition began, he was the commander of the 24th Division of the Second Army Group of which General Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) was the commander-in-chief. In 1928 he was transferred as the commander of the Seventh Division.

When the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking, Ma Hung-pin was appointed the first governor of the newly organized province of Ninghsia. This was, so far, the first political assignment for Ma. In 1930 he was also made acting governor of Kansu Province. His political life ended in 1933 when his cousin, Ma Hung-k'uei, succeeded him as governor of Ninghsia. From 1934-1936, his main task was to pacify the remaining bandits in the eastern region of Kansu. Because his policy in suppressing bandits was to win them over rather than annihalate them, he had won for himself the nickname of "Ma the Kind Man." In 1937, as commander of the 81st Division and, concurrently, defense commissioner for the western region of Suiyuan, he led his troops in fighting the Japanese invaders in that area. In 1940 he became commander-in-chief for the defense of Eto-kuchi, a Mongol Banner in western Suiyuan.

When the Communists started their campaign in the Northwest, Ma Hung-pin surrendered Ninghsia Province to the People's Liberation Army on September 16, 1949. Because of this drastic move, the whole Northwest was soon lost to the Communists.

munists. In recognition of his help the Communist regime in Peking appointed him a member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest in 1950, and in 1953, when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council, he was one of the vice-chairmen. He was a member of the Land Reform Commission and the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Kansu, a post he continued to hold after the election of 1954, and in the People's Government he was director of the commission on Nationality Affairs. He also became a member of the National Defense Council. Of the Four Ma of China's Northwest, Ma Hung-pin is the only one who shifted his loyalty to the Communist regime.

Ma Ming-fang (1904-): Communist, government official

A native of Shensi Province, born in 1904. Joined the Communist Party in 1925, took part in the 1925-27 Northern Expedition; 1931, director of the Department of Propaganda for northern Shensi; later, chairman of the Workers and Farmers Democratic Government of northern Shensi region; secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Party. 1941, jailed in Sinkiang by the Nationalists when he came back from Soviet Russia; 1946, returned to Yenan; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1949-51, member of the National Committee of the CPPCC.

From 1950 to 1952, he was a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was also a member of the Financial and Economic Commission. He was governor of Shensi and concurrently director of the Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs in the Shensi People's Government. In the Party, he was a reserve member of the Central Committee and second secretary of the Northwest Bureau. In Peking, too, he was a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, and in 1955, a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Ma's influence in the Northwest as well as his position in the local administration in the Northwest have been very great. He is a life-long member of the Communist Party and has played a rather important role for the Communist cause. He is one of the few from the Northwest who had ever visited the Soviet Union, which enhanced his prestige in the Communist hierarchy.

Ma Pu-fang (1903-)

Before the Communists took over Northwest China, this area had been ruled by the famous Ma clan. As Ma Hung-k'uei and Ma Hung-pin ruled Ninghsia and Kansu, so did Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing rule Chinghai (Kokonor). The administration

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i, was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the position of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks: First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

provincial capital of Chinghai, Sining, fell to the Communists. He was asked by the Communist authorities to serve on their Military Control Board, but when the Nationalist Government moved to Formosa, he managed to leave China. He now lives in Cairo, Egypt.

Ma Pu-ch'ing (1898-)

Born in 1898 in the district of Lin-hsia in Kansu Province, Ma Pu-ch'ing was the elder brother of Ma Pu-feng, governor of Chinghai Province from 1937 to 1949, and the oldest son of the late governor of Chinghai, Ma Lin. The youngest son, Ma Pu-ying, did not enter public life, but chose to be a farmer. After he was graduated from the First Middle School of Kansu, Ma Pu-ch'ing entered military life. In 1922 he was commander of the Fourth Regional Garrison. Next year he was promoted as commanding officer of the Cavalry Regiment of the Fifth Mixed Brigade of the Army. In 1928 he became commanding officer of the 77th Brigade of the 28th Division of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army. In 1929 he was transferred to commanding officer of the 65th Brigade of the 22nd Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Army Group of the Revolutionary Army. In 1930, he was given commandership of the Loyang Garrison. By next year he became commanding officer of the 26th Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Region of the Nationalist Army. In 1932 he was promoted as commanding officer of the First Cavalry Division of Kansu Province. In the same year, he was transferred as commanding officer of the Second Cavalry Division of the Nationalist Army. In 1936 he became commanding officer of the Fifth Cavalry Division of the Army. When the Sino-Japanese War broke out, he was appointed as the Commissioner of Highways in Kansu Province. Later he was given the position as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam region in Chinghai Province, and concurrently commanding officer of the Fifth Cavalry Division. In 1943 he became deputy commander-in-chief of the Fortieth Army Group.

His appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam region in Chinghai Province by the Central Government came at the time his brother, Ma Pu-fang, was governor of that province. Thus the two brothers were often mentioned together as administrative heads of Chinghai. At that time China was engaged in the war against the Japanese invaders, and the whole coastal region had been lost to the enemy. To deal with the urgent need to continue the war, the Central Government then adopted a policy of developing the border regions. Ma's appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam was therefore considered a very important step. Tsaidam region is situated in the northwestern part of Chinghai Province, between the

Ch'ilien and Chishih Mountains. In the Tsaidam River valley, comprised of six districts, there were nearly a hundred thousand Mongols, who were Buddhists by religion and nomads economically, and twenty-five thousand Kazakhs, with some Moslems and Chinese. When Ma Pu-ch'ing took over this region he directed his reclamation program along the following lines: to inspire patriotism among the border peoples, to promote education, to develop the uncultivated lands by settlements of people, and to increase production by encouraging industrial programs, to improve the transportation facilities to ship needed goods to the interior, and finally to open mines in that region for the needs of both the border area and the interior.

His public life, like that of his younger brother, was finally ended by the arrival of the Communists. When the Northwest was lost to the People's Liberation Army, he fled from Chinghai and followed the Nationalist Government to Formosa.

Ma T'eng-ai

Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954.

Ma Wen-jui: Communist Party member

A native of Shensi Province. He had served as secretary to the Communist Headquarters in eastern Kansu under the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government. When the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest was formed in 1950, he was appointed as a member of that council, in which he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and a member in the Political and Legal Commission, positions which he retained when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council in 1953. In the party, he has been since 1950, director of the Department of Organization and director of the Commission on Women's Work in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In 1955, he was transferred to Peking as Minister of Labor.

The main responsibility of Ma Wen-jui was to push the United Front work in the Northwest in 1950. His Department of Organization was active, months before the formation of the MAC and the People's Governments, in the induction of former Nationalist Government functionaries and students into the governments of the Communists. Later, he was responsible for pushing the ideological reforms of the cadres and the purges in 1952, and the job of Communist Party expansion in the Northwest.

tseng, the deputy-director of the Central Bureau of Investigations and Statistics (the FBI of the Chinese government), flew to Chungking, and thus ended his dictatorship of Sinkiang.

His position as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry lasted only a year. In July 1945 his political life came to an end. When the Nationalist Government was forced to move to Taiwan, he followed, but, although he still holds some office in the Nationalist Government, his name has not appeared in the China Who's Who since 1951.

Shih Tze-ching: Member of the Democratic League

Of Shensi Province. Dates unknown. When the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was formed at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of that council and also chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; in 1953 the council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, and Shih was retained as a member. He also served as its vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

Sun Tien-ts'ai: Communist Party member

A native of Ninghsia Province, for a long time secretary to the Operational Committee of the Communist Party in Ninghsia. Since 1949, a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province. Since 1953, holds the same position except that the council has been reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council.

With the abolition of Ninghsia in 1954, Sun was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu.

The fact that the Communists use their party members to control local administration is shown clearly in the case of Sun Tien-ts'ai and others in the Northwest.

Sun, Tso-pin

In 1950, Sun was deputy secretary of the Kansu Committee of the CCP, and a member of the Kansu People's Government Council. In 1954 he was elected governor of Chinghai.

Ta-li-cha-ya: Mongol leader

A Mongol of Ninghsia Province. Dates and background unknown. Since 1949 he served as a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Commission, and member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs. From 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, member of its Committee on Nationalities Affairs, and concurrently a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954. In 1955 he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

than that of Kansu. The details are shown in the following table:

Table IV: The Exports and Imports of Ninghsia, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		4,040,000
opium	2,400,000	
sheep's pelts	900,000	
medical herbs	450,000	
wool	240,000	
hair-like weeds	50,000	
B. Imports:		2,270,000
cotton piece goods	1,400,000	
silk, woolen cloth, cosmetics	300,000	
sundries	120,000	
cotton	150,000	
grain	300,000	
Grand Total		6,310,000

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 638-39.

D. Chinghai

Trade in Chinghai is centered around Hsi-ning, the provincial capital. Aside from the two routes which connect Hsi-ning and Lanchou, there is another route leading to Tibet and still another to Sinkiang. The main exports were fur, hide, grain, salt, lumber and medical herbs, among which fur and hide, the staples, are mostly shipped to Tientsin for re-export. The main imports are cotton piece goods and silk. Trade statistics are not available. It is also known that there was considerable trade between Chinghai and India, but details are lacking.

E. Sinkiang

Trade in Sinkiang is a little more complicated, because Sinkiang trades not only with agricultural China, but also with Soviet Russia, India and Afghanistan. So far as the trade with agricultural China is concerned, there are three main trade routes. One runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Kobdo, Urga and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route. Another runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Qomul (Hami), Darkhan League, Kuei-sui and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Inner Mongolia Lesser Grass Route. And still another is the historical Great Northwest Highway which leads to Sian via Qomul (Hami) and Lanchou. The Outer Mongolian route had been out of use since the independence of Outer Mongolia. The Inner Mongolia route was originally a caravan route. But since 1933, the section between Urumchi and Kuei-sui has been open to motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway.

content at the present day to put up with the prehistoric means of communication which are still the only ones in existence throughout Shensi and Kansu. This absence of proper means of communication is an absolute hindrance to any real progress, and the speedy construction of more railways in China would seem to be of more importance than all the other contemplated reforms thrown together. Road building seems to be past praying for in these days of railways, but it is not at all certain that a portion of the enormous sums spent in railway construction would not be more profitably expended in the construction of a few trunk roads; the latter could at any rate be built by the Chinese themselves without incurring loans.

From Weinan to Lint'ung is a distance of 80 li, the latter being another important wheat and cotton-growing centre. It is not necessary to make these district cities the stages, as villages with inns are numerous all the way from T'ungkuan, and travellers can regulate the length of their marches according to their choice. The following is a list of the usual stopping places, which lie at intervals of 20 to 30 li one from another; T'ungkuan, Huayin Miao, Fushui Chen, Liutzu, Hua Chou, Ch'ihshui Chen, Weinan, Linkou, Lint'ung.

Lint'ung lies close under an outlying spur of the Ch'inling Shan, whence issues a hot medicinal spring. Over these springs is built an elaborate rest-house to accommodate the guests who come to take the baths, and it is thus a popular resort for the rank and fashion of Hsian. The establishment, or rather previous constructions, date from the time when Hsian was the capital of China, Lint'ung having been a pleasure resort for the Emperors of those days. The Emperor who designed the Great Wall and destroyed the scholars and their books (about B.C. 200), and whose name is therefore supposed to be execrated by literary men, is buried in the neighbourhood. We revelled in the baths, after having been smothered in dust for ten days.

On the following day a long half stage of 50 li brings one to Hsian Fu, now officially known by its old name of Ch'angan Hsien, the capital of the province. It is an immense city, of the Tartar type, comparable only to Peking before the introduction of modern improvements. In size

and importance, political, commercial, and military, it entirely overshadows all the other towns in Shensi and Kansu, and is altogether the metropolis of the great agricultural North West, the land of loess and wheat.

Hsian is a backward place as regards the improvements of modern civilization, no macadamized roads, no electric light, no foreign carriages. Amongst other conveniences waterworks are required, as the water from most of the wells in the city is very brackish; good water could easily be brought from one of the many clear streams which emerge from the Ch'inling Shan a few miles to the south. There should be a boom in big contracts in Hsian when the railway gets there, or before.

We were too busy during our short stay to do much sight-seeing, but felt constrained to visit the Pei Lin ("forest of stone tablets") where the Nestorian Tablet now is. A large rubbing industry has sprung up (or perhaps it has existed for centuries or thousands of years) and almost every other stone has its attendant Chinese busy taking an impression. One would imagine that the more important inscriptions would get seriously damaged by this incessant rubbing, and indeed such appears to be the case. Outside is a shop where these myriad rubbings are busily sold, and their export from Shensi is quite a trade. The Chinese are, of course, great amateurs of ancient curios, inscriptions, and other historical records, and Hsian and Central Shensi is for them a happy hunting ground in this respect. It seems curious that this region has not received more attention from European scholars interested in these matters, since it contains the beginnings of everything as far as Chinese history is concerned, and the latter is hard to beat for an early start; sand-buried cities in the heart of the deserts of Central Asia are ransacked at great difficulty and expense by scholars of various nations, but it does not appear that much if any excavating has been done on the Hsian plain, which contained the capital of ancient dynasties which flourished three to four thousand years ago. The Nestorian Tablet, which dates back eleven to twelve hundred years, records the propagation of Christianity in China by Nestorian missionaries from Western Asia in those days. It is curious that this faith should have so completely disappeared, while Maho-

medanism, an equally alien religion, has become so firmly 000 rooted in many parts of the country. The Chinese show more interest in the inscriptions relating to their classic works in the Pei Lin than in the famous Nestorian Tablet, and indeed the latter was only moved into that select enclosure recently because of an alleged attempt by a foreigner to remove the original stone under the pretext of having a copy made for a foreign museum.

We stayed in Hsian twice in the course of our journeys, 635 an interval of two years elapsing between the two visits. On the first occasion, which was during Yuan Shih-k'ai's regime as President-Dictator, the city and province were in the hands of one of the Northern Generals supported by a Northern army; two years later the situation had completely changed, the province was enjoying a kind of home rule under native officials of its own choice, and was practically independent of Peking. In the interval Yuan Shih-k'ai had been dragged under in the collapse of his monarchical scheme, and with him had vanished, it would seem, all hope of a stable government in China. Many provincial capitals have had a rough time during the years which have elapsed since the Revolution of 1911, but few or none have suffered more than Hsian Fu. The history of events in Shensi during these years is interesting and not uninstructive for those concerned with the future of the Republic, and is here briefly related.

The Revolution of 1911 took a particularly violent form 669 in Shensi, largely owing to the fact that it was engineered by the local members of the notorious secret society known as the Ko Lao Hui, and was ushered in by an outbreak at Hsian, in which the Manchu inhabitants of the Manchu city were massacred, and some missionaries murdered by the uncontrollable mob. For some months afterwards a state of chaos reigned everywhere, and to make matters worse the province was for a considerable time threatened by an invasion of Mahomedan troops from Kansu, under Sheng Yün, the ex-Viceroy of the North West, and Ma An-liang, the leader of the Kansu moslems, both of whom refused to acknowledge the Republic even after the abdication of the Emperor. These Mahomedan troops did in fact cross the border and sacked a few cities in Shensi, but were

669 province soon became critical. The crisis was eventually precipitated by the action of a young military officer of high rank, a native of the province, who revolted with the troops under his command, and having collected a large force from amongst the brigands and secret society men in hiding in the north of the province, marched on Hsian Fu as a supporter of the Republic. The Governor, who was not as staunch an individual as many of Yuan Shih-k'ai's other Northern Generals, promptly threw up the sponge and surrendered the city to save his own life. Shortly afterwards Yuan Shih-k'ai died, and Shensi thus reverted to the state of independent home rule existing after the Revolution of 1911, under the leadership of the young General who had successfully headed the rebellion.

635 Shensi is in rather a peculiar position. Though geographically it is one of the Northern provinces like Chihli, Shantung, Honan, and Anhui, from which the Northern Military Party draw their power and their troops, it has yet of recent years always exhibited a strong revolutionary and republican spirit. The proximity of Szechuan, a Southern province, may have something to do with this. But the main reason is probably not so much a feeling of sympathy with the Southern republicans, as the independent and somewhat turbulent nature of the population, strongly infected with Ko Lao Hui influence, which renders them impatient of Central Government control and desirous of managing their own affairs[1]. This desire for provincial independence is natural and laudable, being perhaps a preliminary step towards a spirit of true patriotism in which the Chinese are as a people, with a few exceptions, so extraordinarily lacking. But the actual results of provincial home rule are altogether bad, and consist in increased brigandage, a corrupt and inefficient administration, an uncontrolled soldiery preying on the people, and other evils too numerous to mention. The problem now facing the country is how to unite a truly republican form of government with a strong central administration.

[1] Shensi has since nominally joined the North, remaining, however, to all intents and purposes independent.

pictures on the walls, in practically every district city 871 throughout China (of which there are nearly 2000) evidences the excellence of the principles governing the administration of the country. In the middle schools English, the official "foreign" language, is taught. Unfortunately in too many cases the local school does little more than represent the principle of education. The Chinese have a well-known saying *Yu Ming Wu Shih*, which means "theory without practice"; this saying holds good of most things in China, especially those connected with the Government of the country.

The magistrate of Shang Chou at the time of our visit 575 was rather a remarkable character, and a "Ta Ko" (lodge-master) in the notorious secret society called the Ko Lao 669 Hui. It is improbable that any foreigner knows much about the secrets, the history, doings, and aims of the Ko Lao Hui, but during and since the Revolution it has been the great power in Western China, particularly in Shensi and Szechuan. Originally anti-dynastic, it worked very much in the dark in the days of the Manchus, and for a magistrate then to have been a member would have been an unheard-of scandal. With the overthrow of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui came out more into the open. The revolution in the West was largely their work, and the bands of the T'ung Chih Hui who rose in Szechuan against Chao Erh-feng in August 1911, and whose rising brought about the military revolt at Hankow which ultimately swept away the Manchu Dynasty, were Ko Lao Hui partisans under another name. On the coast the revolution was to a large extent a matter of hoisting republican flags, and whole provinces joined the republican cause with their Generals and Governors at their heads. In the West, thanks to the Ko Lao Hui, the revolution was a real rising of the people, led by some of their least desirable representatives, against their rulers, and was accompanied by much more bloodshed, including the terrible massacre of the Manchus at Hsian Fu.

After the fall of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui reckoned 575 Yuan Shih-k'ai as their chief enemy, and perhaps this was 635 not the least of the latter's many admirable qualities. After his death their power and influence rose almost unchallenged, 579 and at present they are in many parts an absolute curse to

TRADE

I. The Pre-Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest before the Communist conquest may be discussed by provinces.

A. Shensi

438 491 [496] [487] Trade between Shensi and the rest of the country was carried out mainly through the historical Great Northwest Highway, which links this province with Hankow and Tientsin on the one hand, and Kansu and Sinkiang on the other. Since 1937, the National government has undertaken to extend the Lunghai Railway to the Northwest, and before the Communists took over it had reached T'ien-shui, Kansu. In addition, the northern part of this province was closely connected with Shansi through three regional highways, and the southern part was linked with Hankow through the Han River, and with Szechwan through the Szechwan-Shensi bridle pass.

366 635 The commercial centers of this province are as follows: (1) Sian, the provincial capital, which not only commands the trade of the whole province, but also carries considerable transit trade; (2) T'ung-kuan, which is a transportation center between the three provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Honan; (3) Ank'ang, also known as Hsin-an, a commercial center of the Han River drainage area; (4) San-yuan, the commercial center of the so-called North Shensi Plain; and (5) Han-chung, also known as Nan-cheng, a trade center between Shensi and Szechwan.

439 435 *175 According to statistics of 1934, a normal year in pre-war times, the total value of imports and exports of this province, including foreign trade, amounted to 57,168,455 yüan, most of which were carried out through Tientsin and Hankow. The details are shown in the following table:

Table I: The Exports and Imports of Shensi, 1934

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		19,087,221
raw cotton	16,250,000	
hemp	200,000	
raw silk	300,000	
wool	160,000	
fur and hide	757,221	
tung oil	900,000	
raw paints and paint oil	250,000	
fungs-in-trees	270,000	

439 435 *175

B. Imports		38,081,234
textiles	22,209,861	
sundries	6,968,868	
medical herbs and drugs	2,232,542	
apparels	1,704,563	
machinery and iron goods	1,295,837	
chinaware	1,087,299	
edibles	781,044	
kerosene and oil	701,134	
cosmetics	572,751	
paper	527,235	
vehicles and transportation equipment	76,235	
Grand Total		57,168,455

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 6, pp. 805-15.

B. Kansu

439 487 491 Aside from the historical Great Northwest Highway, trade between Kansu and the rest of the country was carried out through the following routes: (1) the Yellow River, including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-Ho, which is navigable between Hsi-ning and Pao-t'ou, the latter being the terminal of the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway; (2) the caravan route between Hsi-ning and Ninghsia via Lanchou; and (3) the highway between Kansu and Szechwan.

366 635 The commercial cities of this province are as follows: (1) Lanchou (also known as Kao-lan), the provincial capital of Kansu and the commercial center of not only Kansu, but also Chinghai and Ninghsia; (2) Ping-liang, the commercial center of east Kansu; (3) T'ien-shui, the commercial center of south Kansu; (4) Lin-hsia, the commercial center of the area to the west of the T'ao River; and (5) Chang-yeh, the commercial center of the Ho-hsi Corridor.

439 435 *175 According to 1933 statistics, the total value of imports and exports of Kansu amounted to 7,933,554 yüan, about one eighth of that of Shensi. The details are shown on the following table:

Table II: The Exports and Imports of Kansu, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		1,536,832
fur and hide	714,105	
medical herbs	605,319	
tobacco	217,408	

the more respectable inhabitants. At the time of writing nearly all the soldiers and brigands in Shensi, as well as many civil and military officials, and in certain districts a high proportion of the entire adult male population, are members, and the administration of the province is largely in their hands. There may be some good in the Ko Lao Hui, but the writer, who has seen their pernicious influence at work throughout Szechuan, Shensi, and parts of Kansu, has never heard of it. To the ordinary observer the society appears to exist for the purpose of practising blackmail and terrorism, and securing mutual protection in the commission of every variety of crime. Amongst its members are special bands expert in gambling, kidnapping, piracy, highway robbery, and similar pursuits. Others join merely in order to secure immunity from the depredations of more active members. Offences against the rules of the society[1] are drastically dealt with by punishments such as death, mutilation, gouging out of eyes, etc., carried into effect by members specially told off for that purpose; while should these avenging angels fall by some mischance into the grips of the law, the society will see to it that they do not come to any harm and are well supplied with wine and opium while in prison. The Ko Lao Hui has many aliases, Chiang Hu Hui, Hu Kuo Chun, etc., and they are brigands one day, patriot rebels the next, regular soldiers the next, and so on. One of the first reforms to be carried into effect by a strong administration in Western China is to extirpate them root and branch, as the Manchus were always endeavouring to do.

The next stage in our journey southwards to the Han valley was the district city of Shanyang, distant 140 li, two days' march. The trail leaves the valley of the Tan Chiang and strikes into the mountains to the south. For half a day we marched up a winding gorge, and then crossing three sandstone ridges one after the other, the highest about 4000 feet, descended to the market village of Heishan Chieh, 70 li from Shang Chou, where we halted for the night. The mountains in this neighbourhood are most intricate, with streams flowing in all directions, but the general feature seems to be a series of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. The scenery is very agreeable, red sandy

1 [Ko Lao Hui secret society--ANALYST]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

but the products are wretched. In any case all these enterprises suffer from the blight of Chinese official management. Lanchou is also at a great disadvantage in this respect owing to the immense difficulties involved in transporting foreign machinery and all kinds of foreign goods across the many hundreds of miles of intervening mountains from the coast. The foreign resident can import a case of beer, drink the contents, and then sell the bottles for more than the original cost of the beer; but this does not represent a new method of getting rich quick, as the cost of transport is likely to be greatly in excess of the value of either the beer or the bottles. There is, however, one really flourishing native industry in Lanchou, independent of foreign machinery, and that is the cultivation and manufacture of water pipe tobacco, which is exported to all parts of China.

The time of our visit to Lanchou coincided with the period of Yuan Shih-k'ai's power, and the Governor was one of the latter's Northern Generals. He was an excellent representative of the type of Northern soldier, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the best rulers Kansu has ever enjoyed. Owing to the geographical isolation of the province and the conservative nature of its Mahomedan population, the rebellion of 1916 had but little effect locally, and the Governor maintained his position after the fall and death of Yuan Shih-k'ai; and had we again visited Lanchou two years later we should have found him still ruling only under a different title. After the Revolution the Governors of provinces were styled Tutu[1]; Yuan Shih-k'ai abolished this name with its republican associations, and revived the old title of Chiangchün[2]; after the compromise which followed the rebellion and Yuan Shih-k'ai's death, the title of Governor was also compromised in true Chinese style into Tuchün[3]. The Governor was a native of Hofei Hsien in Anhui, and consequently not a few civil and military officials throughout the province at the time of our visit wrote Hofei on their cards. It is extraordinary what a number of prominent Chinese in recent years have been natives of this obscure little district in Anhui, ever since

1 Literally "General Manager," i.e. Governor.
2 Literally "Army Leader," i.e. Marshal.
3 Literally "Army Manager," i.e. Military Governor.

missionaries holding these strange beliefs should be the only vehicle for the propagation of Christianity amongst the Kokonor tribesmen does not seem to be fair either to Christianity or to the tribesmen.

Having outlined the history of recent events in Shensi since the Revolution in a preceding chapter, with the Ko Lao Hui in the leading rôle, it may be of interest to recount the history of the same period in Kansu, assigning the principal part to the Mahomedans.

Kansu only played a small part in the Revolution of 1911, and, as was to be expected in so backward and isolated a province, there was little sympathy with the republican cause. The troops in the province at that time consisted still of the old style *Hsün Fang Tui* who were in the course of being modernised into the new regular army known as *Lu Chün*, and of Mahomedan soldiers peculiar to the province called *Hsi Chün*. After the Revolution the *Hsün Fang Tui* and the *Lu Chün* melted away together with the provincial government, and the attitude of the province towards things in general was governed by the action of the Mahomedan leaders and the Mahomedan troops, who, true to their recent traditions, remained loyal to the Manchu throne. Ma An-liang, the famous leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, who thus found himself at the head of the province, together with Sheng Yün, ex-Viceroy of the North West and one of the Manchu die-hards, despatched Moslem troops across the border into Shensi to fight the revolutionary forces of the Ko Lao Hui, but were eventually induced by the wise statesmanship of Yuan Shih-k'ai to withdraw them and accept the republic in name. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs at that time, and had the Manchus been able to rally themselves to the Mahomedans of the North West, the settlement of 1912 might have been much delayed.

The result of the Revolution was therefore to give the Mahomedans what they had failed to obtain by rebellion in the past, namely complete autonomy and control of the province under General Ma An-liang, who moved into Lanchou from his residence near Hochou. There was a republican Tutu at the same time, but he seems to have been a mere figure-head. General Ma's management of the

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CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

affairs of the province during those critical times appears 635 to have been admirable, and Kansu was spared many of the 563 troubles which were afflicting the rest of China during that period. Early in 1914, however, Yuan Shih-k'ai, who was then engaged in centralising his power by replacing the republican Tutus by his own nominees, sent one of his Northern Generals to Lanchou as Governor, accompanied by a bodyguard of a couple of thousand good Northern soldiers. To avoid friction the latter travelled up to Kansu as Commissioner for the Kokonor, his appointment as Governor only being announced by telegraph when he was within a few days of the capital. For some months there was a period of great tension between the Mahomedans and the new Governor, but the latter was a true Northern soldier, strong and reliable, and the Mahomedans, under wise leadership, eventually accepted the situation, and General Ma retired again to Hochou.

In the summer of 1914 the southern portion of the 669 province suffered greatly from the incursion made by the 563 so-called White Wolf rebels, who, after ravaging parts of Anhui, Honan and Shensi, made a sudden raid into Kansu by the Ch'inchou road, being attracted probably by the stocks of opium in those parts. A year after their passage we could trace their route by ruined towns and villages and burnt out yamens. After looting the rich cities of Ch'inchou and Fuchiang and other towns in that neighbourhood, they struck west through the mountains to Minchou and T'aochou on the Kokonor border. At Old T'aochou they encountered the Mahomedans for the first time and met with a fierce resistance from the Moslem population of that district. This so infuriated the rebels that when, by sheer weight of numbers, they eventually captured the city they massacred the inhabitants and literally razed the town to the ground. At the time of our visit a year later the four walls of the city enclosed a mass of ruins, not a single house being left intact. The destruction of T'aochou proved, however, the turning-point in the career of that terrible horde. So far they had ranged, pillaging, murdering, and burning, right across China practically unchecked. But here they had been severely handled by the Mahomedans, who were not accustomed to take that kind of thing lying

public works set on foot for the unemployed. Suchow was transformed! But still Dr. Kao's imprisonment dragged on.

Finally, on June 1st, the trial of our patience came to an end. A student arrived in our court at dawn, saying that Dr. Kao was under orders to leave that morning for Lanchow, there to stand his trial. In spite of final delays and procrastinations, that same afternoon he left on foot for the eighteen days' tramp to the provincial capital. Here he spent some months, during the greater part of which he was able to live with his own friends. When the trial finally took place, he was declared innocent, and acquitted on all charges.

Many had been the orders and counter-orders, the subterfuge, and the conflicting motives at work, under the shifty régime of Chinese officialdom. On his release General Feng appointed him to the position of Medical Officer in charge of Red Cross work at his own Military Hospital, and his return to the far North-West has been temporarily delayed.

636

636 DEPENDENCIES--political organization of dependent regions not organized as provinces (e.g., a colony, a protectorate, a dependent territory); governmental personnel (e.g., executive, advisory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection (e.g., appointment, election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority, prerogatives, functions, and activities associated with each position. Information on relations of dependency with colonial powers will be filed in category 648. See also:

Culture contact	177	Administration of dependent ethnic groups	657
Ministers of colonial affairs	645	Military government	727

Wall; if this is so, the old gate and wall at T'ungmen Kuan, between Labrang and Ho Chou, is probably a portion of the same loop, which must have been constructed to protect the Hsining region against the incursions of Tibetans or Mongols from the Kokonor, and the course and history of which it would be interesting to trace. The road eventually debouches on to the city of Hsining, lying in a small cultivated plain of loess formed by the junction of three valleys, the Pei Ch'uan from Tatung Hsien, the Hsi Ch'uan from Tanko T'ing, and the Nan Ch'uan from T'a-erh Ssu (Kumbum), the combined streams going to make up the Hsining River.

Hsining is one of the chief cities of Kansu, being the centre of a region of fertile corn-growing valleys, producing wheat, barley, and particularly beans. Its commercial importance arises from its position near the Kokonor border, and together with Tanko T'ing, a day's journey further west, it commands the bulk of the valuable Kokonor trade in skins, furs, deer horns, musk, gold, and particularly wool. A state of passive hostility has reigned between China and Tibet since the collapse of Chinese power in Lassa consequent on the revolution, and the Szechuan-Tibetan trade through Tachienlu has suffered greatly thereby; the Hsining and Tanko trade, on the other hand, has continued uninterruptedly throughout these troubles, and has perhaps even increased. As elsewhere on this border this trade is largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. Before the Mahomedan rebellion of 1860–70 the Hsining-Kokonor road to Lassa was the most frequented route between China and Tibet, but was then replaced by the Szechuan road through Tachienlu; now it is coming into its own again. The interior of the city is fairly prosperous in appearance as far as Kansu towns go, but by no means indicative of the commercial and political importance of the place. The east suburb, the former Mahomedan quarter, is still completely in ruins, a relic of the last Mahomedan rebellion in 1895, when the city successfully withstood a siege by the rebels. The walls are particularly formidable and well built.

Hsining, as well as being the seat of a Taoyin and a Mahomedan General, has always been the residence of the high Chinese official controlling the immense territory of

the Kokonor (in Chinese Ch'ing Hai, meaning, like the Mongol name, "Azure Lake"), who used to be known by the Tibetan or Mongol term of "Amban," but who at the time of our visit was styled in the republican manner *Ch'ing Hai Pan Shih Chang Kuan* ("Chief Authority in charge of the Affairs of the Kokonor Territory"). Soon afterwards the post and its occupant, an old Manchu, were abolished by Yuan Shih-k'ai's Government, and the control of the Kokonor territory handed over to the Mahomedan General of Hsining. This control is of the usual vague and shadowy nature, such as has been exercised for so long by China over her outlying dependencies. The Mongol inhabitants are ruled by their own princes under China's overlordship; the Tibetans wander pretty well at will over the territory, robbing one another, the Mongols, and the Chinese, and generally pay but little respect to their nominal Chinese masters. It is possible that the Mahomedans will now take measures to bring them more under control[1].

We remained some days at Hsining, but unfortunately had no leisure to visit either the Kokonor Lake or the famous monastery of T'a-erh Ssu. In the intervals of official business we were hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General, the Manchu Amban, the Taoyin, and other officials. The former, like most of the Mahomedan leaders we met, was a bluff, hearty soldier and a delightful companion; he had served under T'ung Fu-hsiang at Peking in 1900.

Tanko and Hsining are the headquarters of the great Kokonor wool trade, which has been going on for twenty years or more and has now reached very large dimensions. This wool is produced on the grass lands of the Kokonor border, and is carried by raft and boat down the Yellow River and by camel caravan across the desert to Tientsin, whence it is exported to America. The trade is largely in the hands of the foreign export firms in Tientsin who, through their compradores, maintain buying agencies at various collecting centres such as Hsining, Tanko, Kueitê, Hochow, Hsünhua, Tatung, Yungan, and Êpo on the

[1] Such measures have since been taken, with the result that the Tibetans, and more especially the lamas, have on several occasions risen in arms against the Mahomedans, and the peace of the Kokonor border has been seriously disturbed.

641

641 CITIZENSHIP--conception of the relationship of the individual to the state; territorial versus gentile affiliation; distinctions between citizens and residents, and between different categories of citizens; rights, duties, privileges, powers, and liabilities of the citizen or subject (e.g. civil liberties, franchise, liability to military service); acquisition of citizenship (e.g., naturalization); loss of citizenship (e.g., through serious crime); notions of civic virtues; etc. See also:

Social stratification	56	Public service	663
Justice	69	Voting	668
Immigration	167	Treason	687
Symbolic representations of nationalism and patriotism	186	Military service	701
Forced or indentured labor	466	Social insurance	746
Taxation	651	Ideas about political behavior	839
		Legal majority	884

The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

at the counter-revolutionaries and not to coerce the people to become converts. In this article, Ma Chien skillfully diverted the attention of the people from Islam to the United States as the enemy of the nation, saying that it was American imperialism, not Islam, which aimed at the conquest of Asia and the enslavement of the Asians. This line was immediately adopted. On May 16, 1951, the Jen-min jih-pao carried an article entitled, "The American Imperialists are the Deadly Enemies of the Moslems of the World." On April 16, 1951, another article appeared in the Jen-min jih-pao, signed by forty-nine prominent Moslem leaders in Peking, entitled "Moslem Brethren of the World, Rise up to Halt the Crimes of the American Imperialists." The cry was re-echoed by Moslem leaders in the Northwest. Ma Liang-chün, imam of the Chinese Moslems in Sinkiang, issued a proclamation under the title "Moslem Believers, Take Positive Action and Struggle to Crush the Germ Warfare of the United States." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 13, 1952.)

Thus, by joining the Resist United States and Aid Korea Movement, which was raging at a frenzied pitch in 1950-52, the Moslem leaders in China were able to deflect attacks on Islam launched by some of the Communist publicists. But with the conclusion of hostilities in Korea, the Chinese Communists began to re-evaluate and to revise their policy toward the Moslems in the Northwest. Moreover, by 1954, when Communist China had gained ascendency in Chinese Turkestan and political domination over the Moslem population in that region, there was less need to pacify them by promises. The year 1954 also marked the end of the period of New Democracy, which called for a United Front of all the peoples, and the commencement of socialism, in which the CCP would emerge paramount.

The change of Communist policy toward the Moslem peoples of the Northwest as in other parts of China is seen in the official documents of the Chinese Communists. In contrast to the Common Program of the CPPCC, the blue print for the period of New Democracy, in which, in Article 53, the national minorities were promised freedom to develop their languages and to preserve or reform their cultures and religions, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (adopted in September, 1954,) pointedly omits the freedom of religion for the national minorities. Article 3, which discusses the rights of the national minorities, states that "all the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways." Only in Article 88 was there the provision that the "citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief," and, according to Mao Tse-tung's definition (in his People's

than the Mahomedan leaders of Kansu. But, unlike some of the Manchu irreconcilables, General Ma Fu-hsiang moves with the times, and was later on one of the staunchest supporters of Yuan Shih-k'ai and the Peking Government. He is looked upon in some quarters as a likely successor to General Ma An-liang as leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, a position which it is generally agreed he is well qualified to fill.

Ninghsia was one of the few places in Kansu which had a rough time during the Revolution of 1911 owing to the city being seized by the Ko Lao Hui, and matters seem to have been very bad until the arrival of Mahomedan troops under one of Ma An-liang's Generals, when many Ko Lao Hui heads rolled in the dust and order was speedily restored. It is only in the extreme north and south of Kansu, for instance at Ninghsia and Chieh Chou (Kai Chou), where there is a considerable extra-provincial element in the population, that the Ko Lao Hui are formidable, owing apparently to the counter-influence of the Mahomedans, who will never have any dealings with secret societies.

Immediately west of the Ninghsia plains rises the barrier range usually known to foreigners as the Alashan, and three days' distant in these mountains lies Tingyuan Ying, or Wangyeh Fu, the residence of the Mongol Prince of the State of Alashan. It was to this place that Prince Tuan, the Boxer leader and father of the then Heir Apparent, retired after the events of 1900, though he was supposed to have been exiled to Turkestan. After the Mahomedans had occupied Ninghsia during the Revolution of 1911, he came down and lived there for some time awaiting the issue, but on the abdication of the Manchus he appears to have retired west into Turkestan, together with the famous old Manchu die-hard, Sheng Yün.

At Ninghsia we received what then seemed the incredible news of Yuan Shih-k'ai's intention to make himself Emperor. Kansu and its Mahomedans probably welcomed the event, since they were never particularly enthusiastic about the Republic, but it was a terrible blow to the young men of the student class who believed in the *Min Kuo*[1]. I have heard Yuan Shih-k'ai's opponents allege that his ambition was always fixed on the Throne, and that in the days when

[1] "People's Country," i.e. Republic.

being refused all opportunity for clearing themselves, although the whole populace declared them to be innocent. Dr. Kao was actually with us at distant Suchow when the incident occurred. Subsequently, however, he made an open enemy of the Kanchow Official by peremptorily refusing to consider the case on a suggested compromise basis, *i.e.* that as a life had been sacrificed on either side, and honour was satisfied, it only remained for the parties concerned to seal their agreement by feasting!

The circle of those bound together to wreak vengeance on the Christians and their leader was growing, and they were now joined by an influential man of whom Dr. Kao had made an enemy by refusing his donation of several hundred dollars towards the hospital work, a gift which had been offered on the tacit understanding that having accepted it the doctor would cease his open denunciation of the opium traffic.

During the winter months of 1925 the Provinces of the North-West Frontier were placed under the jurisdiction of Marshal Feng, and the city walls were covered with excellent proclamations, forbidding soldiers to oppress the people, and promising adequate protection to farmers bringing in their produce, it being the custom of the local battalions to ill-treat persons and seize goods at their pleasure. These proclamations were received with acclamation by the people, but were obviously *not* liked by the officials or the soldiers.

One day in January 1926, Dr. Kao, walking along the street, met a crowd running towards a back alley, where on following them, he found five men beating a young villager so severely as to endanger his life. Several of the assailants were soldiers, and one, armed with a hammer, was proceeding to break the youth's skull when, without a moment's hesitation, the Doctor

flung himself on the victim so as to receive the blows on his own body. This so startled the assailants that they desisted; he then took possession of a young soldier's cap, for purposes of identification, saying, 'This is a matter for judicial investigation. If this boy has done anything wrong, take him to the Mandarin.' This the soldiers refused to consider, and followed the Doctor to the Mission House, finally begging him to drop the matter, and not to report them to their officers. To this he consented. A few days later our own carter was sent out to a village near by to bring in grain for the mules. A band of soldiers, acting in accordance with their irregular custom, commandeered the cart and animals for their own use. The carter questioned their right, whereupon he was beaten, and filth of the worst description was rubbed into the wound. The soldiers then moved away, leaving him semi-conscious by the roadside, to which place our small scouts soon fetched some of the students, as well as Dr. Kao, who indignantly called attention to General Feng's placard above his head. This happened close to the residence of the Minister of Defence, who, hearing what had occurred, came out himself and saw the man still lying wounded near his own gate. He ordered the offender to be brought before him, whereupon one of his own soldiers was produced, and by his order was stripped of his uniform and handed over to the civil authorities for punishment. The Commanding Officer was likewise degraded, and the Minister himself called at the Mission Compound to apologise for the insult offered, expressing himself as exceedingly angry that we, who were his friends, should have been exposed to a public insult. Meanwhile, the carter developed a severe form of blood-poisoning, and his life was despaired of; and in the civil prison lay the soldier, whose life was to be taken

the same hour as the carter died—a life for a life, while the local garrison was most indignant at the suggestion that one of their number should be executed on such a trivial charge as the death of a common carter, and swore vengeance. However, after forty-eight hours of extreme anxiety, our relief knew no bounds when a slight improvement, following on a severe operation, showed itself in the patient, and he eventually recovered, the two lives being saved, as the soldier was released.

The New Year festivities were at this juncture in full swing, and the friendliness on all sides was such that we greatly hoped the ill-feeling produced by this incident had passed over. Our guest-rooms were daily crowded with visitors, and the tent would barely hold the congregation which gathered each evening.

It came like a bolt from the blue when one day Dr. Kao walked into our sitting-room with the startling announcement:

'The compound is surrounded by men sent to arrest me!'

'To arrest you!' we exclaimed. 'Impossible! On what plea?'

'I am accused,' he quietly said, 'of leading an armed mob to break open the city gaol in order to release a certain Moslem prisoner. The man, as we all know, has been living in his own home for months, nor have I been inside their prison. The accusation is futile, but the power of the accusers is tremendous; and chief among them is the Governor of the prison himself, *the master of the little slave whose foot I amputated."* Then, showing a visiting-card, he added: 'This card has just reached me from the Judge, who is a patient of mine, and who asks for a visit from me. I know he never sent it, and it is but a trap to get me quietly into the Yamen and arrest me there, for they fear a hubbub among the

people. I expect you agree with me; I had better go; and so I just came in to say good-bye. Our life and death are in God's hands, as also the reputation of His Church. He will vindicate His Name.'

Commending each other to the care of God we parted, and he proceeded in company with Mr. Chang to the Yamen. As the two men left the house and walked down the streets, knots of Yamen runners, who had been placed at various points from which they watched the doors of the compound, closed in behind them, so that, as they reached the Yamen gate, they were completely surrounded by soldiers. As they entered the courtyard, the Civil Magistrate appeared, who shouted angrily: 'Seize that fellow Kao!' Immediately a dozen hands took hold of him, and thrust him into the Black Hole of the inner prison, reserved only for condemned criminals.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE STORM

Dr. Kao's arrest took place on February 17th, 1926, and it was June 1st of the same year before he left Suchow for Lanchow, to be present at the enquiry into his case. For forty-two days he was incarcerated in the Black Hole, which is an inner apartment of the prison, without any window; it contains, however, a small aperture in the roof to admit a little air and light. The cell was so unspeakably filthy that the Doctor's first request was for some quicklime to scatter on the floor and under the boards of the *kang*, on account of the numerous rats, and other even worse vermin. The only door was the one by which the gaoler entered,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

One or two there were who vowed to know no rest until 692
this system of bribery and corruption should be over- 697
turned, which made it possible to incarcerate innocent 798
men, sometimes for life, without trial and without appeal.

Kansu was at this time in a political ferment. Some 701
months previously General Feng's troops had assumed 635
authority in Lanchow, and were gradually making their power felt throughout the province. His appointment of his own men to positions of importance caused the greatest excitement and apprehension among the local authorities, and the city walls were posted with the announcement that anyone spreading reports on political or military matters would be shot.

The first we saw of Marshal Feng's officers was one Sunday morning at the early Communion Service, when two finely-grown, well-set-up soldiers, in spotless uniform, walked in, taking their place among the little group of believers, thus openly associating themselves with Christianity. They only stayed a few days, however, but were soon followed by recruiting officers, and lecturers, who addressed themselves to the populace and preached equality and the rights of the proletariat, and when the city walls were covered with anti-British posters. It was all very chaotic. But the recruiting fell off, because the people said, 'Under Feng you *must* fight, so what's the use of his good pay if you die?' Then the posters quietly disappeared, but the authorities left ours up intact—one did not know what to expect! At last an officer appeared, sent by Feng, under whose superintendence the city was entirely transformed in only a few weeks. The main streets were widened and levelled; a market-place was erected where the peasants might sell their goods unmolested; industrial institutions were opened for the poor children, and other

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

tion comes to an end, and the fertile plain gives way to a sandy waste. Eventually, after some twenty-seven to thirty hours of actual drifting down stream from Chungwei, exclusive of halts, we reached the walled fort of Hung Ch'eng, which is, so to speak, the port of Ninghsia, lying on the right bank at the point where the Great Wall and the main trail from T'aiyuan *via* Suitê to Ninghsia strike the Yellow River. Behind it the land rises in sandy uninhabited downs, the beginning of the Ordos desert. The river is here about three-quarters of a mile wide and is crossed by a ferry. Ninghsia lies 40 li inland on the opposite side.

As our ponies had not yet turned up on their overland journey from Chungwei we found ourselves stranded on the river bank opposite Hung Ch'eng, until the Ninghsia authorities, learning of our arrival, sent some animals down to meet us. The trail to Ninghsia leads across a strip of waste land five li in extent stretching along the river, and then runs for the rest of the way through irrigated fields, mostly under rice, traversing several large irrigation channels. There is probably more rice (though of an inferior kind) grown on the Yellow River plains between Ninghsia and Chungwei than anywhere else in China north of the Ch'inling Shan; but also this was the only region in Kansu where we were troubled by mosquitoes, the elevation being under 4000 feet. We spent a few days in Ninghsia, being hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General and other officials. It is a large town, and a political and commercial centre of some importance, but the interior is very dilapidated and poor-looking. It is the centre of trade with the Mongols of the Ordos and the Alashan (the latter really the name of a Mongol state rather than a mountain range), chiefly in wool and sheep and goat skins; a particularly fine lamb-skin, called *t'anyang p'i* is a noted local product, as well as felts and carpets. An old Ninghsia rug is of considerable value anywhere. The local Mahomedan General, Ma Fu-hsiang, who is also a sort of Military Governor of North-Eastern Kansu, is one of the leading Mahomedans of the Province, and represents a fine soldierly type of Chinese Moslem. He served under T'ung Fu-hsiang in Peking in 1900 and commanded the Dowager Empress' escort on the retreat to Hsian. The Manchus had no more loyal servants

Democratic Dictatorship, 1949), the term "citizen" is restricted to certain select classes of people, not all the people.

Moreover, as the Communist officials have frankly stated, toleration would be granted to only religious faiths which (1) have been purified of foreign influences and "feudal superstitions," (2) contribute toward the increase of production, and (3) do not conflict with the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung. In other words, the Chinese Communists sanction only religions that have been tamed, domesticated, and cleansed of political coloration.

In the implementation of this policy of the Central People's Government, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, announced in February, 1955, that only "legal religious activities would be permitted by the people's government," because, he said, "individual counter-revolutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam and, under the cloak of religion, are carrying on counter-revolutionary activities." (Sinkiang jih-pao, February 25, 1955.)

The stiffening of Chinese Communist policy toward the adherents of Islam represented, actually, no radical change but rather the shedding of the pretense of benevolence toward the nationality minorities whose attachment to their religion was stronger than their allegiance to the state. It represented, too, a recognition by the Chinese Communists of the fundamental differences between Islam and Communism and of the impossibility of rationalizing these differences. Islam, with its strong social principles for the regulation of state and homelife, conflicts with the totalitarianism of Communism. As Moslem leaders of Asian countries have pointed out, Communism advocates the use of force against those who would not readily accede to it; Islam teaches men to bring others to follow the way of God by peaceful means. Communism does not respect the sanctity of human life, but teaches violence and favors the organization of society based upon atheism and anti-religion; Islam provides for individual rights and freedom, and encourages humanitarian services, compassionate feeling toward all living beings, apart from devotion to God.

Besides being a religion, Islam in Chinese Turkestan has also been a strong political force welding the multi-racial groups together in their struggle for self-rule and their resistance to oppression. The insurrections of the Moslems against the Chinese in the beginning of the nineteenth century have been led by religious leaders, the Khojas; the widespread uprisings of the Moslems in the 1860's were led by Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Kansu, and by Yakub Beg, who bore the title of Commander of the Faithful, in Kashgaria.

The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were

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641 in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are
668 many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the
771 spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized,
however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way
829 contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is, "the
religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law.
The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used
as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,...
We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic
world outlook... The youths should thus be given an ideological
foundation... to make them into...atheists and the heroic fighters
of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

C
641 The Communists believe that by turning the young people
668 against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when
771 the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate
or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expedi-
N ency. In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lama-
• 641 ism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Mos-
* 668 lems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army
marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First
771 Field Army, Pleng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole
795 field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were
the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that
every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well.
In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair
the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the
Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen. (see above).

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641 Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist
642 Constitution are restricted. Mao Tes-tung's statements in his
*668 "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this
C point.
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E. Practices

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Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as
*668 examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First
423 Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the
578 "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls
of rice to eat, you will not have peace." Because of this, Vice-
823 Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Edu-
cation of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it
in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of
the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place
for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups
were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee
and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the
school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party
magazine, Hsüeh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious
purge took place.

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175 Chinese-owned companies. Although Soviet and Eastern European
648 experts were retained as salaried technicians, the move was made
to appear that Soviet Russia was withdrawing from Sinkiang in
5 favor of Communist China.

175 In addition to these conditions, there was a whole plethora of
668 other factors which made the Communist authorities reluctant to
642 grant regional autonomy to the people of Sinkiang. However, as
631 they had in repeated pronouncements promised autonomy to the
563 non-Chinese inhabitants of this province, they found that they
could not procrastinate any longer, and in the late summer of 1953 they finally agreed to the establishment of the first autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang, but on an experimental basis. The three experimental autonomous governments were: one for the Sibo on the hsiang level, one for the Chinese Moslems on the county level, and one for the Mongols on the district (ch'ü)level. In December, 1953, Saifuddin urged "that a good job must be done to guarantee that the various national autonomies in the province may be established." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 6, 1954).

The experiments proved successful and by May, 1954, the green light was given for the establishment of autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang for other concentrations of national minorities in the province. There were thirty-three autonomous areas below the level of district in Sinkiang in August (NCNA, August 7, 1954). However, in proportion to its population of non-

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Table 5. **COMPARISON OF ELECTION PROCEDURES**

Chinese Communists in 1937	Chinese Communists in 1953	Soviet Russia in 1936
Universal, direct, equal	Restricted to certain groups; direct at lowest level and indirect at upper levels, unequal	Restricted, indirect, unequal
Secret ballot	Show of hands at lower level, secret ballot at higher levels	Show of hands
All men and women over 18 including landlords and capitalists	All over 18 except landlords, counter-revolutionaries, lunatics, and those deprived of civil rights	Limited to workers, farmers, and petty bourgeoisie.
Voters vote as many times as there are levels, in county and regional elections	System pyramidal. Voters vote only at lowest levels for delegates who in turn elect delegates to higher levels	Pyramidal. Voters vote for delegates to local soviets, who in turn vote for upper soviets
Ballots of citizens in all walks of life counted without discrimination	Different proportions for urban, rural, Chinese, non-Chinese, army and overseas Chinese	Segregation of farmers, workers votes. Disproportionate representation.

The sections on Chinese Communists in 1937 and Soviet Russia in 1936 are based on Chu Yun, Factual Account of a Shensi Trip (Hankow, 1938), pp. 11-12, quoted in Hsu Yung-ying, A Survey of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region (IPR, 1945), I, p. 43.
The section on Chinese Communists in 1953 is based on the Electoral Law of 1953.

tion of their representatives. In February, the Central People's Government in Peking passed the Election Law which provided for suffrage for adults over 18 years of age with the exclusion of all those whom the Communist authorities had classified as landlords, counter-revolutionaries, and lunatics and those who were deprived of the right to vote or to run for election. The certified voters vote only once, at the lowest or basic levels, and by a show of hands (art. 55). The system is pyramidal. The representatives chosen by the people at the basic election elect their representatives to people's congresses of a higher level, and these in turn elect representatives for peoples of still higher level, and so on up, through the levels of county and district people's congresses to municipal and provincial congresses, and through the level of municipal and provincial congresses to the National People's Congress. Only at high levels was the balloting secret. The candidates running for election were Communist or men approved by the

going to the polls, but in Chinghai where it was reported that 95 per cent of the people went to the polls, the election was only one-fourth completed.

In Sinkiang, the Communist authorities were more cautious. The experimental elections began in May, 1953, in 17 basic election units (hsiang) selected from the ten administrative districts, then in 36 basic election units. In these experimental elections, 80-95 per cent of the electorate turned out. With the successful conclusion of the experiments, the real basic level elections began in September in 665 basic level areas in Sinkiang, followed in December by the second group of 860 basic level area elections. By April, 1954, the basic level election in Sinkiang was concluded, having been held in 2,424 basic units in 83 counties and municipalities. In urban areas, 89 per cent of the voters turned out, while in southern Sinkiang, the turnout by the Uighur population was 95 per cent. The elections during 1953 had been supervised by 1,127 cadres who formed 144 election courts and 98 mobile investigation teams, which uncovered 204 cases of irregularities and nonconformity.

The fruit of the efforts of the election cadres was the election of large numbers of cadres and party members. Sixty-three per cent of the 619 new party members employed in the Sinkiang provincial and Urumchi municipal governments were elected as delegates. In 312 hsiang in Sinkiang, out of the 7,088 of the delegates elected, 5,248 were Communist Party cadres, and the bulk were Chinese. In Ninghsia, only 25 per cent of the 9,700 deputies elected in the basic level elections were Chinese Moslems (Hui).

Moreover, the elections in the rest of the Northwest, as in the rest of China, were by no means universal. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, one of the top officials in charge of the nationwide elections, revealed that basic level elections were not held in a quarter of the regions inhabited by national minorities, and the number of national minority people who were not given a chance to vote came to 8,708,169. The reason for defranchising these minority people, he said, was due to the "lack of requisite conditions," which were (1) the native cadres were unsatisfactory and (2) the people failed to appreciate the nationality policy of the government. (NCNA June 19, 1954).

In contrast to the publicity given to the basic level elections in the Northwest, the elections in the higher levels were conducted quietly and, in many cases, the results were not published. However, from scattered information gleaned from the Communist press, the following picture emerges: in Shensi, Kansu, and Sinkiang, the incumbent governors were re-elected. Only in Chinghai, was there a change in the governor. In these four provinces, three of the governors are Chinese. In the three provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai, about half of the thirteen vice -

under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i, was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the position of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks: First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

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642 CONSTITUTION--prevailing system governing the distribution of political power and authority; extent of agreement or disagreement between formal constitutional provisions and actual practice; rights, privileges, and powers assigned or delegated to each organ of government, including the power to alter their distribution; centralization and diffusion of power; constitutional principles (e.g., separation of powers); temporary relaxations or extensions of political authority (e.g., interregnums, war powers); form of the state (e.g., empire, union, federal republic, U.N. trusteeships, colony protectorate); form of rule (e.g., autocratic, oligarchic, aristocratic, theocratic, democratic); type of constitution (e.g., written, unwritten); framing and amending of constitutions; constitutional law; etc. See also:

Family authority	59	Hierarchy of political officials	631
Authority within kin groups	61	Political parties	665
Authority in the community	62	Judicial authority	692
Law	67	Political theory	829

The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quarts, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

state as they may prefer." (point 14, Ibid. p. 22.)

Coming to the second state, the Yenan period, the Communists retreated to an almost amiable position. The differences were summarized by a friendly observer as follows: "The basic structural change which distinguishes the Border Region from its predecessor lies in the broadening of the electorate. As contrasted with the Soviet election system which was restricted, indirect and unequal, the present system is characterized as universal, direct and equal, and to insure this change the secret ballot is substituted for the hitherto open ballot hand-raising. This means that whereas under the Soviets franchise was limited to workers, farmers and a section of the 'petty bourgeoisie', the new system extends the right to vote to all men or women over eighteen years of age, including landlords and capitalists, except when a person is insane or his political rights have been specifically suspended by court action. The Soviet election was also pyramidal. This means that a voter under the Soviets voted only for delegates to a local soviet, while delegates to an upper Soviet were chosen by the lower Soviets but not by the voter. The new system allows the voter to vote as many times as there are local, county or regional elections for members to the representative body of each grade of geographical division. The segregation of farmer and worker voters and their disproportionate representation under the Soviets are abolished under the new regime and secret or unsigned ballots of citizens of all walks of life in the same territorial unit are counted together without discrimination." (Ch'u Yun, Factual Account of a Shensi Trip, or Shen-hsing Chi-shih, Hankow, 1938, pp. 11-12 as quoted in Hsü Yung-ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 43.)

Judging by western standards, this was progress toward democracy. But from the Communists' point of view, it was a temporary necessity.

When the Communists conquered the Northwest in 1949, they found themselves in a much more favorable position than during the war. Hence their "common program" of this stage brought back a lot of the characteristics of the old Soviet Constitution. The Communists made the following points very clear:

1) The People's Republic of China is a country led by the Communists. Those who refuse to follow this leadership will be crushed and denied all rights (Articles 1 and 7).
2) The Communists are ready to continue the war to the last, at least until Formosa is occupied (Article 2).
3) The Communists will protect the private property only of qualified people, and at any time they can disqualify anybody (Article 3).
4) China must be tied to the U.S.S.R. now and in the future (Article 11).

With these basic premises, one may understand the real meaning of the "struggle for the independence, democracy, peace, unification and prosperity of China" (Article 1). They also help one to understand the following analysis.

In the constitution of 1954, the same premise presented in the Common Program is restated. Under this general premise, the study of the constitutional system in northwest China can be carried out under four sub-headings, namely, the general civil rights, the economic rights, the political rights, and the rights of the minority groups.

The Communists always make a great effort to promote their programs. Before and after the establishment of their Constitution, they mobilized all people available to study the Constitution. To do this, study groups were organized everywhere. Discussions were insisted upon. Millions of copies of the draft constitution were distributed.

In Northwest China, the Communists' effort to publicize the constitution can be seen in their publications. To reach the minority groups, the Constitution was translated into various languages. It is available in Kazakh, Tibetan, Mongolian and Uighur. So are the organic laws of the National People's Congress, the State Council and the Local People's Congresses and Councils.

III. Practices Regarding General Civil Rights

A. Pledges and Exclusions

According to the Common Program of 1949, "the people of the People's Republic of China shall have freedom of thought, speech, publication, assembly, association, correspondence, person, domicile, change of domicile, religious belief and the freedom of holding processions and demonstrations." (Article 5). This, however, does not mean that all will have these rights. The Communist Party may disqualify anyone. Moreover, since the standard of selection changes according to the ebb and flow of political tides inside the Communist Party, it is hard to guarantee that anybody, including Mao Tse-tung himself, always will enjoy these rights.

In the Constitution of 1954, this fact is even more clear. In Article 19 it is stated: "The People's Republic of China safeguards the people's democratic system, suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

"The state deprives feudal landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists of political rights for a specific period of time according to law; at the same time it provides them with a way to earn a living, in order to enable them to perform thorough work and become citizens who earn their livelihood by their own labour."

In this article the first part refers to traitors and counter-

The success, however, is not so complete as it is indicated in these reports. While there are minority groups which cooperate with the Communists, others do not. A good example is Hsiang Ch'ien, a Tibetan chief in Chinghai, who fought against the Communists from the beginning of the Communists' rule till he exhausted his supplies. For more than two years, the Communists wooed him to no avail. In 1952, he suffered big losses, and even his family was captured by the Communists. The Communists mobilized numerous local leaders to talk terms with him and finally brought him to surrender. This case was publicized because it had a "happy ending" for the Communists. It nevertheless indicates that not all goes as well in the Northwest as the Communists might like.

D. Minority Languages

Besides these general practices of the Communist minority policy, a special point of interest is the promise in article 3 of the Communist constitution: "All the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages." In fact, the Communists even intended to create new written languages for those nationalities who had not had a written language of their own. (A resolution at the 217th meeting of the Government Administration Council on May 20, 1954, in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, 1954, July issue p. 24). After consultation with experts a compromise was reached in 1954. It was decided to try one or two new written languages first. After reviewing the whole situation, Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, head of the Institute of Linguistics of China Science Academy, drew this conclusion: "Not only may the minority groups learn written and spoken Chinese before their own written language is created, but even after they have a written language, it is still necessary for them to learn Chinese." (Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "Following the direction of the Government Administration Council to help the various nationalities without language to create their own," in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, July, 1954, pp. 24-26.)

The language policy is apparently two-fold. On the one hand, the minority groups may retain their own languages; on the other hand, they are encouraged, it not required, to learn the Chinese language. This second policy has to be seen in the light of the drive to promote the national language and to eliminate all local dialects. Judging by the trend in the Soviet Union, the minority groups at least will be required to learn and to use the Chinese language, regardless of the fate of their own.

A team to investigate the minority languages in Sinkiang was organized and sent to the field by the Institute of Linguistics of the China Science Academy. They stayed in Sinkiang for over fifty days recording and collecting material concerning the local

governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen, nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

A word must be said about the representation of national minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32. Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82. It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not mean that the people have been given the right to govern themselves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control

In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their final stage, there were structural changes in the administration of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was relaxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the

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643 CHIEF EXECUTIVE--type of executive (e.g., paramount chief, king, president); plural executives (e.g., peace chief and war leader, king and chief priest, constitutional monarch and prime minister, triumvirate, executive council); authority (e.g., supreme, nominal, dependent upon personal qualities); prestige (e.g., sanctity of person, divine descent); functions (e.g., administrative, judicial, military, religious); prerogatives; symbols of office; mode of selection (e.g., by election, seniority, matrilineal or patrilineal succession); qualifications (e.g., age, sex, rank, wealth, prowess, piety); installation; termination of tenure (e.g., deposition, expiration of term, killing of divine king); etc. See also:

Executives and rule of succession in the family . . 59
Executives and succession in kin groups 61
Dynastic lists and genealogies 173
Executives and succession in the community . . . 622
Mortuary rites 764, 766

Our new encampment stood in a brook bed filled with mighty granite boulders, bordered by high poplars and willow shrubs (Plate LXXVII). Here we were overtaken by an emissary of the dsassak (banner-leader) of Barun who presented me with a khádar and requested me to visit the dsassak in the plains, in Barun Kurä, where he was staying for a month to recite prayers. I promised to go. But since I had been warned on all sides not to go down into the hot, mosquito-filled plain with my yak bullocks, I first marched south for a whole day, up the Wulasetä Valley, (1) at the outlet of which stood our

1. Uläsutä, meaning "region of poplars." The "poplar and willow oasis" just before the river emerges into the plain has given it its name. Rockhill, Diary, p. 166, however, is of a different opinion.

previous camp. The region offered little that was attractive or inviting. Barren, desolate rubble terraces were to be seen everywhere, and only after we were a dozen kilometers from the Tsaidam Plain in the mountains was there finally a scant growth of grass. The cattle herds of the Mongols were able to find somewhat adequate amounts of grass only above 3,700 meters. Far back in the valley we came upon about twenty yurts of the Barun nomads. I decided to stay here and give my caravan animals a somewhat longer rest. The bullocks were at the end of their strength, in fact, on the last few marches I had lost four more. Two of them had to be left behind in our last camp at the mouth of the Wulasetä Valley. /346/ When we were ready to fetch them, we found only their footprints together with those of a horse's hoofs, leading out into the Tsaidam Plain. They had been stolen and I never saw them again. (1)

1. Dyoba Dyentsen told me that the dsassak himself had had them removed.

On the day after our arrival in this camp, the dsassak of Barun visited me in person, to my great astonishment. First a mounted courier came dashing up, behind him came the dsassak in the midst of ten horsemen. A clumsy figure, somewhat over 1.65 meters tall, an uncouth Caliban as one could see from a distance, stopped 100 centimeters in front of my tent, was assisted awkwardly from his horse, and came toward me. He had just reached the age of 45. He, as well as his escort, wore the Tibetan gaily-colored caftan, except

that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats. I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Mohammedan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak[1] pretended he understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also implored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the plain 40 kilometers distant.

I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbors. I started my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached, the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white beehive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with low bows, until finally I, as the first person, stumbled through the wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mongol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class tschürra, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama. When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen. He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

[1] [ie., of Barun.—Analyst]

entire body of the yak cattle is covered with a thick mat of hair which, on the belly, becomes a foot long and changes to rather stiff hairs. The wool as well as the bristles are always pitch-black in wild yaks and usually so in domestic ones. But after the hairs have been plucked out and exposed to the weather and to moisture, they quickly turn a reddish-brown and then resemble old mammoth-hairs such as one finds in the ice of Siberia; the mammoths were undoubtedly all raven-black at one time like the wild yaks.

After a few days of rest three of us, Han, Tsch'eng and I rode toward Barun kurä with only mules and horses. We again traveled down the stony and pathless Wulasetä Valley and then, as a result of a misunderstanding, set out from the mouth of the valley in a north-northwest direction into the plain. Thus it happened that when we again met human beings we were in Dsun, that is, in the territory of the banner-dsassak of Dsun which was west of Barun. Behind a 10 kilometer-wide, barren belt of rubble known as the schala, which embraces the foot of the mountain, there is a zone of dunes scarcely one kilometer wide following the southern border of Tsaidam; then there is a more or less wooded zone consisting of tamarisk, and finally, beyond this, the pasture land, the zone where /348/ the water that flows down from the mountains and is absorbed by the schála, gushes out again, irrigating and making the ground fertile once more before it loses itself in sterile salt swamps toward the middle of the Tsaidam basin.

Here in Dsun I again tried to add to my herd of sheep, but no one had the courage to do business with me. It is the custom in all five dominions of the Tsaidam Mongols that the rulers have a sort of business monopoly in their territory. Their subjects may carry on business with a stranger only when the ruler has covered his needs or if he expressly permits it. Dyoba Dyentsen, too, first had to get permission from the dsassak to sell me his animals.

Because the dsassak of Dsun lived too far off my route, I myself did not visit him. He is said to live on a walled estate in the middle of his country. His domain is about 40 kilometers long and 5 kilometers wide and consists of fertile pasture land. Belonging to it is also an area of wasteland extending over many days' marches. The Dsun (140 families with one squadron) graze their herds only in the plains, in the narrow zone between the dunes on the edge of the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this.

they are considered man and wife, and the woman then gets a dowry from her family. If she is no longer satisfied with the union, she may choose a new spouse at any time. The children who immediately after birth are given some animals from the herd, remain with the wife. Often the women change husbands so frequently or have so many lovers at once that one is tempted to speak of polyandry or pangamy.

The town of Barun kurä lies between swamps and in the middle of a scrubby wood. It consists of a few miserable huts, and crumbled gates of which there is just enough left so that one can see they are Chinese in style, and chiefly of the dsassak's houses enclosed by an extensive courtyard. (1) The buildings of the town serve the Barun

1. Rockhill, Diary, p. 165, discovered that the town was built as late as 1846 and was largely destroyed around 1886 at the command of the one-time major domo of the dsassak, Dowe, because the house owners refused to pay taxes to the dsassak.

chiefly as storage places for everything which they cannot take along on their frequent journeys. Among the permanent residents, there are only a lot of old women as well as old men who no longer care to live with their families, besides Chinese merchants who are in debt, and orphans who have been forgotten by their parents.

We lived in a tent in the dsassak's court. After we had set up our tent and got settled, we were invited to have tea in the dsassak's reception room. This was a low room measuring three by four meters. The dsassak sat down on a thick cushion on the rear wall, while at his right sat an elderly lama from the Gum bum lamasery, a Mongol from East Mongolia, who was the priest of the house. The rest of us sat in a circle around the coal brazier which stood in the middle of the room. I was seated alongside the lama. To the left of the dsassak sat his brother who was also a lamaistic priest, beside him sat the wife of the dsassak, and farther down, near the door, my companions and the prince's retinue. The room was more than simple. The walls, like those of all the houses of the village, consisted of stamped loess-loam and dried bricks, and the furnishings consisted of a few cupboards of the most slovenly kind of Chinese workmanship and dirty, pulo-canvas-covered pillows that served as seats. The room was lighted by the door opening and a small latticed opening without a paper window, high up on the wall.

After I had had my presents handed over, the conversation turned to European weapons and the dsassak who already had a number of Russian and English repeater guns, made every effort to buy some of my weapons. When I showed no inclination to comply with his wishes, the atmosphere became strained and I hurried to take my leave. /350/

The Barun dsassak (Plate LXXV), like all Dam Mongols, cannot be relied upon. The flour for which I had paid him up in the Wulasetă Valley, was still not ground when I came to Barun kură, and I was obliged to wait two days before I could get it. It was ground in hand-mills by old women and widows.

There were a great many beggars and cripples loafing about in the dsassak's courtyard. They mumbled their Om mani padme hung and plucked at their rosaries without ceasing. There were people coming and going all the time who paid tribute to the dsassak, and my companions were always amazed at how obsequious the Mongols were toward their ruler. Whereas the tent Tibetan shows very little respect toward his chieftain, the ordinary Mongol is bound by strict etiquette. He may never sit down with crossed legs before his prince, he must bend his right knee and remain in a half squatting, half kneeling position. If he is not invited to sit down he remains standing with his legs together. He must take his sword in his left hand and may not leave it sticking diagonally in his belt as he usually does.

The Mongol princes have incomparably greater prestige than the chieftains of the Tibetan nomads. I have already spoken of the princes' right of preëmption. Besides that, the dsassak owns his entire country, he annually apportions the pastures and also the arable land among his subjects and for this he receives his tithe in the form of animals and grain. Moreover, he demands several days of gratuitous service from each family, which the wealthier ones may pay off in the form of added taxes. On his part he feels himself responsible only toward the priests, he always supports a few lamas and gives large gifts to the monasteries. In many things he is the only source of supply for his subjects. He had large supplies stored in his warehouses in Barunkură. In them I saw pulo from Shigatse, lambskins from Lhasa, Nepalese amulet boxes, peacock feathers from India, saffron from Kashmir, Indian dates and cocoanut, Tibetan stag-antlers and pouches of musk, as well as American cotton materials, boots from Dankar, tea and the many little things with which the Chinese furnish the nomads of the highlands.

While I was staying there a huge felt yurt was erected in the court-yard of the dsassak, measuring 10 meters in diameter. The tribal

lamas gathered in it, in order to read the Kandyur. (Plate LXXIX). Beside the yurt there were deep holes dug, in which bucketsful of tea and thick, glutinous barley soup were cooked for the lamas and the many visitors who came for these prayer recitations.

Among the visitors was Dowe who had accompanied Rockhill to K'am in 1889. His eye disease which had set in shortly after his journey with Rockhill had in the meantime become so bad that he was almost blind. Two men who accompanied Kozlov on his journey to K'am also visited me and offered me their services. But they demanded such a high salary that I was unable to take them along. They boastfully told of the attack on Kozlov's caravan not far from Tsiamdo, in which 32 Tibetans were supposed to have fallen, and they spoke as though they had been the deliverers. (1) In the year

1. See in this connection, Kozlov, Mongolia i Kam. St. Petersburg, 1905, Vol. II.

1900 this same courtyard of the Barun dsassak /351/ formed the base of Colonel Kozlov's expedition. Two Cossacks guarded the camel caravan while Kozlov journeyed to K'am. The traces of this expedition were still clearly visible. In the room next to the reception-room the dsassak showed me, with a shake of his head, the place where the large Russian stove which the Cossacks built, had stood. Even the wooden tower for meteorological observations was still intact. These people were unable to rest for a minute, the dsassak observed, and in their feverish activity they opened the large well shaft in the courtyard. (1) However, today this well yields only

1. I was told apropos of the attack on the two Cossacks, that they had seen ghosts one night and shot blindly into the darkness. But there was no enemy. Perhaps the Mongols themselves wanted to steal?

brackish, polluted water. One finds good, salt-free drinking water only a good quarter-hour from Kură. A solitary rooster had meanwhile made his home in the wooden meteorological tower. The dsassak had brought him along only as an alarm-clock in the morning. He and his fellow-tribesmen, like the Tibetans, never ate eggs. So the hens had been left behind in China. (2)

2. The banner of the Barun dsassak has only one squadron

and consists mainly of Khoshot. The family of the dsassak stems from Tseren Khatan Batur, the younger brother of Gushi Khan. The incumbents of the office of dsassak became taidshi of the first class for the first time in 1725 and the office is hereditary since 1782. Nineteen of the twenty-one Khoshot banners of the Koko Nor belong to descendants of Gushi Khan, one (Taidschinär) to the descendants of the older brother of Gushi, one (Barun) to the descendants of the younger brother.

Very near to the dsassak's houses lived a brother and a cousin of my servant Han. They were two Dungan who had fled here in 1896 from the Hsining territory when the rebellion was quelled and the Dungan emigrated en masse. They had lost their fortunes during the war and became subjects of the Barun dsassak. Both of them had now taken Mongolian wives and established a household. We stayed a night with one of them, and I was touched to see how Han, at the request of his clan and all the Bamba Mohammedans, tried to persuade the brother and cousin to return home. In our honor a sheep had been picked out of the herd and my Han was entrusted with killing it according to Mohammedan rites. Everything Buddhistic had been removed from the yurt in our honor. The two pseudo-Mongols had at the first unsuspected meeting, shamefully removed the amulets which they wore around their throats according to lamaistic custom, and put them in their pockets. The Mongolian wife made no effort to hide her displeasure at her husband's conduct and at his sudden shame before his Mohammedan brother, as though their Buddhistic gods were not as good as the god of Islam. She sat idly in her tent beside me and made a sullen face, letting her husband take care of all the hospitality, alone. She was naked to the waist because of the heat. A half dozen small leather pouches and a small bronze Buddha shrine hung down to her ample breasts. Her small, four-year-old son was her only comfort in her anger. He kept running up to slake his thirst at his mother's breast.

My servant Han spoke Chinese which the Mongol woman did not understand and /352/ tried all his powers of persuasion. "You are living in wedlock here with a dirty Fan po, we Mohammedans shall get you a clean woman from among our people in the lowlands." - "The Mongolian woman presented me with a lovely little boy whom I do not like to leave." - "When you die they will expose your body

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644 EXECUTIVE HOUSEHOLD--executive residence and domestic establishment; guards, servants, and retainers; court personnel (e.g., number, characteristics, mode of selection, activities, prerogatives); court etiquette and ceremonial; special status and functions of executive's relatives; etc. See also:

Public buildings	344	Royalty as a social class	568
Manipulative mobility	557	Palace intrigue	662

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645 CABINET--ministers and informal advisers to the chief executive; constitutionally elaborated cabinets; specialized cabinet functions (e.g., foreign affairs, war, finance, justice, internal and colonial administration, postal affairs, agriculture, industry, transportation, commerce, education); selection of ministers; authority, activities, and prerogatives of each; relation to parliament and political parties; cabinet meetings; etc. See also:

Government activities	65	Political behavior	66

done in public welfare. The information about the situation in the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers; organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

The activities of the National Relief Commission included care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them sere sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Chinghai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized, however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is , "the religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law. The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,... We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic world outlook... The youths should thus be given an ideological founcation... to make them into...atheists and the heroic fighters of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

The Communists believe that by turning the young people against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expediency. In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lamaism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Moslems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First Field Army, Pleng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well. In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen. (see above).

Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist Constitution are restricted. Mao Tes-tung's statements in his "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this point.

E. Practices

Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls of rice to eat, you will not have peace." Because of this, Vice-Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Education of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party magazine, Hsüeh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious purge took place.

*668 1. The secret service

625 The command of the police system on mainland China rests with the national headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party. Nominally it is the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, but the real power is in the hands of the small group which forms the Political Bureau. In turn this bureau is influenced greatly by the Secretariat and the secretary-general. When the secretary-general is strong he may even dominate the bureau. It usually makes the decisions on policy. The secret police service's exec-
*668 utive body is centered around the Social Department of the Central
625 Committee of the Party. This Department has a direct system of
647 organization within the Party. In large areas (such as the former northwest region) or in special areas (such as Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), there is a Social Department subordinate to the Party's "Central Committee Sub-bureau." From this level down, like the Party local organization, there is a social department or social secretary at each level to take charge of the secret service in the corresponding area.

*668 2. Other police systems

625 Built around this Party secret service system, are numerous other separate, but not entirely independent, systems of police forces. The most important is the regular police. Organization-
[645] ally, this is a branch of the People's government. Its central headquarters is the Ministry of Public Security under the Govern-
[647] ment Administration Council. From this level down there is a branch office of the department at every level of the People's government. This branch commands the regular police forces.

The United Front Department system which extends to the provincial and municipal levels, is designed for two purposes. Negatively, it infiltrates into the organizations of the people and watches their functions. Positively, it dominates and utilizes the people's organizations to promote the Party program.

The system of People's control is similar. Here, people are used as spies for the Party. The People's Procurator system is slightly different. It is a prosecuting government organ. Since prosecution needs the investigation of facts, inevitably this sytem is involved in the police system.

[645] The spy system under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also has a dual purpose. Positively, this system infiltrates into for-
[648] eign territories to conspire for future conquests. Negatively, it is used to detect and prevent possible agitations which may disturb public order in mainland China.

*668 The police and spy system among the military forces can be
625 divided into two parts. The system of political defense is used to
708 weed out potential political enemies inside the army, while the
726 scout and spy system is mainly used to detect military enemies. Both of these systems have branches in the field army and the army areas.

646

646 PARLIAMENT--presence of deliberative or legislative bodies; type (e.g., council of headmen, popular assembly, oligarchical junta, elective legislature); number of houses (e.g., unicameral legislature, bicameral congress, three estates); membership qualifications; selection (e.g., appointment, election, succession); principle of representation; tenure (e.g., life, term, until deposed or recalled); powers and prerogatives; functions (e.g., advisory, legislative); organization; procedure (e.g., introduction, debating, passage of bills); special legislative provisions (e.g., executive veto, judicial review, popular referendum); etc. See also:

Comparable bodies in subordinate political divisions 63
Comparable bodies in the community 623
Electoral process 666
Statute law 671

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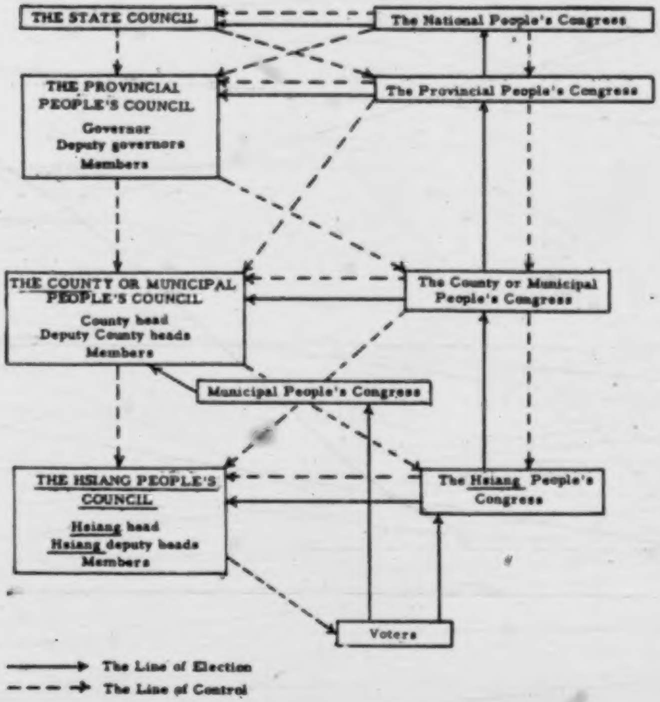
TABLE VI

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM UNDER THE COMMUNISTS AFTER SEPTEMBER 21, 1954.



LEVELS:

The Nation

Provinces, including:

Municipalities directly controlled by the central government

Autonomous areas

Administrative districts, including:

Autonomous *chou*

Counties, including:

Municipalities

Autonomous *hsien*

Hsiang, including:

Towns

Nationality *hsiang*

Districts under municipalities

The people

governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen, nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

A word must be said about the representation of national minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32. Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82. It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not mean that the people have been given the right to govern themselves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control

In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their final stage, there were structural changes in the administration of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was relaxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the

647

647 ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES--special bureaus, institutions, boards, and commissions charged with conducting the activities of the state; responsibility (e.g., to chief executive, to cabinet officers, to parliament); organization, personnel, and authority of each agency; civil service; bureaucracy and its characteristics; public administration; etc. See also:

Comparable agencies in subordinate political divisions 63
Activities of these agencies 65
Government officials as an occupational class . . 463
Comparable agencies in the community 624
Administrative law 671

The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered but also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

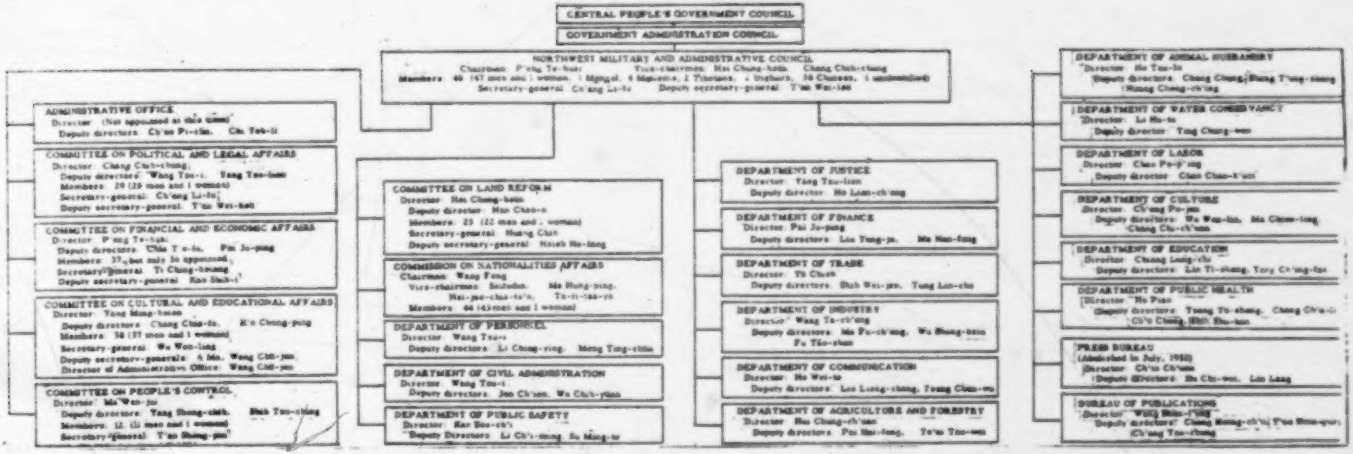
The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bĕks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bĕk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bĕk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bĕk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bĕk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bĕks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

TABLE I

THE STRUCTURE AND PERSONNEL OF NW MAC IN 1952



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*175 Department of Finance;
*668 Department of Trade;
631 Department of Industry;
• 649 Department of Communications;
Department of Agriculture and Forestry;
Department of Animal Husbandry;
Department of Water Conservancy;
Department of Labor;
Department of Cultural Affairs;
Department of Education;
Department of Public Health;
Press Bureau (abolished in July, 1952);
Bureau of Publications

d. drawbacks

With the gradual consolidation of the central government, the all-powerful Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions became less and less desirable, and the traditional conflict between the central and the regional forces became more and more significant. This situation reached a climax on November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government Council passed a resolution to change the structure and the function of the Military and Administrative Councils. It was stated that the change was necessary for strengthening the leadership of the Central People's Government in its new responsibilities of nation-wide economic and cultural reconstruction. The power of the provincial and municipal governments was to be strengthened, while that of the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions was to be curtailed. At that time these decisions were made:

C. Reorganization

(1) to organize all the People's Government Councils (or the Military and Administrative Councils) of the administrative regions into Administrative Councils. Each council was to function as an agent representing the central People's Government to guide and check the local governments.
(2) to preserve the Administrative Office and the four committees on Political and Legal Affairs, Financial and Economic Affairs, Cultural and Educational Affairs, and People's Control under the People's Government Councils (or the Military and Administrative Councils) of the administrative regions.
(3) to reduce the original departments to bureaus and offices. Some of these new bureaus and offices were to be put under the direct control of the related ministries of the central People's Government.

This reorganization was to be accomplished before the end of 1952, but the actual reorganization of the Northwest Military and

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*175 Administrative Council was not completed until January 27, 1953.
*668 P'eng Te-huai was released from his post as chairman of the
631 Northwest Military and Administrative Council with a new assign-
• 649 ment to command the Chinese Volunteer Corps in Korea, with the title of vice-premier of the Government Administration Council.

After this, the final step in abolishing the whole system of the administrative regions and their administrative bodies became almost insignificant. By a resolution in the thirty-second meeting of the central People's Government Council, formal abolition was achieved on June 19, 1954.

II. The Provincial and Other Lower Level Governments

*175 A. Relationship to Regional Government
*668 The provincial governments traditionally have been important
635 links in the Chinese governmental system. During the decades prior to the Communist victory, when the regional power groups had become extremely influential, this fact was even more true. After the Communists took over, however, the power of the provincial government was temporarily weakened by the establishment of the administrative regions. When the Government Administration Council passed the Organizational Regulations of the Provincial People's Governments on January 6, 1950, the provincial governments were reduced almost to instruments of the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions. The first article of these regulations mentioned that the people of a province would execute their political power through the provincial people's congress. The second article promised that the provincial government, including the governor, would be elected by the provincial people's congress. However, the second section of Article 2, had most significance. It stated:

"In the first stage of liberation, for the sake of a speedy establishment of a revolutionary order, the provincial People's Government Council should be nominated by the government Administration Council, subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council; or by the People's Government Council of the administrative region... subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council."

The appointed term of the provincial People's Government Council was two years. But through reappointments, the same provincial People's Government Council could be continued indefinitely.

1. authority

In the same regulations, the provincial People's Government Councils were given authority similar to that of the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions. For instance,

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000 almost every phase of their lives.
*668 The functions of the people's councils, reveal the contradictory
631 character of the Communist system of local government. The
182 Councils are responsible for carrying out decisions of the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, but they also have to carry out all decisions and orders from higher level government organs. The people's councils are the servants of the people, but they also are entrusted with stopping the execution of inappropriate decisions of people's congresses at the next lowest level. This power is especially significant since the higher people's councils must decide what decisions are inappropriate.

c. bureaus, offices and commissions

*668 The Organic Law for local governments states that the provin-
• 649 cial people's councils may establish the following bureaus, offices,
635 or commissions according to local needs:
631
(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;
(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Industry;
(9) Commerce;
(10) Transportation and Communications;
(11) Agriculture and Forestry;
(12) Water Conservancy;
(13) Labor;
(14) Culture;
(15) Education;
(16) Public Health;
(17) Physical Culture;
(18) Administrative Office.

[563] In areas where there are minority groups, the councils may also add a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

So far, no material is available concerning the actual structure of the northwestern provinces under the new law. However, it is known that the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs have been abolished.

*668 Under the new law, the municipal people's council may estab-
649 lish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions:
632
631
(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Safety;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;

*668 (6) Finance;
• 647 (7) Food;
632 (8) Taxation;
631 (9) Industry;
(10) Commerce;
(11) Labor;
(12) Culture;
(13) Education;
(14) Public Health;
(15) Physical Culture;
(16) Municipal Construction;
(17) Public Utilities;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups they may also establish a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

*668 647 634 631 The county people's councils may establish, according to need, the following divisions or bureaus:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Finance;
(4) Food;
(5) Taxation;
(6) Industry and Commerce;
(7) Agriculture and Forestry;
(8) Transportation and Communications;
(9) Culture and Education;
(10) Public Health;
(11) Administrative Office.

The people's councils of the hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns may establish, according to need, the following working committees:

(1) Civil Affairs
(2) Public Security;
(3) Armed Forces;
(4) Production and Cooperation;
(5) Finance and Taxation;
(6) Culture and Education;
(7) Mediation.

Members of the local people's congresses and other suitable individuals are encouraged to serve on these working committees.

*668 635 D. Comparison with Nationalist Organization

If this system is compared with the system of local governments under the Nationalists, the following differences can be noted:
(1) The Nationalists adopted the council system only at the provincial level.
(2) Under the Nationalists, the heads of the provincial bureaus and

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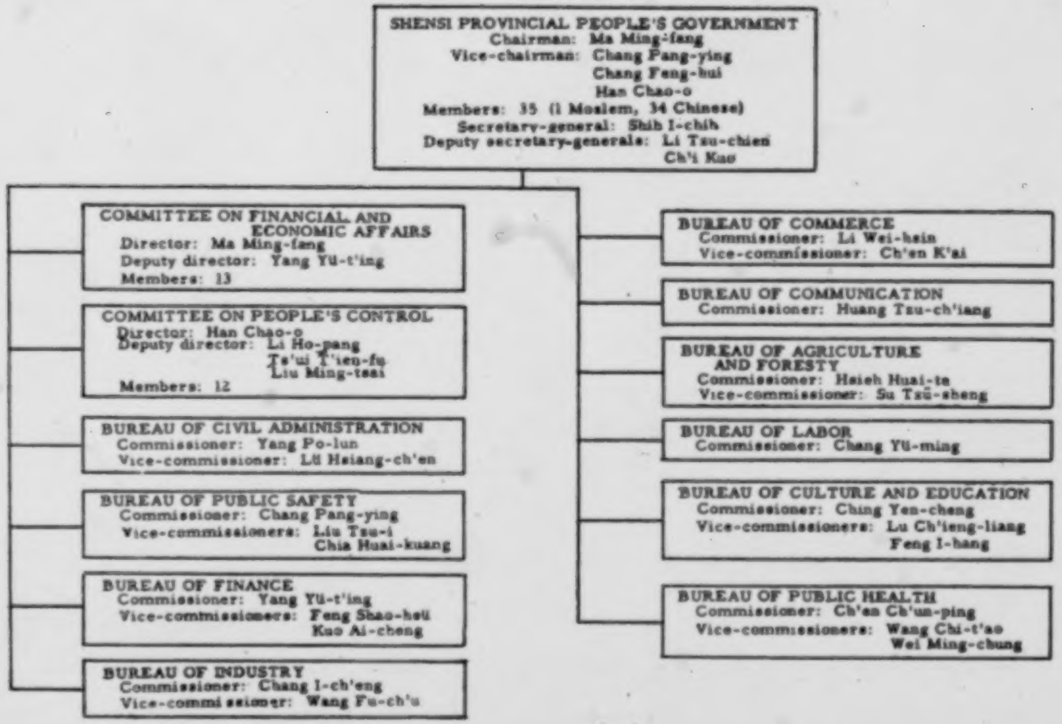
TABLE II



between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years , the extreme northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

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ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Communists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

S 217 668 177

It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sinkiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

N 20 105 +668 177 [647] [648]

VII. Organization

The organizational system of public information in the Northwest appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which receive instructions from Peking and control the various information services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

114 done in public welfare. The information about the situation in
657 the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available
to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies
in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with
the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that
635 the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social
645 Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including
647 Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare
657 works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry
645 of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers;
657 organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

657 Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with
747 some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the
National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission
731 was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

657 The activities of the National Relief Commission included
747 care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them
sere sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Ching-
[722] hai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service
[727] Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

747 The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate
797 much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

*175
*668 a People's Government Council of the administrative region to take
631 the place of the Military and Administrative Council.

701 2. Northwest administrative council

[666] a. composition

Apparently this anticipated election never took place in Northwest China under the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. Since November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government ordered the reorganization of the Council into the Northwest Administrative Council, it has been known as the Northwest People's Government Council.

*175 b. functions

*668 Article 3 of the same regulations indicated that the People's
631 Government Council of the administrative region (the Military and Administrative Council) was to be a part of the regular local government system, ranking between the Central Government and the provinces. It represented the Government Administration Council in guiding the provincial and county governments in administrative work.

This was well defined in Article 4, which gave the detailed functions of the Council. The Council was to be the organ for transferring the orders of the central government to the provincial and other lower local governments. It made suggestions to the central government concerning personnel, law, and financial arrangements for the region. It also coordinated and supervised administrative work for the central government.

These regulations indicated that the Communist Government meant to make the administrative regions and their administrative structures a part of their regular, permanent government system. This was quite a change from the former system, which emphasized the position of the provinces.

c. structure

*175 After the Communists organized the Military and Administra-
*668 tive Councils of the administrative regions into offices with real
631 power, their structure became large, and even bulky. In 1952,
647 at the peak of its power, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council included the following offices;

Administrative Office;
Committee on Political and Legal Affairs;
Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs;
Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs;
Committee on People's Control
Committee on Land Reform;
Commission of Nationalities Affairs;
Department of Personnel;
Department of Civil Administration;
Department of Public Safety;
Department of Justice;

TABLE III

KANSU PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
- Chairman: Teng Pao-shan
- Vice-chairmen: Wang Shih-t'ai, Chang Te-sheng, Ma Hung-ping (Moslem)
- Members: 25 (5 Moslems, 2 Tibetans, 18 Chinese)
- Secretary-general: Ch'en Ch'eng-i
- Vice-secretary-generals: Hsüeh Ch'eng, Sheng Ch'iu-wo

COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
- Director: Wang Shih-t'ai
- Members: 9

COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL
- Director: Sun Cho-ping
- Members: 13 (12 men and 1 woman)

BUREAU ON CIVIL AFFAIRS
- Commissioner: Li P'ei-fu
- Vice-commissioners: Wei Tsü-yü, Hsien Wei-ch'ün

BUREAU ON PUBLIC SAFETY
- Commissioner: Li P'u-shan
- Vice-commissioner: Liu Lan-t'ing

COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS
- Chairman: Ma Hung-ping
- Vice-chairmen: Fan Ming, Ma Ch'ing-nien
- Members: 18

BUREAU OF FINANCE
- Commissioner: Huang Ching-po
- Vice-commissioner: Ma Nan-feng

BUREAU OF INDUSTRY
- Commissioner: Yang I-mu
- Vice-commissioner: T'ien P'ei-ming

BUREAU OF COMMERCE
- Commissioner: Yü Chien-hsin
- Vice-commissioner: Shih Ting-hsin

BUREAU OF COMMUNICATION
- Commissioner: Yang Tzü-heng
- Vice-commissioner: Li Cheng-h'ua

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
- Commissioner: Hsieh Lan-ping
- Vice-commissioners: Huang Cheng-ch'ing, Lu Wei-kung, Ma P'ei-lieh

BUREAU OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
- Commissioner: Hsin An-t'ing
- Vice-commissioner: Ma Chi-ch'uan, Liu Hai-sheng

BUREAU OF PUBLIC HEALTH
- Commissioner: Liu Yün-chung

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TABLE IV

CHINGHAI PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Chao Shou-shan
Vice-chairmen: Chang Chung-liang
Liao Han-sheng
Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o (Tibetan)
Ma P'u (Moslem)
Members: 17 (3 Tibetans, 1 Mongol, 2 Moslems, 11 Chinese)
Secretary-general: Chang Kuo-sheng
Vice-secretary-general: Ma Lo-t'ien (Tsa-hsi)

COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS
Director: Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o
Deputy director: Sun Chün-i

COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL
Director: Liao Han-sheng
Deputy director: Wang En-hui

BUREAU OF CIVIL AFFAIRS
Commissioner: Ch'en Ssŭ-kung

BUREAU OF PUBLIC SAFETY
Commissioner: Hsieh K'e-ming
Vice-commissioner: Li Kuang

COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS
Chairman: Ma P'u
Vice-chairmen: Tsa-hsi Chou Jen-shan

BUREAU OF FINANCE
Commissioner: Chao Ch'üan-pi
Vice-commissioner: Hsia Lung-yao

BUREAU OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE
Commissioner: Fu Tsu-ho
Vice-commissioner: Hsieh Hung-hu

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
Commissioner: Chao Ching-feng

BUREAU OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION
Commissioner: Wang Chih-yün
Vice-commissioner: Wei Fu-tsu

OFFICE OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Director: Huang Chia-lung
Deputy-directors: Liang Ch'ang-han
Ch'u T'ien-jen

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*668 1. The secret service

625 The command of the police system on mainland China rests with the national headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party. Nominally it is the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, but the real power is in the hands of the small group which forms the Political Bureau. In turn this bureau is influenced greatly by the Secretariat and the secretary-general. When the secretary-general is strong he may even dominate the bureau. It usually makes the decisions on policy. The secret police service's exec-
*668 utive body is centered around the Social Department of the Central
625 Committee of the Party. This Department has a direct system of
• 647 organization within the Party. In large areas (such as the former northwest region) or in special areas (such as Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), there is a Social Department subordinate to the Party's "Central Committee Sub-bureau." From this level down, like the Party local organization, there is a social department or social secretary at each level to take charge of the secret service in the corresponding area.

*668 2. Other police systems

625 Built around this Party secret service system, are numerous other separate, but not entirely independent, systems of police forces. The most important is the regular police. Organization-
[645] ally, this is a branch of the People's government. Its central headquarters is the Ministry of Public Security under the Govern-
[647] ment Administration Council. From this level down there is a branch office of the department at every level of the People's government. This branch commands the regular police forces.

The United Front Department system which extends to the provincial and municipal levels, is designed for two purposes. Negatively, it infiltrates into the organizations of the people and watches their functions. Positively, it dominates and utilizes the people's organizations to promote the Party program.

The system of People's control is similar. Here, people are used as spies for the Party. The People's Procurator system is slightly different. It is a prosecuting government organ. Since prosecution needs the investigation of facts, inevitably this sytem is involved in the police system.

The spy system under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also
[645] has a dual purpose. Positively, this system infiltrates into for-
[648] eign territories to conspire for future conquests. Negatively, it is used to detect and prevent possible agitations which may disturb public order in mainland China.

*668 The police and spy system among the military forces can be
625 divided into two parts. The system of political defense is used to weed out potential political enemies inside the army, while the
708 scout and spy system is mainly used to detect military enemies.
726 Both of these systems have branches in the field army and the army areas.

000 areas.

*668 625 Although there are so many different branches in the whole police system, final control still rests in the hands of the "Party Central."

*668 625 • 647 Before the abolition of the Northwest Region there was a Northwest Regional Public Security Department in charge of the regular police in the area. From June 19, 1954, when the Department, together with the Northwest Administrative Committee was abolished, the provincial Public Security Bureaus, in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang gained increased prominence. [631] Starting with the provincial level, there is an office of Public Security at every level. The Sub-Bureau (or Station) is the Public Security Office at the ch'ü (district) level; the sub-station is at the hsiang level, while the public security group is the lowest open office.

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648 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS--traditional friendships and rivalries with other states; relations between sovereign and dependent powers; determination of foreign policy (e.g., influence of domestic affairs); establishing, maintaining, and breaking diplomatic relations; foreign services (e.g., consular, diplomatic); specialized personnel (e.g., ambassadors, chargés d'affaires, military attachés, consuls); prerogatives (e.g., diplomatic immunity); activities of consuls and diplomats; transmission of intelligence and diplomatic messages; negotiation of treaties, military alliances, foreign aid programs and trade agreements; economic sanctions (e.g., embargoes); adherence to international conventions; international law; peaceful settlement of disputes between states (e.g., arbitration, special peace tribunals); relations with international political organizations (e.g., United Nations); international power politics; peacetime espionage; etc. See also:

War	72	Behavior toward strangers and aliens	609
Codes and ciphers	202	Informal intergroup justice	628
Foreign trade	439	Dependencies	636
Travel	484	Punishment of espionage	687
International sports	542		

Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system. Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bëk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bëk's policy

to the Venetian merchant, Marco Polo.

During the centuries when China faced the land frontier of the Northwest and the Silk Road was the main channel of China's intercourse with the outside world, the target of China's imperialistic expansion, when strong, was the domination of the petty states of Central Asia. The principal strategic pass that must be held to prevent invading armies from pouring in and ravaging China, in periods of weakness and division, was Yü-men, the Jade Gate, in northwestern China.

B. Recurring Cycles of Nomadic Eruptions

As the advance and recession of Chinese power in Turkestan reflected the vigor and the decline of Chinese dynasties,(a feature of Chinese history discussed in the historical section of the General Handbook), so were the outbursts and withdrawals of the nomads the manifestations of their activity and passivity. The juxtaposition and interaction of the Chinese scheme of advance and withdrawal with the nomadic scheme shaped the dynamics and course of history of Northwest China. Together with Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang forms a broad semicircular belt, which marks the marginal zone between China and the steppes and is the amphitheater for the vast age-long struggle between the sedentary and nomadic peoples.

1. Earliest invasions

The alternate thrust of the nomads into this marginal zone, at times even penetrating into the heartland of China, and their retraction into the steppes, have been a recurring phenomenon in the history of Central Asia. With tidal regularity, the nomads have surged forth when China was weak and divided, only to ebb when China was strong and united. As far back as the eighth century B.C., when China was beginning to disintegrate into warring states, there were invasions of China by the north and northwestern peoples called Ti and Jung. In Central Asia there was the expansion of the Scythians. From the third to the first century B.C., the confederacy of nomads led by the Hsiung-nu or Huns were active in China's Northwest. During this same period Central Asia was overrun first by the Greeks of Alexander's army, then by the Yüeh-chih and, further east, by the Sakas and Wu-sun. The defense measures of the Ch'in dynasty and the military advance of the Chinese during the Han dynasty in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., held the Huns in check and finally succeeded in splitting up the Hun confederation.

2. Turkic incursions

From the fourth to the seventh centuries, with China weak and divided, the border peoples from China's northern and northwestern frontiers breached China's defenses. First in dribbles and then in raging torrents they occupied the northwest and poured

into China to establish militaristic states in North China. The aggregation of invaders included the Huns, the Hsien-pi, the Juan-juan, the Toba, and the Tibetans. But the dominant group to emerge was the Turks, who eventually ruled an extensive territory stretching from Mongolia to the Urals. Once more China, reunited under the Sui dynasty, was able to hold off the nomads. Under the T'ang dynasty the Chinese were able to advance into the domain of the nomads and to destroy the Turkish federation.

By the ninth century, as China declined in power, the nomadic peoples on the northern rim of the Chinese empire came into their own again. The situation appeared to be a repetition of what had happened at least twice before. The decline of the Chou had been followed by the disintegration of China into warring states (cycle one); the collapse of Han had ushered in the Three Kingdoms and the North and South Dynasties (cycle two). Now, with the fall of T'ang, there came the chaotic Five Dynasties and the division of China again into the north and south (cycle three). In each successive stage, the extent of nomadic power was greater than in the previous one. In the first period of division, both northern and southern states were primarily Chinese; in the second stage of division, the northern states were non-Chinese while the southern states were Chinese; but in the third stage, at first the northern states were alien and the southern state (Sung) Chinese, but later the northern invaders (Mongols) succeeded in conquering all of China.

3. Mongol expansion

In the period following the fall of Tang, peoples from Manchuria, Khitans and Juchens, as well as peoples from Turkestan, such as the Sha-t'o (or Chöl) Turks, poured into China. In the Northwest, the Western Turks and their offshoots, the Qarluqs the the Uighurs, were active. Later, some of the Khitans, ousted from North China, also established themselves in Turkestan. Here too, the Arabs, who had penetrated Central Asia in the 7th and 8th centuries, were influential. But the most powerful were the Mongols who, having united the tribes of Mongolia into a vast confederation of nomadic people in a series of sanguinary wars, in the 13th century embarked on a career of conquest that was to include all of Asia and part of Europe.

The Chinese, in their resurgence under the Ming dynasty, did not recover Turkestan. Central Asia remained in the grip of the later Mongols, from the Timurid dynasty in Persia, through the descendants of the Chagatai princes in Turkestan, to the Oirats in Northwestern China, the last of whom by the mid fifteenth century, were bold enough to make forays into China. The 17th century saw the rise to power of the Oirats who dominated vast areas of Mongolia and Turkestan. Not until the middle of the eighteenth century was the power of the Oirat confederacy broken and China,

under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.

4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appearances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions

What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal? A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in the realm of assumptions.

Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities. Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist (C.E.P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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105 in these tides of nomadic eruptions can hardly be explained by one
175 set of factors, useful as it may be as a contribution to our under-
648 standing of this process. Moreover, each set in turn led into a
182 rather involved pattern. Geography and the highly specialized economies of the nomads, particularly when they had reached the stage of pure nomadism, induced them to seek a more stable base for their evolving power urge than could be found in the steppe lands of Mongolia, from which most of the nomadic conquests emerged. It induced them to push first into the oasis situation of Turkestan with its mixed, richer, more stable but, geographically speaking, more fragmented economy. This aspect helped form the pattern of relationships of the group, which was on its way to conquest of other nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples in Central Asia. However, only from the foundation of this economic basis could an effort at conquest of neighboring civilizations be sustained.

The social pattern of development leading a warrior leader to integrate his clan, his tribe, his people, and finally, a confederation of peoples, into a conquest force is interlinked with the previous one. This expansion led to a relative shrinkage of the group that had been carrier of the power urge and more and more force had to be substituted for the self-consciousness of the participants and their community of purpose. In the course of the social development towards conquest and empire building, the initial group gained a feeling of mission but lost its surroundings geographically, economically, and socially. As a rule this change also led to a change in the pattern of emerging leadership: the warrior leader chosen by his own people had to make room for the heir of a diversified empire.

This development again was linked with the development of a relationship to neighboring agricultural societies, particularly China, a relationship that has been understood under the concept of marginality by Krader (The Cultural and Historical Position of the Mongols, Asia Major 3, 1952, 169-183). Economically speaking, this relationship is always one of interdependence. From the Chinese side the natural and necessary exchange of produce was conceived under an evolving series of patterns. In periods of Chinese power ascendancy the nomadic raid pattern was transformed into trade, then into tribute, and then, if necessary, into conquest. However, in periods when a nomadic empire building situation coincided with a decline of Chinese power, the nomads would shake off conquest, resort to raids and to conquest in their turn.

Whatever may have been the causes of the periodic eruption of the nomads, whether they were due to climatic changes or due to concentration and the disintegration of nomadic society, the pattern remained. With clockwork regularity different groups of

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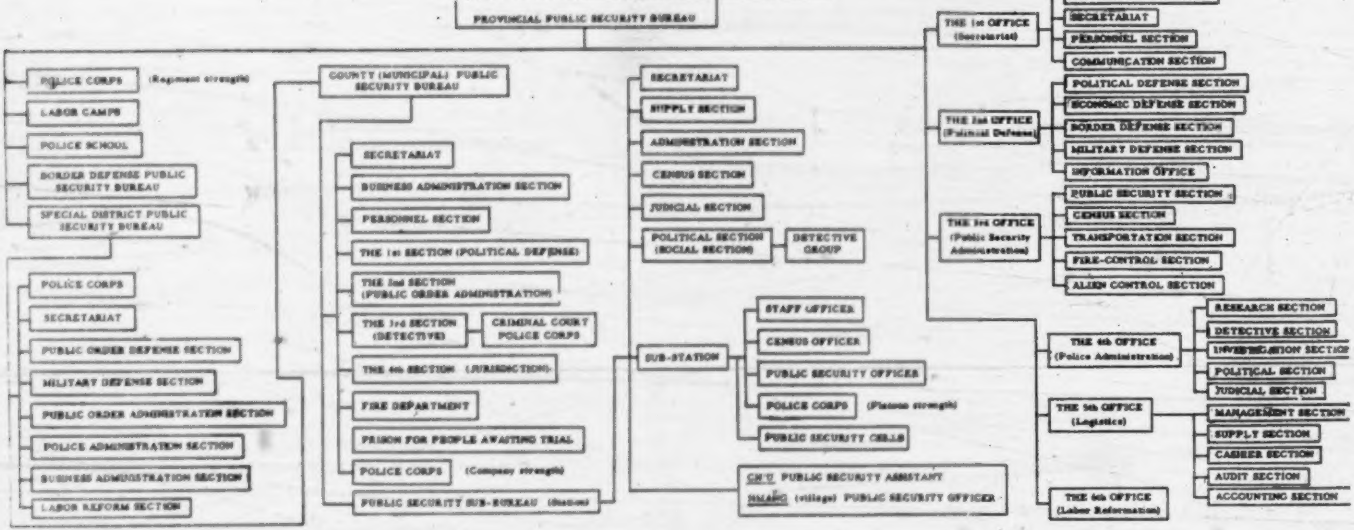
CHART II.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAUS



following page 537

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghis and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "biiks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

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nomads have descended on the marginal zones, such as Turkestan and Inner Mongolia, conquering and absorbing some peoples and pushing others, in a sort of chain reaction, until the reverberations were felt from China Proper in the east to Russia in the west. The history of China's great Northwest cannot be clearly delineated without tracing in broad sweep the see-saw of power between China and the nomadic peoples.

C. Early History to 1644

N *175 N [101]

1. Chou Dynasty

In antiquity the Northwest region of China was known as the province of Yung, one of the nine provinces of ancient China. For a long time, it was a region inhabited by peoples whom the Chinese called "barbarians," the Ti in the north and the Jung in the west. The founder of the Chou Dynasty, King Wen (circa 12th century B.C.) was himself a "western barbarian." His fief in the Wei River Valley in Shensi, an area which in the early years of Chinese civilization was fertile and fruitful, provided his son, King Wu, with the men and resources for the campaign to gain control over China. Later, as the barbarians of the Northwest became strong, they forced the Chou court to transfer its capital from the Wei River Valley to Honan.

2. Ch'in Dynasty

The region of Shensi, centering around the Wei River Valley, became the fief of the Marquis (later Duke) of Ch'in. The bountiful resources of the region, enhanced further by the development of irrigation, the militant nature of the people who were part Hun, and the administrative and social reforms initiated by Legalist ministers enabled Ch'in to rise to power, to triumph over the other feudal states in 221 B.C., to conquer the empire and establish the first centralized government over China. Ch'ang-an (now Sian), the erstwhile capital of the Chou kings, became the national capital of a mighty empire from this time on, down through the Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties.

Under the Ch'in state and later the Ch'in empire, the Chinese began to extend their power up the Kansu Corridor and into the regions of the modern provinces of Ninghsia and Chinghai. In the north, they completed the Great Wall to fend off the northern barbarians and to protect their flanks as they advanced westward. The advances made during the Ch'in Dynasty, which fell in 209 B.C., prepared the way for the great expansion of the Chinese into Turkestan during the Han period.

3. Han Dynasty

With the consolidation of Chinese unity a new power arose among the barbarians of the Northwest. This was the confederation of nomadic tribes formed under the leadership of the Hsiung-nu or Huns. Dur ng the civil war which overthrew the Ch'in

new oil plants at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. Undoubtedly, the exploitation of the Yü-men oil field of Kansu has been considerably increased in the last two years. At a conference on petroleum research, called in May, 1954, by the Ministry of Fuel, Popoff, a Russian professor, laid great emphasis on the development of Yü-men oil fields, where Russians have been working side by side with German, Czech, and Rumanian oil experts (KM Oct. 1, 1954). Towards the end of 1953 the Russian Atlas (sic!) was experimenting there on an improved method of oil exploitation which was to be introduced in 1954 (PD Feb. 9, and June 23, 1954).

Special emphasis on oil prospecting and drilling are given by the Communist Government. Throughout the nation, geological surveying and prospecting plans since 1953 have been the most inttensive in China's history. Total Government investment in surveying in the Northwest in 1953 was nearly seven times more than the previous year. Twice as many oil wells were planned to be sunk in 1953 as compared to 1952, while work on other mineral reserves topped previous years' quota by thirty-three percent.

The bureau in charge of prospecting and surveying mineral reserves in the Northwest trained nearly 2,000 workers in drilling, surveying, drawing, and analysis in 1953. (Geological Report, China Monthly Review, May, 1953).

The first drilling for oil was made some sixty years ago at Yen-chang in northern Shensi province. During the Anti-Japanese war, China spent large sums to equip the China National Petroleum Corporation's field at Yü-men in Kansu. At present, the major production is at Shih-you-ho near Yü-men in the most northwestern part of Kansu at the foot of the Nan-shan. There the possible oil-bearing formations extend 700 miles, with a width of some tens of miles. Seepages are known in four localities, but only a few anticlines have been developed. Drilling started in 1939, and the yield amounts to several thousand barrels a day. The oil has a fifteen percent paraffin base. Prospects in Sinkiang appear even more promising, with oil on both sides of the Tien-shan Mountain Range. Drilling at Wu-su, west of Urumchi and in the northern foothills of Tien-shan began in 1935, under Soviet direction. Its current yield is only a few hundred barrels a day. However, some new fields have been discovered and new wells drilled in other parts of the province.

Recently, both oil-extracting and refining industries have been growing rapidly. Refining facilities in northwest China with its five oil regions distributed in north Shensi, West Kansu, central Kansu, and Ho-hsi corridor and Sinkiang have been substantially extended. Petroleum development is one of

315 the factors that should soon turn the once poor and desolate expanses of the Northwest into a major industrial area. At the National Petroleum Exhibition, held in Peking in December 1951, an illuminated chart showed that the Northwest is one of the principal sources of oil in the country. (China is rich in oil, China Reconstructs, No. 2, May-April, 1952).

Oil Development in Shensi:

In 1925, Mr. Brouyard, Chief Engineer of the Cheng-tai Railway (a branch of the Peking-Hankow Railway - from Cheng-ting in West Hopei to Taiyuan, the capital of Shansi province), in making a survey for a proposed line from Taiyuan to Sian, the capital of Shensi, explored the petroliferous region east of Yenan, along the Yen-shui and the ravines, locally known as "petroleum ravines," above and below Yen-ch'ang in northern Shensi. An oil plant has been established in Yen-ch'ang, but the cost of transport has confined its market to the adjacent area in Shensi. The present plant at Yen-ch'ang is small and poor, even for handling the small amount of crude oil produced there. Some deposits of oil shale are found in the southern part of the province, in the districts of Pao-chang and Chung-shan.

The North Shensi Basin lies in the north of that province,
[131] roughly between thirty-five and forty North Latitude and 107 and 111 East Longitude. The boundary on the east is the Huang-ho or Yellow River, and the oil seepages lie in that part of the basin south of the Great Wall in the valleys of Yen-shui, Lo-ho, and Wei-ho rivers. In Yen-ch'ang, from
[648] 1907 to 1914, the Chinese drilled several shallow wells, and from 1914 to 1916 the Standard Oil Company of New York drilled two wells to 1,950 feet and 2,700 feet. This company also drilled five other wells in the basin in the three years they were there, the deepest being 3,500 feet, but results were not satisfactory. After this the Chinese drilled some thirty more wells, but none yielded much oil. Because of the smallness of the seepages and the unfavoragle geological structures, the basin cannot be considered promising. (See Table I.)[1]

Oil Development in Kansu:

The oil reserves of Kansu province are among the richest in the country. China's biggest oil field, Yümen, is located in the northwestern part of the province, and the largest production at present comes from the Shih-you-ho plant. A long sinuous basin stretches some 700 miles northwest with a width of some 100 miles in the east part and from a few miles to sixty miles in the west. Mountain masses border the basin on the northeast
[133] and southwest. The oil beds are located in loose sandstones and conglomerates of upper Cretaceous and lower Tertiary age. Possibly the oil originated in Permian or Jurassic formations,

1. [See p. 128--Analyst]

315 [133] and more oil sands may be found in the sands between the source beds and the present shallow reservoirs, which would increase the reserves a great deal. Oil seepages have been discovered at Wen-chu-shan, south of Chung-yüan (36.37 by 104.32), Shan-hsien-tzu, south of Yung-teng (36.44 by 103.24); Ching-tu-chen, north of Yung-cheng (38.17 by 102.07) and near Yü-men (40.15 by 97.13). Only one oil field has been developed in this basin - the Shih-you-ho, southwest of Yü-men at approximately 39.46 by 97.33 and near the last seepage.

[648] In 1937 the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company sent a party of geologists in to examine the field. After a study of its report the Chinese Government decided to develop the Shih-you-ho anticline. Actual drilling started in February, 1939, on the crest of the anticline near the oil seepage and sent to 492 feet and produced twenty barrels a day from two small oil sands. A second well nearby to a depth of 656 feet gave thirty-five barrels a day. These wells were drilled on the floor of the canyon by two small cable rigs and a small boiler. Then two rotary drills with Diesel engines were brought in from the coal mines. Nineteen holes in all were drilled up to
[433] March, 1944, the deepest being near 1,400 feet. Number 18 well at 1,313 feet came in with 10,000 barrels a day, but blew out cratering the hole. On account of small refinery capacity, only 4,000 barrels of crude could be handled a day. Until a larger and better refinery can be brought in, the wells now drilled supply the crude oil needed. The oil is a paraffin base, with 15.5 percent paraffin content, which is difficult to handle at low temperatures in that part of the country. It is impossible to estimate the potential reserves at present, but the extent of the anticlinal structure offers great promises. A geologist who visited the field in 1943 said that there may be twenty-six to forty-six million barrels of recoverable oil in the pool.
[133] Within the radius of eighteen miles of this field are three other anticlinal structures in the Tertiary sediments that warrant investigation. Other likely structures will probably be discovered as the basin is thoroughly examined.

315 433 The production of oil at the Yü-men field increased to 4,000,000 gallons in 1946. With the completion of thirteen construction projects in early 1955, its production has been considerably increased as well as greatly improved in the refining process of the oil produced. According to press reports, the Yü-men oil fields reported over-fulfillment of production targets for the first quarter of 1955. The oil fields administration stated that output targets for gasoline, kerosene, diesel, and lubricating oil and other items were surpassed by seven to fifty-one percent in the first quarter. (NCNA, April 14, 1955). It was also said that a number of the newly-completed projects

Sinkiang. The discovery of uranium and some other fissionable materials has been reported there. While rumors that Sinkiang is being built up into an ataomic arsenal for Russia remain to be confirmed, nevertheless it seems to be of particular strategic importance in the building up of a joint Sino-Soviet Inner Asian fortress.

Under a previous Sin-Soviet agreement concluded in 1937, the U.S.S.R. carried out prospecting and drilling in regard to petroleum exploitation. Fields were discovered in several localities, and a refinery was built at the Wu-su field, which, completed in 1940, had a daily capacity of a thousand barrels. This refinery was closed, however, in 1943. The largest field discovered to date, some forty miles in length, is located at An-chi-hai. No estimate of reserves is available at present, but on the basis of known fields and producing wells, Sinkiang has China's most extensive and abundant reserves, far outstripping those of Shensi, Kansu and Szechwan. Moreover, the oil from Sinkiang bores is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest.

Before the Sino-Soviet Agreement of Moscow on March 27, 1950, the mineral exploitation of Sinkiang was carried out sporadically and on a very small scale, with inefficient local mining methods predominating. Under the terms of the 1950 Moscow Agreements, a joint Sino-Russian petroleum company was formed with Russian-supplied technicians and equipment to undertake prospecting, surveying, working, and refining or petroleum and gas. Two other similar corporations were also organized to explore and exploit the non-ferrous and rare metals. By agreement the products of the corporation were to be divided equally between China and the U.S.S.R., as well as running expenses and profits. Leadership of the corporations was to be assumed by representatives of the two contracting parties in rotation for periods of three years and the corporations were to be staffed by an equal number of citizens from each of the two countries. The agreements were supposed to be valid for thirty years. (China Weekly Review, July 1, 1950, p. 82). It has been reported that all three Sino-Soviet joint corporations have been transferred to Chinese ownership, although with Russian advisers, since the beginning of 1955. At the same time, the Peking Government, together with Sinkiang authorities, sent out three large survey teams to search for new mineral deposits.

Northwest China has a great variety of minerals, only a few of which have been even partially developed. In addition to the rich oil fields of both Kansu, Sinkiang, and possibly Shensi, and the abundant coal deposits of these three provinces, other recently discovered minerals are as follows: rich copper deposits

civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

E. Population Problems

1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

Of the many problems in regard to the population of Northwest China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese, together with its international complications, is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

2. The Uighur Autonomy

Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

"Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang, the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

'P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaqtu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The "Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a chain of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhabitants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism. Buighabu Bâtur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a reward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church. After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the world but with the conquest of souls.

C. The Lamaism of Chinghai

The province of Chinghai, or Amdo as the Tibetans refer to it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Buddhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Langdarma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect, the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate excuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been supplied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Centuries ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was instituted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters concerning Mongolia and China.

Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall (1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk. Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have continued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kumbum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until recently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

ity Affairs Commission, both stressed that the aim of the association was to imbue its members with the love for the fatherland.

In Sinkiang and other concentrations of Moslem population in China, branches of the China Islamic Association and the cultural associations established by the Communists, have supplemented the Islamic church, and the function of the Moslem dignitaries.

3. A more important reason for the apparently tolerant attitude of the Chinese Communists toward Islam is the utilization of the Moslem leaders for the purpose of propaganda, both domestic and foreign. In a speech at the third session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC, October, 1951, Ma Chien declared: "I have received numerous letters from the ahungs in the Northwest and the Southwest regions expressing their desire to study and to reform themselves. In order to assist them to study the revolutionary ideas of Mao Tse-tung as well as to enable these theories to be universally made known to the people of the Middle East and North Africa, we have translated the following documents of the CPPCC: 'On New Democracy,' 'The Chinese Revolution and the CCP,' and the 'Important Documents of the CPPCC.'" (JMJP Nov. 2, 1951.)

The fact that the Chinese Communists intend to use the Moslem leaders to extend Chinese Communist propaganda to their co-religionists in the Middle East may be seen in the statement in the Jen-min jih-pao (June 6, 1952) that the religious leaders of the Northwest were aroused "to boundless sympathy and concern for the people of the Arab countries of the Middle East—Egypt and Iran—in their fight for national liberation and struggle against the United States and British imperialism and to adopt concerted action to support their struggle."

The first act of the preparatory committee of the Chinese Islamic Association was to assist the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Communist government in publicity work in the Arab countries. In August 1952, it organized a Chinese Hajji Mission to visit Mecca, which, for reasons unexplained, turned back upon reaching Pakistan without going on to its destination. However, two months later, many Moslem leaders from Asiatic countries were invited to attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions, held in Peking, during which Burkhan, chairman of the Association, at a reception to the Moslem delegates, told them that "our religion as well as our customs and habits are fully respected" by the Communist regime. His speech dwelt, however, more on the material benefits than on religious well-being of the people in the Northwest except to say that they were permitted to observe their festivals.

Deprived of their civil and judicial duties, the Moslem clergy

in the Northwest was utilized primarily as propagandists. In April, 1951, three thousand Moslem ahungs and mullahs from forty-five mosques in Urumchi held a mass meeting to denounce the United States and, later in meetings of their congretations, they made speeches to persuade the Moslem people to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the Appeal for the Five-Power Peace Pact, and to protest the rearmament of Japan. On May 2, 3,500 people, led by ahungs and mullahs of 46 Urumchi mosques offered prayers for world peace. The mass rally initiated a drive for funds for the purchase of planes, tanks and heavy artillery for the Chinese troops in Korea. The minority peoples of Sinkiang donated funds sufficient, it was reported, for the purchase of thirty planes and seven artillery pieces. The religious leaders of Yin-chuan in Ninghsia donated funds for a fighter which they named "Mohammedan."

In a way, the acquiescence of the Moslem leaders to assist the Chinese Communists in the promotion of propaganda has been a reason for the comparative moderation of the Communist regime toward Islam in China. The attitude of the Chinese Communists toward the teachings of Muhammad has followed very much the line adopted in Soviet Russia. The evolution of the Soviet authorities toward Islam has undergone the following stages: (1) the attack on the teachings of Muhammad as the deification of big capitalistic merchants exploiting the unhappy poor, (2) the argument that Islam was originally the ideology of the peasantry but was later corrupted by the aristocratic class. This view was rejected as being too favorable to Islam. (3) The anti-religious propaganda lines that Muhammad was a myth or that Muhammad was the leader of a feudal revolution. (4) The argument that finally prevailed was that of S.P. Tolstov, that Islam emerged from a social-religious movement which evolved from the feudalism following the disintegration of Arab tribal systems. (Essays in the History of Research into Islam in the USSR, published by the History Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, cited in Missionary Bulletin, September, 1955.)

In China, the argument for and against the teachings of Muhammad also raged in Communist publications early in 1951. Lu Hung-chi, in an article in Kuang-ming jih-pao (January 10, 1951) charged that Muhammad, figuratively speaking, held a gun in one hand while he reached into the pockets of the people for money with his other hand, and that his teachings were an excuse for robbing the people. This article aroused a storm of protest from the Moslem residents of Peking and prompted Ma Chien to write a rebuttle entitled "The Sword of Muhammad," published in the Hsin-hua Monthly (February, 1951 issue), stating that the sword of Muhammad was for self-defense, aimed only

at the counter-revolutionaries and not to coerce the people to become converts. In this article, Ma Chien skillfully diverted the attention of the people from Islam to the United States as the enemy of the nation, saying that it was American imperialism, not Islam, which aimed at the conquest of Asia and the enslavement of the Asians. This line was immediately adopted. On May 16, 1951, the Jen-min jih-pao carried an article entitled, "The American Imperialists are the Deadly Enemies of the Moslems of the World." On April 16, 1951, another article appeared in the Jen-min jih-pao, signed by forty-nine prominent Moslem leaders in Peking, entitled "Moslem Brethren of the World, Rise up to Halt the Crimes of the American Imperialists." The cry was re-echoed by Moslem leaders in the Northwest. Ma Liang-chün, imam of the Chinese Moslems in Sinkiang, issued a proclamation under the title "Moslem Believers, Take Positive Action and Struggle to Crush the Germ Warfare of the United States." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 13, 1952.)

Thus, by joining the Resist United States and Aid Korea Movement, which was raging at a frenzied pitch in 1950-52, the Moslem leaders in China were able to deflect attacks on Islam launched by some of the Communist publicists. But with the conclusion of hostilities in Korea, the Chinese Communists began to re-evaluate and to revise their policy toward the Moslems in the Northwest. Moreover, by 1954, when Communist China had gained ascendency in Chinese Turkestan and political domination over the Moslem population in that region, there was less need to pacify them by promises. The year 1954 also marked the end of the period of New Democracy, which called for a United Front of all the peoples, and the commencement of socialism, in which the CCP would emerge paramount.

The change of Communist policy toward the Moslem peoples of the Northwest as in other parts of China is seen in the official documents of the Chinese Communists. In contrast to the Common Program of the CPPCC, the blue print for the period of New Democracy, in which, in Article 53, the national minorities were promised freedom to develop their languages and to preserve or reform their cultures and religions, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (adopted in September, 1954,) pointedly omits the freedom of religion for the national minorities. Article 3, which discusses the rights of the national minorities, states that "all the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways." Only in Article 88 was there the provision that the "citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief," and, according to Mao Tse-tung's definition (in his People's

ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Communists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sinkiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

VII. Organization

The organizational system of public information in the Northwest appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which receive instructions from Peking and control the various information services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

The first department devoted most of its time to preventing epidemics, innoculating people against possible epidemics (such as typhoid, typhus, smallpox, cholera) and preventing animal diseases. The National Department of Health was concerned with the promotion of regional health and sanitation institutes. Experimental stations for public health were opened in Kansu. In the Northwest the health programs of the Nationalist Government were launched in the last part of the 1930's. The numbers of hospitals recorded in the Northwest during 1936 are as follows:

	Hospitals	Beds
Shensi	7	263
Kansu	10	124
Chinghai	3	22

The Sino-Japanese war interfered with the progress of the health programs in the Northwest. However, some of the war results proved beneficial. During the war two medical schools were transferred to the Northwest. Sian has had a medical school since 1940 when the famous Medical School of National Peiping University was transferred there. It was not retransferred to Peiping after the war. A medical school was started in Lanchow after the war as part of the National Lanchow University. In 1942 the Northwest Hospital was established at Lanchow, where, in 1944, over 30,000 outpatients and over a thousand inpatients were treated. Much medical field work was done during the war and a few army hospitals were opened in the Northwest. Hsi-ning also started a school hospital and a city-hospital during the war. A special health center was opened at Ting-yüan-ying for the Alashan Mongols.

V. Health and Sanitation Under the Communists

The necessity to extend the work done in the medical field in the Northwest was clearly recognized by the Communist Government. According to the Chinese Communist reports from Peking, Northwest China, included in the overall program adopted by the Party to improve health and sanitation, has made relative progress in the field of public health.

The overall health policies of the Communist Government were adopted in 1950 by the First All-China Health Conference. This Conference stressed the following three principles as the guiding lines: (1) concentration on the health of the workers, farmers and soldiers; (2) emphasis on the means of prevention rather than cure of disease; and (3) uniting the modern and old-style doctors. The latter measure was decided upon because of the tremendous shortage of qualified doctors trained in modern methods to meet the needs of the huge population of China, the problem being more acute in remote regions.

A special conference entitled "The All-China Conference on the

747 establishments in the Northwest prior to the war. (See Section
797 on Religion). During the war, however, religiously sponsored
welfare work also spread to the Northwest. Among the more
active organizations, the Friends' Ambulance Unit (FAU) which
came to China in 1941 has to be mentioned; Catholic missionary
organs also did much welfare work in the Northwest. The out-
747 standing welfare contribution of the Catholics is their mainten-
797 ance of orphanages, particularly for girls. In 1933 there existed
736 three Catholic orphanages in Sian (Shensi), six in Lanchou (Kan-
su) and one in Ch'in-chou (Kansu) in which altogether 480 orphans
were cared for. During the war, the number of orphanages grew
to eleven in Shensi, twenty in Kansu (including Ninghsia) and one
each in Chinghai and Sinkiang. In these institutions altogether
2,758 orphans found shelter and relief. Under the Communists
these Catholic orphanages attracted particularly vicious attacks.
No data are available from the Northwest; if, however, events
in other parts of China can be generalized, it has to be assumed
that none of these institutions survives. In addition eleven homes
for the old were maintained by Catholic missionaries in the
Northwest with over two hundred inmates. Also the Catholic
refugee camps at Feng-hsiang, Shensi must be mentioned.

747 As the provinces of the Northwest were not occupied by the
• 648 Japanese during World War II, UNRRA activities did not extend
to this region.

V. Chinese Communist Welfare Projects

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*668 From the information that we get from the Communist press
177 and propaganda, the Chinese Communist Government has launched
an extensive program of public welfare, dedicated in particular
to the raising of standards and security of the working class. It
is no wonder that the Communist regime emphasizes the working
classes to such an extent, since it claims that its ideological
bases rest on this class. Life and medical insurance programs,
better working conditions in factories and construction jobs,
and welfare facilities for the working people are included in the
745 Communist program. According to the Labor Insurance Law
*668 of 1951 (revised in 1953) workers were guaranteed from sixty to
177 one hundred percent of their wages in case of injury or illness
(including non-occupational ones) for their first six months of
absence; after six months, they were to receive from forty to
sixty percent of their wages from the labor insurance fund. Their
jobs are secured for them upon recovery. Women had special pro-
vision for childbirth, upon which they received eight weeks of paid
vacation and the expenses of the birth were taken on by the manage-
ment. Provisions for the workers' future at old age, and the
future of their families in case of accident was guaranteed as well.

state as they may prefer." (point 14, Ibid. p. 22.)

Coming to the second state, the Yenan period, the Communists retreated to an almost amiable position. The differences were summarized by a friendly observer as follows: "The basic structural change which distinguishes the Border Region from its predecessor lies in the broadening of the electorate. As contrasted with the Soviet election system which was restricted, indirect and unequal, the present system is characterized as universal, direct and equal, and to insure this change the secret ballot is substituted for the hitherto open ballot hand-raising. This means that whereas under the Soviets franchise was limited to workers, farmers and a section of the 'petty bourgeoisie', the new system extends the right to vote to all men or women over eighteen years of age, including landlords and capitalists, except when a person is insane or his political rights have been specifically suspended by court action. The Soviet election was also pyramidal. This means that a voter under the Soviets voted only for delegates to a local soviet, while delegates to an upper Soviet were chosen by the lower Soviets but not by the voter. The new system allows the voter to vote as many times as there are local, county or regional elections for members to the representative body of each grade of geographical division. The segregation of farmer and worker voters and their disproportionate representation under the Soviets are abolished under the new regime and secret or unsigned ballots of citizens of all walks of life in the same territorial unit are counted together without discrimination." (Ch'u Yun, Factual Account of a Shensi Trip, or Shen-hsing Chi-shih, Hankow, 1938, pp. 11-12 as quoted in Hsü Yung-ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 43.)

Judging by western standards, this was progress toward democracy. But from the Communists' point of view, it was a temporary necessity.

When the Communists conquered the Northwest in 1949, they found themselves in a much more favorable position than during the war. Hence their "common program" of this stage brought back a lot of the characteristics of the old Soviet Constitution. The Communists made the following points very clear:

1) The People's Republic of China is a country led by the Communists. Those who refuse to follow this leadership will be crushed and denied all rights (Articles 1 and 7).
2) The Communists are ready to continue the war to the last, at least until Formosa is occupied (Article 2).
3) The Communists will protect the private property only of qualified people, and at any time they can disqualify anybody (Article 3).
4) China must be tied to the U.S.S.R. now and in the future (Article 11).

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

I. Historical Background

Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they established their Sheusi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of attempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

attempts of the native peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and international complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Asizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of politics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

Northwest Federation of Trade Unions: The chairman is Chia T'o-fu, a member of the Financial and Economic Commission in the Central People's Government and vice chairman of the Financial and Economic Commission in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An influential figure is Chao Chan-hui, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and a member of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

Federation of Democratic Women: The dominating personality in the Northwest is Chang Tsu-fang, onetime director of the federation in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and after 1949 a member of the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, she was a member of three commissions. Ma Wen-jui, chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Organizational Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP, was also director of the Commission of Women's Work. Thus, intimately and inescapably entwined with Communist activities, the Northwest Federation of Democratic Women saw a tremendous expansion of its membership. In Sinkiang, by the summer of 1951, it had branches in 47 of the 78 counties and in five of the ten administrative districts, and 190,000 women members took part in the propaganda campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

Federation of Literary and Art Workers: By September, 1950, 7,000 literary and art workers in the Northwest were mobilized to take part in propaganda activities, and 30,000 writers and artists joined the Reformation Congress of Literary and Artistic Workers in the Northwest to establish the United Front.

New Democratic Youth League (renamed the Communist Youth League in 1955): This is an auxiliary of the Communist Party the function of which was to mobilize the youth. In the Northwest it was guided by Lo I, a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League and of the China Democratic Youth Federation, and a member of at least two commissions in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An example of the expansion of the New Democratic Youth League in the Northwest may be seen in Sinkiang, where, by spring of 1953, there were 1,015 branches with over 20,000 elite youth members. Half of the labor models in the Urumchi Saw Mill in 1952 were New Democratic Youth League members, and it was reported that the New Democratic Youth League members "have become efficient assistants of the (Communist) Party in carrying out patriotic movements in factories and villages." (NCNA May 4, 1953).

Sino-Soviet Friendship Association: By the end of 1951, there were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations in 157 of the 274 counties in the four Northwest provinces. Over

60,000 of its total membership of 336,610 in the Northwest were from the city of Sian. Hsi Chung-hsün is president of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest, and Chang Chih-chung, Chia T'o-fu, Chang Chia-fu, and Burkhan are the vice-presidents. Since 1951, the membership of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association throughout China has vastly multiplied, as the following figures show: three million in 1950; 17 million in 1951, 23 million in 1952, and 58 million at the end of January, 1953. The membership of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest, therefore, must have increased proportionately.

One of the strongest centers of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest was the Ili Administrative District, where, by fall of 1951, there were 36,814 members in 11 county branches (out of the 12 counties), and in 16 branches of the government. According to Te-li-ha-te, head of the Department of Organization of the Ili branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the people of Ili, Altai (Ashan) and Chughuchak (Tacheng) had cherished the friendship of the Soviet Union since their revolt of 1944-45, and as their political consciousness was higher than elsewhere in the Northwest, they took the lead in the founding of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in 1949.

One of the chief responsibilities of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest was the conduct of propaganda. Its propaganda objectives were not only to propagate the gospel of the advance technology in Soviet Russia and the "very great assistance received from the Soviet Cultural Associations for Foreign Countries," but also to combat popular opposition to Soviet Russia. The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in Sinkiang might have fared better if many of the people were not deterred from joining by a whispering campaign warning them that if they joined the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association they would forfeit their right of worship of their religion. (Sian Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 7, 1951).

B. Elevation of Political Consciousness

Aside from propaganda, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest also initiated an ideological remoulding campaign in 1951 aimed at 2,500 teachers selected from eleven nationalities. This campaign was one of the many drives, one following or overlapping another, which were correlated to the work of mobilizing and organizing the people. The more important of the popular drives were the Land Reform, the Resist-America and Aid Korea Movement and the Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries.

By the summer of 1952, the so called land reform was completed in 97 per cent of all the agricultural hsiang (administrative villages) in the then five provinces of the Northwest. The membership in farmers' associations constituted 30-40 per cent of the

saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence. When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

B. History of Islam in Kansu

There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648. Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950, they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iranian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers, merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

The clan as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates. The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknowledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no political control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every-Tibetan.

Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)

Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of
any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
• [648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul-
turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
[181] against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are
truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they
take readily and successfully to farming.

There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
[142] round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prom-
inent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[177] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
[181] tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live
in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt,
with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast
with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built
up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

*563 The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
342 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
352 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
353 and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the
right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a
[237] stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[372] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and
sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley
meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day;
in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with
boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef
less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

658
871 schools.
*175 In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan
teachers and fourteen primary schools.
563 Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the
658 great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongol-
792 ian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan Peo-
871 ple's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational
school and a political training class for young lamas. In the
field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also
established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai,
with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

*175 During the war against Japan, with the migration of the
166 coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from
Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war
871 front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest en-
• [648] joyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built
[658] up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and
with the mass education movement promoted by the National
Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved
both in quantity and in quality.

658 Under the school system of the National Government, chil-
872 dren started school when they were a full six years old. Before
that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facili-
ties and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government
required every child to attend the first grade. The free and com-
pulsory education covered the first four grades, which were
called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were
classified as senior primary school. A school with all six
grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the
Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during
the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in
every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central
primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village).
By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in
really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary
school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber.
As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the
luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better
658 off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from
873 the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one
could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were
difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected
children could be admitted. The secondary schools included
three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the
normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected
[874] group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocation-
al schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

*668 1. The secret service
625 The command of the police system on mainland China rests
with the national headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party.
Nominally it is the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee,
but the real power is in the hands of the small group which forms
the Political Bureau. In turn this bureau is influenced greatly
by the Secretariat and the secretary-general. When the secretary-
general is strong he may even dominate the bureau. It usually
makes the decisions on policy. The secret police service's exec-
*668 utive body is centered around the Social Department of the Central
625 Committee of the Party. This Department has a direct system of
647 organization within the Party. In large areas (such as the former
northwest region) or in special areas (such as Sinkiang Uighur
Autonomous Region), there is a Social Department subordinate to
the Party's "Central Committee Sub-bureau." From this level
down, like the Party local organization, there is a social depart-
ment or social secretary at each level to take charge of the se-
cret service in the corresponding area.

*668 2. Other police systems
625 Built around this Party secret service system, are numerous
other separate, but not entirely independent, systems of police
forces. The most important is the regular police. Organization-
[645] ally, this is a branch of the People's government. Its central
headquarters is the Ministry of Public Security under the Govern-
[647] ment Administration Council. From this level down there is a
branch office of the department at every level of the People's govern-
ment. This branch commands the regular police forces.

The United Front Department system which extends to the pro-
vincial and municipal levels, is designed for two purposes. Nega-
tively, it infiltrates into the organizations of the people and watches
their functions. Positively, it dominates and utilizes the people's
organizations to promote the Party program.

The system of People's control is similar. Here, people are
used as spies for the Party. The People's Procurator system is
slightly different. It is a prosecuting government organ. Since
prosecution needs the investigation of facts, inevitably this sytem
is involved in the police system.

The spy system under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also
[645] has a dual purpose. Positively, this system infiltrates into for-
[648] eign territories to conspire for future conquests. Negatively, it
is used to detect and prevent possible agitations which may dis-
turb public order in mainland China.

*668 The police and spy system among the military forces can be
625 divided into two parts. The system of political defense is used to
weed out potential political enemies inside the army, while the
708 scout and spy system is mainly used to detect military enemies.
726 Both of these systems have branches in the field army and the army
areas.

SUBVERSIVE POTENTIALITIES

I. Introduction

The history of China's Northwest has been a great number of insurrections and revolts against the established order. Spontaneous outbreaks, however, occurred only as a result of desperation. The forces that ruled the people remained unchallenged until the misery and poverty which surrounded them became unbearable. Even then, the people would not strike out blindly against their oppressors, but would look to their own tribal chieftains and priests for leadership (see section Political Dynamics). In more recent times, intellectuals, army men and even bandits have taken the place of the old leaders, but it would be incorrect to say that the people themselves have the political consciousness which changes governments or overthrows regimes. On the other hand, the persistent nationalism combined with the strong religious tradition that exists among the Moslems of the Northwest, and the tribal and nomadic past of the peoples of Turkestan and Central Asia, could always be aroused by ambitious and popular leaders in opposition to alien penetration. Throughout the centuries, hostility has existed both against any foreign rulers and among the tribes and minority groups themselves. Three major sources of conflict will be mentioned here: 1) The traditional friction among the tribes of Northwest China due to religious and economic differences; 2) wide-spread resentment on the part of the native peoples toward Chinese rule; 3) dissatisfaction with the Communist regime.

II. Friction among Northwestern Peoples

In the first place, because of its geographical position, Northwest China stands at the crossroads of conflicting political ideologies and religious beliefs, originating from the Middle East, India, China and Russia. In an area like Sinkiang, there have lived in uneasy proximity Buddhists, Mohammedans, Greek Orthodox Russians, unorthodox Chinese and atheistic Russians, as well as believers in the most primitive religious practices. Economically also there has existed great contrast: the nomadic tradition of the Kazakhs and Mongols, the oasis economy of the peoples of Inner Asia, the methods of Chinese agriculture, the alpine economy of the Kirghiz of the Tienshan, the economy of the Arikolis who live on the high plateaus of the Pamirs, alongside of which a very young industrial and commercial economy is developing. Friction has always existed between the settled farmers of the oases and the nomadic herdsmen, while within the farming communities, conflicts over water rights, the use of forests and roads, were permanent features in rural life.

N
*668 collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has
177 been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The
plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned
S farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed
[668] in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all
[177] households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Further-
[479] more, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have
been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.).
It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

N
4. Religious organizations

*668 Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-
798 revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them
669 for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government
N activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, espe-
*668 cially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and
575 appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000
members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

N
C. Centers of Resistance Abroad

*668 It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in
669 the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a cen-
tralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

N Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East
*668 and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by
669 the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to
648 their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the
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N countries bordering Soviet and Chinese Turkestan have given offi-
*668 cial recognition to this government-in-exile. It has its headquar-
669 ters far from Central Asia - in Düsseldorf, West Germany. How-
648 ever, the National Turkestanian Unity Committee is supported
S unofficially by many of the Moslem countries of the Middle East
668 and Central Asia, such as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan,
669 Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. In each of these
648 countries the Committee maintains a representative office staffed
by two members from each Turkish clan from Eastern and Western Turkestan. Iraq is the exception where there is only one representative. In addition to giving financial aid to the exiled government, these countries render assistance in getting Turkestanian refugees temporarily settled. They also allow the establishment of National Turkestanian Unity Committee branches within their borders.

The Committee is composed of ten departments, each of which is under the combined direction of President Veli Khayum Khan and a secretary. These departments are: 1) Organizations and Social Institutions; 2) Science; 3)Information; 4) the Press; 5) Public Health; 6) the Clergy (Turkish: Ulema); 7) Military Affairs; 8) Education, directed cooperatively by all members; 9) Women's Activities; and 10) Foreign Relations, of which Veli Khayun Khan alone is the head.

The spiritual leader of the movement for an independent Turkestan is the famous turkologist Zeki Velidi Togan, who is now a member of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Istanbul. A native of Bashkiria, Zeki Veliki Togan studied and taught Arabic literature at the University of Kazan. In November, 1917, he became president of Bashkiria. In 1922 he led the Basmachi revolt against Soviet rule. With their suppression, he fled to Tashkent, and from there to Turkey.

During the Second World War, the National Committee gave Germany effective aid against Russia, but its aim always has been independence from any foreign power. "The Germans, as the enemy of our enemy, were temporarily our friends, but we envisaged this state of affairs only for as long as they were fighting against the Russians." (Milli Turkistan #79B, p. 5). The ultimate goal of the Turkestanian government-in-exile is to liberate all of Soviet Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan, a territory of about four million square miles with a population of over twenty million. The leaders of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee claim that they are able to maintain contact with the peoples of Central Asia and that messengers frequently cross unguarded mountain passes to take contraband literature to Communist-controlled countries, and return to the West with reliable information of conditions under Communist rule. Naturally, it is difficult to estimate the degree of influence which the National Turkestanian Unity

N Committee holds over the people of Northwest China. Nor is it
*668 possible to predict to what extremes a fanatically nationalistic
669 movement may go in order to establish a Greater Turkestan Em-
648 pire, or the new sufferings which such a Turkic regime may mean
S to others.

[668] 2. Formosa

[669] Since 1949, Formosa has been the natural center for anti-Com-
[648] munist activities. The Nationalists attempt to maintain contact with the border regions, but it is impossible to estimate the effectiveness of such an espionage or sabotage system. Refugees from the Northwest and elsewhere are given subsidies. Frequently they are employed in the anti-Communist propaganda and planning undertaken by Taipeh. The Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs sponsors radio broadcasts to the Northern, Northwestern and Western border regions, and has done most of the planning for the eventual overthrow of the Communist regime. These include, 1) a draft plan for the administration of the border regions during the counter-offensive, 2) a draft plan for anti-Communist work to be handled by the anti-Communist agencies in the border regions (although no details are given about them), and 3) plans for the training of administrative personnel from the border regions. The Commission has also been publishing books and pamphlets on the problems of these areas.

An anti-Communist branch of the China Islam Association also has its headquarters on Formosa. It serves as a center for Moslem refugees from the Northwest, as well as from Inner Mongolia and China Proper.

Aside from these organizations, there are also individuals who possibly may form a nucleus for future anti-Communist leadership. They include such people as General Pai Chung-hsi, who works closely with the China Islam Association on Formosa, Yolbas Khan, one of the Kazakh leaders who fought with Osman Batur, Ma Hung-k'ui, the former governor of Ninghsia who now lives in San Francisco, and Ma Pu-fang, the former governor of Ch'inghai, who escaped to Formosa and thence to Egypt in 1949. The latter two are devout Moslems and have fought actively against the Communists in the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang is remembered for his enlightened rule and is trusted by the Moslems in all parts of the Northwest. (See section Biographies for details on these men).

Thus, the potential organization and leadership for a non-Communist government in the Northwest exists. Their practical value must remain slight as long as the regime in power continues to be centralized and as long as it gives the people enough material benefits to take the place of political freedoms.

*668 of Muslim-Hui, Uighurs (Sarigh-Uighur), Kazaks, Usbeks, Tatars,
658 and Tung-hsiang nationalities. (NCNA Peking, August 4, 1952).

*563 A 45 member delegation from 15 different nationalities of
484 Northwest China arrived in Peking yesterday to take part in the coming October 1st National Day celebrations....

The Northwest delegation, headed by Mainor, an Uigur woman, included the following 15 nationalities: Han, Hui, Uigur, Kazakh, Mongolian, Tibetan, Tunghsiang, (Sarigh-Uighur), Uzbek, Manchu, Tartar, Solon, Khalhas (Kirgiz), Tajik, Sibo and Russian." (NCNA Peking, September 24, 1952).

3. Minority group organizations

*668 Various nation-wide organizations such as the China Buddhist
*563 Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, the Chinese Moslem
794 Cultural Association, and the China-Soviet Friendship Association were organized with numerous minority and local leaders as members and sponsors. The local chapters also have propaganda departments. For instance, the Tibetan Buddhists in Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o contributed 728,750,000 for the Resist-America Aid Korea movement in the year 1951 alone. Some monasteries signed patriotic compacts and launched programs of propaganda on current events. According to Hsi-jao-chia-ts'os report,

"The next step is to expand the propaganda work, mobilize the lamas to organize propaganda teams, make use of temple fairs or festivals for propaganda activities, and carry the propaganda deep into the rural villages and nomadic regions.... In pushing the autonomous work in the minority region, Buddhism should give more active support and preach the nationality policy of the People's Government." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 23, 1951.)

Besides the Buddhists, the Moslems are used to promote the
[788] Communist programs, not only in Northwest China, but some were
[648] organized into pilgrim groups to visit Mecca and the Moslem nations in the Near East in order to win the friendship of these nations for Red China.

*668 The special effort to create Sino-Soviet Friendship Associa-
tions in northwest China can be seen in the following incomplete
648 figures. By September of 1951, Sino-Soviet Friendship Association organizations had been organized in four provinces, four municipalities, thirty-six administrative districts and 157 hsien in northwest China. There were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations with a total membership of 336,610 of all nationalities. The purpose of this association is to tell the people of the merits of the USSR.

Obviously a special attempt has been made in Northwest China to capture the minorities with propaganda.

Further-
*668 more, in places where restrictions are exercised over the slaugh-
796 ter of cattle and sheep, these restrictions may be relaxed.
656

B. Guided Tours

*668 Representatives of national minorities from northwest China
484 are invited to visit Peking and other urban centers of north and
• 648 east China. They are guided to see the factories, schools and
*563 palaces of historical interest. After being deeply impressed they are sent back to their homes. They often become good native propagandists for the Party.

C. School Programs

*668 In local schools, the pupils are not spared from propaganda.
208 For instance, in the Mongol schools in the province of Chinghai:
876 "In mathematics, the number of American and bandit Rhee's troops annihilated by the Chinese and Korean people's armies in Korea and the construction figures in Chinghai were made into questions for the students and the masses to solve. By this way, they not only learned mathematics but they also retained in their minds the victorious results of our war and the great achievements in construction following the liberation." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, March 30, 1952.)

D. Other Methods

*668 The whole propaganda system generally functions as follows.
208 When the Party central committee decides to promote certain propaganda, it orders the reporter at every level of the Party organization to report the party line to the people inside as well as outside the Party. Then the propagandists and activists all go out to do the work. This can be done in various ways, according to the situation. In factories, it may be a kind of question and answer. The workers might be asked to check each other with these questions until all got the right answers. In streets, it might be in the form of door-to-door visits and "casual chats." While these were going on, the people would be bombarded daily with the same theme in newspapers, blackboard newspapers, wall newspapers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, pictures, cartoons, radio broadcasts, concerts, lantern slides, movies, plays, operas, story-tellers, picture-story books, street meetings, signature drives, production competitions, challenges, counter-challenges.. and a lot of other devices to drive the point home.

V. The Campaigns and Contents of Propaganda.

A. Campaigns

1. Destruction of organized resistance

The contents of propaganda follow the shifts in the Party line.

159 185 [656] afforestation, construction and repair of roads, and introducing the irrigation system. During the fifteen years of his administration, 1933-1948, Ninghsia Province changed from a land of devastation to a land of peace and normalcy, achieved by ruthless regimentation.

159 648 When the war between Japan and China broke out in 1937, Ma Hung-k'uei volunteered to fight the enemy. Because of the importance of the Northwest, and because of the importance of Ninghsia as the gateway to the Northwest, he was ordered by the Central Government to stay in Ninghsia to guard that strategic area against Communist infiltration. From 1937-1945, however, Ninghsia became a part of the Eighth War Area, and Ma was appointed as the deputy commander-in-chief. When the war against Japan was brought to an end in 1945, he was appointed deputy director of the Northwest Headquarters of the president.
159 669 When all-out fighting started between the Nationalists and the Communists, he was given the post of deputy Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area. In July 1949, when the Communist troops began to push their way to the Northwest, he joined Ma Pu-feng, another member of the famous Ma clan, then Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area, to set up defense lines. But the victorious forces of the Communists broke through all these lines and pushed their way to the eastern and southern parts of Kansu Province. The two Ma flew to Canton, the provisional capital, to see Vice-President General Li Tsung-jen for new instructions. It was decided to concentrate the troops to defend Lanchou. On August 25, 1949, when the troops of Ma Hung-k'uei were still some eighty miles away from Lanchou, the Communist troops had already reached that city. By the middle of September, 1949, the whole Northwest, including Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, was taken over by the Communists.

[631] In 1949 when the Nationalist Government took up the defense of Kansu Province, Ma was appointed concurrently as governor of Kansu. His administrative record in Kansu was short-lived. The Communists took over the whole Northwest by September, 1949. When the Nationalist Government retreated to Taiwan, both the military and political life of Ma Hung-k'uei came to an end. He entered the United States and lived a life of retirement in San Francisco.

159 Ma Hung-pin (1883-)

Another of the Four Ma who once ruled the Northwest of modern China, Ma Hung-pin is a cousin of Ma Hung-k'uei, governor of Ninghsia Province from 1933-1948 and governor of Kansu Province from 1948-50. Together with Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing of Chinghai Province, they were usually called the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest.

the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest. When he was twenty-one years old, Ma Hung-pin started his military career by serving as commanding officer of the cavalry corps in charge of the Sining mines in Chinghai Province, and at the same time he was a member of the reclamation commission and mining commission of that province. In 1911, he became commanding officer of the cavalry batallion in charge of the patrol of the western region of Kansu. His first military merit was achieved when he pacified the disturbances of the two Mongol banners in western Suiyuan who were stirred to revolt by the independence achieved by Outer Mongolia in the first years of the Chinese Republic. In 1914, he was the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry Batallion and stationed in western Suiyuan guarding the Yellow River Bend and keeping a watchful eye against the Outer Mongols. Because of his meritorious record in the pacification of bandits in his area, he was awarded several medals and was promoted to lieutenant general by President Li Yüan-hung of the Peking Government. Later he also received a medal from the government of Belgium for his excellent work in protecting Belgian missionaries. In 1920 he was appointed as Defense Commissioner for Ninghsia (not a province at that time) and was charged with the duty of defending the frontier areas. In 1926 he was given the post of Pacification Commander of the Shensi-Kansu border regions. In 1927, when the Northern Expedition began, he was the commander of the 24th Division of the Second Army Group of which General Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) was the commander-in-chief. In 1928 he was transferred as the commander of the Seventh Division.

When the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking, Ma Hung-pin was appointed the first governor of the newly organized province of Ninghsia. This was, so far, the first political assignment for Ma. In 1930 he was also made acting governor of Kansu Province. His political life ended in 1933 when his cousin, Ma Hung-k'uei, succeeded him as governor of Ninghsia. From 1934-1936, his main task was to pacify the remaining bandits in the eastern region of Kansu. Because his policy in suppressing bandits was to win them over rather than annihalate them, he had won for himself the nickname of "Ma the Kind Man." In 1937, as commander of the 81st Division and, concurrently, defense commissioner for the western region of Suiyuan, he led his troops in fighting the Japanese invaders in that area. In 1940 he became commander-in-chief for the defense of Etokuchi, a Mongol Banner in western Suiyuan.

When the Communists started their campaign in the Northwest, Ma Hung-pin surrendered Ninghsia Province to the People's Liberation Army on September 16, 1949. Because of this drastic move, the whole Northwest was soon lost to the Communists.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i, was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the position of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks: First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

P'an Tzu-li: Communist Party member

Native of Shensi; dates and background unknown. A long-time member of the Communist Party; served as secretary to the Provincial Committee of Ninghsia of the Communist Party. Since 1949, served as the chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province, and director of the Political Bureau of the People's Liberation Army. 1951, member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi Province. From 1953, member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi Province. In October 1955 he was appointed Chinese Communist ambassador to North Korea, and in the spring of 1956 he was transferred as ambassador to India.

Inasmuch as Chao Shou-shan, governor of Shensi, is not a Communist but only a political figurehead, the actual power in Shensi was in the hands of P'an Tzu-li. While vice-governor of Shensi, P'an was responsible for mobilizing the people and preparing for the elections. He pushed through the campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and also expedited the judicial process, clearing seventeen thousand cases from the dockets in a couple of months.

Pao-erh-han
See Burkhan Shahidi

P'eng, Te-huai
See General Handbook

Saifuddin Azizi: Communist, government official

Born 1914 in Sinkiang. A Uighur. Studied in the Central Asiatic University in Soviet Russia, majoring in law and political science. Commissioner of education in the provincial government of Sinkiang under Chang Chih-chung's administration, 1946 and 1947. Member and representative to the first People's Political Consultative Council, 1949, delegate to the CPPCC. Member in the Central People's Government Council, and vice-chairman of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, 1950, and member of the Political and Legal Commission of the Central People's Government and member of the Constitution-Drafting Commission. In September-November 1955 he served as vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and a member of the National Defense Council.

In the Northwest, he was a member of the Military and Administrative Council, in which he served as a member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Nationality Affairs Commission. In 1953, when the MAC became the Northwest Adminis-

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

arrived in Sian in November 1868. From 1867 to 1872, for six years, Tso fought with the Mohammedans, and finally in February, 1871, the headquarters of the Mohammedans, Chin-chi-pao, was taken by Tso's troops and their leader, Ma Hua-lung, was executed. In August 1872, Tso finally arrived in Lanchou, Kansu. By November 1873, the whole province of Kansu was liberated from the Mohammedans, and Tso was made the associate grand secretary. In 1874 he was promoted to full grand secretary. In 1875 the trouble in Sinkiang broke out, and Tso was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of that area. After all the preparations were made, Tso began moving his troops westward to Sinkiang, and by 1877, both the northern and southern regions of T'ien-shan were recovered. In 1878, the whole region of Sinkiang was restored and Tso was awarded by promotion to second class marquis (hou) and his lieutenant, Liu Chin-t'ang, was made a baron. In 1880, when Tseng Chi-tse was sent to Russia by the Manchu government for the second negotiation of the return of Ili which the Russians occupied during the Turkestan uprising, Tso was ordered to move his troops to stand by for any eventuality. But in August 1880, Tso was suddenly summoned back to Peking. He arrived at the capital in February 1881, and was appointed to serve in the Grand Council and the Tsungli yamen. In 1881 he was appointed governor-general of Kiangnan and Kiangsi. In 1883, he quelled a minor uprising in southern Shantung. By August 1884, the conflict with France began and the coast of Fukien became seriously involved, so Tso was once again appointed high commissioner of that province, and in December 1884 he arrived in Foochow. In the spring of 1885, negotiations with the French were resumed and by June 9, 1885, a treaty was signed by Li Hung-chang with the French representative. In September 1885, Tso died in Foochow. He was granted all posthumous honors and was canonized as Wen-hsiang.

The achievements of Tso Tsung-t'ang in the Northwest can be summarized briefly in the following points; First, his military achievements had consolidated the political control of the Manchu Dynasty in the north. The pacification of the Nien revolts in Chihli and Shantung, the suppression of the Moslem uprising in Shensi and Kansu and the defeat of the Sinkiang rebels, chiefly Pai Yen-hu and Yakub Beg, all contributed heavily to the restoration of Ching power in the Northwest.

Secondly, his diplomatic triumph in dealing with both Russians and British in Sinkiang had secured that territory under the Chinese administration. During the civil war in Sinkiang, the Russians occupied Ili and the British supported Yakub Beg in the south. At one time when the northern region of T'ien-shan was recovered by Tso's troops, British diplomats

159 Chinese Soviets, 1950, political commissar in the People's
*668 Liberation Army, member of the NW MAC, and a member of its
631 Financial and Economic Commission, vice-chairman of Kansu
496 People's Government and director of its Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs, director of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line Engineering Bureau, and deputy head of the political committee of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line. 1952, vice-minister of Railways; 1955, vice-chairman of the National Construction Commission in the State Council of the Central People's Government; member of the CCP. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

[466] Wang's major responsibility has been the extension of the railway from Lanchou into Sinkiang, and he commanded the troops which supervised the workers building the railway, many of them slave laborers.

159 Wang, Tzu-i: Government and Party official
*668 Former director of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Shensi-
631 Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, 1950, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, member of its Land Reform Commission, vice-chairman of its Political and Legal Commission, head of the Department of Personnel, and head of the Department of Civil Affairs. 1953, vice-minister of Interior in the Central People's Government.

Wu Hung-pin (1902-): Moslem leader, government official

Born in Kansu Province in 1902, reared in a Moslem family. In 1930, graduated from the National Peking University; 1932, took part in Anti-Japan activities in Shanghai during the Shanghai incident; 1936, organized Moslem People's League in the Anti-Japan and National Salvation Association; 1945, organized and headed the Lanchou branch of the Democratic League; 1949, represented the league in the First Chinese People's Political Consultative Council in Peking and was a member of its standing committee; in the same year, appointed mayor of Lanchou; vice-chairman of the Military Control Commission in Lanchou, and member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and served concurrently as mayor of Lanchou.

Concurrently, in Peking, he was a member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, a member of the central committee of the Democratic League, member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and a member of the executive council of the China Peace Committee, an outfit organized in 1950 to rally the people to support the campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

159 Wu was noted as an able organizer. He organized the students
*668
• 648

159 of Shanghai and engaged in the anti-Japan activities during the
*668 Shanghai incident when the Japanese troops invaded Shanghai.
• [648] He also organized his own Moslems after the Sian incident when the Japanese aspirations in China became very clear. When the war was over, he was responsible for the organization of the Lanchou chapter of the Democratic League. Being an educated
[554] leader in a minority group has helped him reach his high position in the Communist government.

159 *668 631 Yang Ming-hsuan: Member of the Democratic League

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. 1937-45, vice-chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government and chairman of the Northwest Branch Committee of the China Democratic League; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC: 1950, member of the People's Government of Shensi Province; 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, director of the Commission on Culture and Education of that council and member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs; 1953-54, appointed one of the vice-chairmen and secretary general of the Northwest Administrative Council, and chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education; since 1951, member of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League and member of its Standing Committee. In 1955, he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

159 *668 Yang Ming-hsuan belongs to that group of men who, claiming to be non-Communists and members of third parties, have served the Communists well. It may be noted that he was, even before the Communists came to power, a vice-chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region People's Government. Later, after 1950, he was director of the Commission on Culture and Education, with the task of bringing the students and teachers in line. In 1951, the Democratic League announced that it would devote its efforts to rallying and mobilizing the students and teachers, and Yang Ming-hsuan, as head of the Northwest headquarters of the China Democratic League, turned the attention of the league members toward organizing the students and teachers. But Yang's services to the Communists went further. He sought also to use his influence in bringing other political factions into line with Communist policies. When the Northwest Work Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee was formed with Chang Chih-chung as head, Yang was among the Communist officials who spoke, saying that the duty of the minority parties was to follow the lead of the Communist Party.

COMMUNICATIONS

I. Introduction

A. Geographical Setting

101 The Northwest Region under Communist China consists of the provinces of Shensi, Kansu (including former Ninghsia province), Chinghai and Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It is surrounded on the northeast and east by Outer Mongolia, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Shansi, Honan and Hupei, and on the west and northwest by Kashmir, Afghanistan and Russia. Szechwan (including Sikang) and Tibet border it on the south.

B. Historical Background of the Northwest Trade Routes

*175 487 [439] Commerce was possibly the main factor in the development of roads. In ancient times, the localization of scarce and desirable goods such as silk, led to definite long distance overland routes between China and Central Asia. The routes started either from Shensi, or Honan in China proper, and led via Kansu to Sinkiang, known as Chinese Turkestan. There were two important roads which connected China with Central Asia:

1) The Southern (or Silk) Road, from Tunhwang in Kansu along the southern part of the Lob Nor and then along the southern brim of the Taklahakan desert via the cities of Yü-tien, Hotien (Khotan) and Kashgar to Ulugh Chat, thence a trade route leading to Central Asia through the Pamir Pass. Another road led from Turfan via Kurle Aksu and Kashgar also to Ulugh Chat.

2) The Northern Road went through the eastern part of Sinkiang along the Tienshan North Road by Hami, Turfan, Urumchi, Wusu, and Ili to Hocheng and thence to Alma Ata.

The origin of the caravan trade can be traced back even beyond the time of historical records, so we have no idea when these roads came into being. However, it was over these trade routes that the people of the East and West first met on peaceful terms, long before the seas had been navigated. To the ancient merchants this kind of route was the most natural and direct way to guide a caravan from Eastern Turkestan (or from China Proper via Turkestan) toward Bactria, or following the opposite direction from west of the Pamirs toward the Yellow River. This old trade found one of its best markets in the ancient Roman Empire, to which, among other things, the large amount of silk exported from China gave its name to one of the trade routes.

*175 • 648 487 The importance of China's commercial relations with Bactria and the Mediterranean provinces during the Han dynasty made it advisable for the court to send there such envoys as Chang Ch'ien in 122 B.C. and Pan Ch'ao under the Emperor Ming (A.D. 58-76) both empowered to negotiate treaties with the kingdoms of the west.

*175 It was the Mongol Empire under Chingis Khan (1162-1227) which
487 extended her power from the Yellow River through the Northern
648 Road across Asia into Poland and Hungary to the Danube. Marco Polo went to China from Italy in 1275 by way of the Southern Road. Through the centuries, however, the life of the trade routes was subject to frequent fluctuations. There have been interruptions to commerce during the periods of warfare when the Huns came south of the mountains, and the roads were overrun. But as soon as hostilities ceased, the merchants would resume their accustomed task of rebuilding their caravans and carrying loads of goods eastward and westward.

*175 These trade routes remained significant through the years
487 until modern transportation was introduced to China. Later on,
[491] motor highways were built, based on the old trade routes in this
[496] area. The Lanchow-Urumchi-Alam Ata Railway is presently being constructed along the old Northern Road. Even so, caravans still travel throughout the northwest.

II. Communications Development before and under the Nationalist Government

*175 A. Railways

496 In the vast area of Northwest China, there was only one railway line which was an extension of the Lunghai Railway running to Shensi province. This railway is an east-west trunk line, starting from a seaport in Kiangsu, running through Honan and Shensi, and now into Kansu. Construction was started on different sections as early as 1903, but owing to civil strife only the 810 kilometer section from Taipu Harbor near Haichou in Kiangsu in the east, westward to Ling-pao in Honan, was completed prior to 1930. Construction on the section from Ling-pao to Tung-kuan, a distance of about seventy kilometers, was initiated in 1930 and completed in August, 1932. It was extended another 130 kilometers to Sian in December, 1934. Service was inaugurated before 1937 on the last section in Shensi from Sian to Paoki, a distance of 170 kilometers.

Because of obstructions in Taipu Harbor, a new port at Lien-
[504] yün was built in 1935 to serve this railroad. In the same year, a thirty-seven kilometer extension to join the new port with the trunk line at Hsin-pu was completed.

During the war, railway construction in the Northwest was emphasized. To solve the serious shortage of coal on the Lunghai Railway, a branch line of about 138 kilometers was created in December, 1940, from Hsien-yang northward through San-yüan and Yao-hsien to Tung-ch'uan in Tung-kuan county. Despite the extreme shortage of rail-building materials and manpower, work on the extension of the Paoki-T'ien-shui section began in 1939 and

Construction was initiated at Lanchou on Communist National Day, October 1, 1952, immediately following the completion of the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section. A Sino-Soviet agreement was concluded on October 12, 1954 which provided that the originally planned route was to be extended from Urumchi to Ho-cheng on the Sino-Soviet border to link with the Russian Turk-sib Railway at Alma Ata. Construction on the section on Chinese territory was to be undertaken by Communist China, while Russia was responsible for the construction on the section from Alma Ata to Ho-cheng. It has been reported that Russia had already finished the section on its territory in 1955.

On the Chinese side, service on the Lanchow-Wu-wei section of 303 kilometers began in February, 1954. At the end of that year, tracks had been laid as far as Chiu-pa, 347 kilometers northwest of Lanchou. On September 28, 1955, the section was extended to Chang-yeh, which, in the Kansu Corridor about 538 kilometers west of Lanchou, was the original goal for 1955. An extra 108 kilometers of tracks were laid up to a point about 100 kilometers from Yü-men by the end of 1955. A new section from Chang-yeh to Ching-shui reportedly began operating on May 1, 1956. This 138 kilometer extension made the railway serviceable for a total of 676 kilometers. It has been reported that tracklayers on this railway had pledged to extend the line to Yü-men, 800 kilometers from Lanchou, by the first of July, 1956, about one month ahead of schedule.

Construction of this railway is of utmost significance economically and politically, as well as strategically. The Northwest still lags behind in industry, agriculture, and density of population, although it is vast in area and abundant in natural resources. When this railway is completed, trucks operating on the highways along this line can be employed to support the rail transport. The people in the region will be able to buy industrial products cheaply. Large numbers of workers and technical personnel will undoubtedly move to Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, so the population will grow rapidly and new cities spring up. Furthermore, travel time between Peking and Moscow via this railway would be greatly shortened, even more so than by the newly-opened route through the Chi-ning-Ulan Bator Railway.

3. Paoki-Chengtu Railway: The Chinese Communists had long looked for a route through which it could move from Northwest to Southwest China over the high mountains. At first, they intended to build a railway linking Tien-shui on the Lunghai Railway with Chengtu, the terminus of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway. It was the route originally planned by the Nationalists but construction on it was never undertaken due to the Sino-Japanese War and later, the civil strife. However, a new project, was reportedly drawn up by Russian experts and agreed to by the Chinese, to run a line from Chengtu through Lüeh-yang in Shensi to Paoki instead

of T'ien-shui. Construction on this 700 kilometer railway was initiated in July, 1952, and was scheduled for completion by the end of the first Five Year Plan in 1957. On January 1, 1955, tracks on the southern section had been laid to Kuang-yüan, 315 kilometers north of Chengtu, and rail service was officially opened on New Year's Day, 1956, from Chengtu to Lüeh-yang, about 170 kilometers north of Kuang-yang. Construction had been in full swing on the 215 kilometer northern section from Paoki to Lüeh-yang at the same time. Although shorter, this section was said to be a more difficult project: over 100 tunnels were cut through mountains, the longest one being more than 2.3 kilometers; the Chialing River was crossed 16 times and about 400 bridges and culverts were built. Soviet technicians planned to run electric locomotives along the Feng-hsien (in Shensi)-Paoki section in order to pull the trains through the sloping terrain of the Chin-ling Mountains.

It was reported that in March, 1956, only about 100 kilometers of tracks remained to be laid on the whole Paoki-Chengtu Railway. On the northern section, rails had passed through the Chin-ling Mountains area and continued southward. It was expected that the entire line would be connected and opened for traffic by the end of 1956.

This railway, when completed, will become the trunk line to link the southeast with the northwest of China. It will make possible deliveries of rice and other products of the Southeast to the Northwest and Central China, and provide cheap transportation for industrial machinery and equipment with which to tap the rich natural resources of Szechwan and its neighboring provinces.

4. Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway: Construction on the 1000 kilometer Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway which would link up Northwest China with the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, was started in February, 1955. Work was under way on the fifty kilometer section from Lanchou to Hsing-hsing-wan until the end of 1955. When completed, it would not only facilitate the development of the iron and steel base of Pao-t'ou but also shorten the route between Peking and Moscow.

5. Lanchou-Chinghai Railway: Survey work on the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was begun on December 23, 1955. This railway was to begin at Ho-kou on the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, about thirty kilometers west of Lanchou, following the Lanchou Chinghai Highway, through Hsining and along the Tsaidam basin which is rich in minerals, to Ta-e h-ting for a distance of 1500 kilometers. As reported, survey of the 176 kilometer section between Ho-kou and Huang-yüan (in Chinghai) was completed at the end of 1955, and construction was scheduled to start in the beginning of 1956. (The rest of the route was not yet decided.) The construction of this railway was aimed at opening up resources in the

Tsaidam basin and developing the economy and culture of the national minorities.

Up to the beginning of 1956, the railway mileage in the Northwest region was increased to roughly 1800 kilometers from some 600 kilometers prior to 1949.

Based on the above-mentioned data, new railway construction in this region may be tabulated as follows:

Railway Construction in Northwest China
1950-1955
in kilometers

Line	length planned	date started	date completed	to 1955	Total
T'ien-shui-Lanchou	346	1950	1952	346	
Lanchou-Sinkiang a	2,800	1952	- -	646	
Paoki-Chengtu b	700	1952	1956	485	
Lanchou-Paotow	1,000	1955	- -	- -	
Lanchou-Chinghai c	1,500	1956	- -	- -	
Total				1,477[e]	3660[d]

a. To the end of 1955.
b. Of the total 485 kms. only about 100 kms were in Shensi.
c. Newly projected route
d. Based on the table of "Construction of New Railways in Chiese Mainland, 1950-1955" in Communication section of General Handbook.
e. Of the 1477 kms. about 1100 kms. were built in the Northwest region.

As shown in the above table, about thirty per cent of the total of new railways was built in this Northwest area. As officially reported, Communist China has scheduled to spend, on transport and communication projects, over 140 million taels of gold (1 tael is equal to 1.1023 ounces) of investments totalling over 700 million taels in capital construction during the First Five Year Plan. ("A Great Plan" People's China, August 1, 1955, pp. 5-6.) It appears clear that a very large amount has been spent on railway construction in this region, though no breakdown figure can be located. With regard to railway building materials, the same source indicated that "after reconstruction of the factories, Anshan alone will produce enough rolled steel to meet the needs of the nation's locomotive-building works, shipyards and motor and tractor works throughout the first Five Year Plan and the early part of the second. Anshan's annual output of rails will be sufficient for the laying of more than 3000 kilometers." It should be noted that at least up to the beginning of the first Five Year Plan, most of the materials for railroad building had to be supplied by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

Manpower on railway construction is another interesting point. According to Dr. Ling Hung-hsün's (veteran engineer of Free China) personal survey of the present Lanchou Alma Ata line in 1943, population along the whole line within the border of Sinkiang did not exceed 600,000; the part in Kansu was also thinly populated. In view of the shortage of laborers, especially skilled workers, among the local population, it would be necessary for the Chinese Communists to use forced labor from other areas to work in this remote region. Although no exact information concerning this is available, as reported, out of a total of 23.25 million, about 250,000 persons were forced to work in transportation projects as a whole in 1955. (Wu, Yuan-li. An Economic Survey of Communist China. p. 323.) The armed forces were also employed for this purpose. For example, a unit of the First Field Army contracted with the Communist Government in the spring of 1950 for the construction of the entire T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. According to the news reporter, Robert Guillain, the manpower resources in building the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway consisted of the Northwest Chinese troops (as well as others) who had first "volunteered" to fight in Korea, and after being demobilized in Lanchou had again "volunteered" to remain as civilian workers. ("I Saw Communist China" The Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956, p. 114.) Russian experts, of course, were invited to supervise the railway construction.

B. Highways

In addition to the railway construction which is carried out at full speed in the Northwest, highway building and renovating were greatly developed. There is not much information available concerning new highway construction in Shensi province. The only report available said that during 1954 over 210 kilometers of highway were repaired and 115 kilometers of new highways added, in addition to the renovation of the Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway.

In Kansu, highways radiate from Lanchou towards Chinghai, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Shensi and Szechwan. The most important highways built in 1953 were the Lanchou-Hsia-ho-A-pa (in Szechwan), Hsia-ho-Min-hsien and T'ien-shui-Chang-chia-chuan lines with a total of 630 kilometers. In 1955, over 1000 kilometers of highways were either constructed or repaired in Kansu. One from Lanchou led to the Ching-tai coal field, one ran from Lanchou to the Liu-chia Gorge where the gigantic hydro-electric resources along the Yellow River are located, and another ran from Shan-tan to the Shantan coal area. The 426 kilometer section between Tun-huang of Kansu to Shuerhkuli in Sinkiang was being renovated.

C. Civil Aviation

The Chinese Communist Civil Aviation Company, which until the end of 1955 was a Sino-Soviet jointly-owned corporation and was still entirely adjusted to the Russian system, raised its service from two to four trips a week from Lanchou via Chiuchuan, Hami to Urumchi. There was another flight twice a week, continuing the route from Lanchou to Sian where two sub-lines existed, one to Peking and the other southbound to Chungking. A third flight, also twice a week, connected Urumchi with Alma Ata through Ili by the Sino-Soviet international route; and the fourth was running inside Sinkiang from Urumchi via Kucha, Aksu to Kashgar.

IV. Conclusion

The influential role which the development of transportation and communications can play in the creation of a favorable climate for sustained national economic growth, needs no elaboration. The Northwest which contains many of China's untapped mineral resources, and where the potential of agricultural development is fairly high, is a region where the man-resource ratio is low and the long-run economic potential is promising, provided it is linked with the populous regions of China and the outside world by better transport and a modern system of communications.

Transportation and communications development in Northwest China used to lag far behind the other regions as did its agriculture and industry. After the establishment of the Communist regime, transportation construction activities in this area have increased greatly in the form of railway and highway construction. Of the total railway construction in Red China from 1950 to 1955, newly-built roads in the Northwest amounted to thirty per cent. Meanwhile the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway and Chengtu-Paoki Railway were still under way and the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was projected for 1956.

Highways were constructed or renovated mostly along the old routes already in existence prior to 1949, some of which might not have been motor roads. Among them the most notable ones were the Hsi-ning-Tibet Highway, Sian-Lanchou-Urumchi Highway, Ansi-Tun-huang-No-chiang-Ho-tien-Kashgar Highway and the Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan-No-chiang-Kashgar Highway. Three international highways starting at Urumchi across the Sino-Soviet border linked up with the stations on the Soviet Turksib Railways. Air transportation was to be established to strengthen the Sino-Soviet relationship from Peking to Moscow via Sian, Lanchou, and Urumchi.

It is true that Chinese Communists had devoted much attention to construction in the Northwest area, especially in the phase of transportation and communication. Aside from their shrewdness

in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region, it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956, p. 114.)

Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was constructed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang, a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sinkiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied up with communications development.

Communist China may very well focus its principal attention on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan concentrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a major role in the economic relations between China and Russia, and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

Wall; if this is so, the old gate and wall at T'ungmen Kuan, between Labrang and Ho Chou, is probably a portion of the same loop, which must have been constructed to protect the Hsining region against the incursions of Tibetans or Mongols from the Kokonor, and the course and history of which it would be interesting to trace. The road eventually debouches on to the city of Hsining, lying in a small cultivated plain of loess formed by the junction of three valleys, the Pei Ch'uan from Tatung Hsien, the Hsi Ch'uan from Tanko T'ing, and the Nan Ch'uan from T'a-erh Ssu (Kumbum), the combined streams going to make up the Hsining River.

Hsining is one of the chief cities of Kansu, being the centre of a region of fertile corn-growing valleys, producing wheat, barley, and particularly beans. Its commercial importance arises from its position near the Kokonor border, and together with Tanko T'ing, a day's journey further west, it commands the bulk of the valuable Kokonor trade in skins, furs, deer horns, musk, gold, and particularly wool. A state of passive hostility has reigned between China and Tibet since the collapse of Chinese power in Lassa consequent on the revolution, and the Szechuan-Tibetan trade through Tachienlu has suffered greatly thereby; the Hsining and Tanko trade, on the other hand, has continued uninterruptedly throughout these troubles, and has perhaps even increased. As elsewhere on this border this trade is largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. Before the Mahomedan rebellion of 1860–70 the Hsining-Kokonor road to Lassa was the most frequented route between China and Tibet, but was then replaced by the Szechuan road through Tachienlu; now it is coming into its own again. The interior of the city is fairly prosperous in appearance as far as Kansu towns go, but by no means indicative of the commercial and political importance of the place. The east suburb, the former Mahomedan quarter, is still completely in ruins, a relic of the last Mahomedan rebellion in 1895, when the city successfully withstood a siege by the rebels. The walls are particularly formidable and well built.

Hsining, as well as being the seat of a Taoyin and a Mahomedan General, has always been the residence of the high Chinese official controlling the immense territory of

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65 GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES--general statements dealing with several aspects of the administrative activities of all governmental agencies usually above the level of the small local community.

includes, depending on its level, the provincial governor and deputy provincial governors; the mayor and deputy mayors; the county head and deputy county heads; the district head and deputy district heads; the hsiang head and deputy hsiang heads; or the town head and deputy town heads. The number of members in a people's council (head and deputy head included) differs according to level, as follows:

(1) Provinces and municipalities directly under the central authority, 25 to 55;
(2) Municipalities, 9 t 25; membership may increase when there is an extraordinarily large population, but in no case may exceed 45;
(3) Counties, 9 to 21; membership may increase when there is an extraordinarily large number of hsiang and towns, as well as a large population, but in no case may exceed 31;
(4) Municipal districts, 9 to 21;
(5) Hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns, 3 to 13.

The term of office of a provincial People's council is four years. It is two years for those councils or municipalities, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns.

b. functions of councils

The functions of the people's councils at all levels are numerous. Many of them are traditional, such as collecting taxes, managing conscription, and running the administrative routine. But some are new or have been given new content, such as:

(1) Carrying out economic plans and budgets;
(2) Regulating and controlling the market and the local state enterprises, and directing the socialization of the private enterprises.
(3) Directing the production of agriculture, handicrafts, and mutual-aid cooperatives;
(4) Managing transportation, communications, and public enterprises;
(5) Managing local activities in the fields of culture, education, public health, pensions, relief, and social welfare.

The nationalization of business and industry has burdened the local governments with much that formerly was done by private parties. Economic plans existed previously, but were limited to a few public works. Now the plans and budgets of the government cover almost every economic activity in the area. Previously, only when an occasional crisis arose did the local governments regulate or control the market. Now it is one of their regular functions. In the past, there were few, if any, local state enterprises. Now, with the program of socialization of private enterprises in full swing, the task of operating local state enterprises is tremendous. The local governments are responsible for the people from before birth until after death, and for controlling and managing almost every phase of their lives.

651

651 TAXATION AND PUBLIC INCOME--sources of public income (e.g., gifts and bribes, tribute, license fees, ground rents, profits from public enterprises, fines, confiscations, tolls, taxes); types of taxes (e.g., taxes in kind, labor levies, poll taxes, property taxes, stamp taxes, excise taxes, customs duties, income taxes, inheritance taxes); importance of and revenue from each type; differentiation by administrative level; principles of taxation; tax law; mode of fixing and collecting taxes; specialized personnel (e.g., tax collectors, tax consultants); tax exemptions; etc. See also:

Property and inheritance	42	Income	434
Gift giving	431	Foreign trade	439
		Forced labor	466
Government lotteries	535	Fines	681
Government monopolies	656		

II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves was at times considerable. As an illustration one might remember that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghis and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

N
*563 The clan /The Nomadic Tibetans/ as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record
614 of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates.
[421] The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

N
*563 648 [651] Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknowledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

N
*563 792 Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no political control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

N
*563 554 556 Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
N [579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with
N [574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

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563 121 175

A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)

Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The
621 sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village
[622] headman. But again the council of elders has considerable
[623] authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit,
[632] nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined
together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to
[792] have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly
nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary
[622] Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond
that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically.
[423] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual
families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their
621 encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary
Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the
241 village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horo-
[787] scope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual
[292] fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases. From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been
[787] selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the communi-
[776] ty's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground, the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated
[782] that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals.
[625] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that
[486] the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through
[651] their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chinese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate. These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

/The Han Chinese/

minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skirmishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the disasters have caused people of means to leave the region and make their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich merchants who have authority in political and economic matters, but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and struggle for a living.

It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mongols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade. There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here generations ago.

Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts. Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine furnishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yellow earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy merchants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses. But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

The eating habits of these people are slightly different from those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits, fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted vegetables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn with the fur side inside.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more complete systems of education and organization than are to be found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage. Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious. Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries, these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the monasteries perform many functions for their subjects and believers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem rebellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners. Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

*175 rather low, their conception about the party is not clear, and they
*668 are not qualified, or completely qualified, as party members.
578 They take little interest in party work, consider the exemplary behavior of other party members in leading the masses as a 'disadvantage,' take no heed of the phenomena detrimental to the interest of the people."

Ma went on to state that bad elements had infiltrated into the party: "Some of the veteran party members in the face of the nationwide victory, display laxity, are arrogant and think of themselves as heroes. They are steadily losing or have already lost the sense of responsibility and positiveness that qualified Communists should have. They pay little attention to study and improvement, take little interest in politics, lack a serious attitude towards their work, do not seek to develop the work but simply carry out routine, and some of them are not prepared to continue with the revolutionary struggle, reject any difficult tasks assigned them by the party, and even degrade themselves to corruption, moral disintegration and estrangement from the masses, and are against party discipline." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, October 8, 1951).

Two months later, at another conference of cadres, Hsi Chung-hsün also deplored the deterioration of party discipline. "Diverse non-proletarian ideas have infiltrated into the party," he said, "and some of the elements whose class standpoint is not firm and whose political consciousness is not very high cannot stand the test and become degenerated." (NCNA December 2, 1951). In May, 1952, Chang Chia-fu, director of the Department of Propaganda of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, declared: "Since they entered the cities, the Northwest Literary and Art Workers, owing to corrosion by bourgeois thought, have wavered more or less in carrying out Chairman Mao's literary and artistic policy." (NCNA May 25, 1952).

2. Poor Quality of the New Cadres: The large numbers of students and former government employees who were incorporated into the ranks of the cadres were not men of high caliber and they quickly followed the examples set by the old party cadres. At a speech at a conference of cadres at Sian in May, 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün charged that there were glaring shortcomings in the United Front Work because the new cadres, who make up 90 per cent of the total number of cadres, following the practices of the old cadres. They were arrogant, they entertained non-proletarian thoughts, and, because of their behavior, there were flagrant cases of bureaucratism (which he defined as estrangement from reality and isolation from the masses) and commandism (just going through the motions of carrying out orders). He pointed out that in the muni-
681 cipality of Sian, for example, eleven hundred residents were
651 arrested and punished for the mere crime of possessing bicycles, and that in the countryside, the cadres resorted to threats, arrests, and tortures in the collection of taxes.

S 4. Cultural corps

668 In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means
708 of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work
208 Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army)
545 in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and
the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They
visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of
S from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members
[563] included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of
[484] them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21
[648] acts before the audience in the capital.

668 The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing
Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd mem-
648 bers to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment
545 of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13 after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou, seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than 439,000 people.

N IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

*668 Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using
208 many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives, circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meeting is another form. No matter what the main target of a particular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A., the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day, whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model
S Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang
[668] are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as
[208] well as for denouncing germ warfare.

N A. Festivals

*668 Festivals are always good opp;rtunities for promoting propa-
796 ganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used
*[563] as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist govern-
[771] ment. For instance, during their celebration of the three major
[651] Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton
consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

The subject changes as the Party moves from one campaign to another. For instance, in Northwest China the first stage emphasized the destruction of organized resistance and the establishment of the Communist Government. About the time that the editorial of Jen-min jih-pao, Peiping, November 14, 1950, declared that "a comprehensive and far-reaching propaganda campaign should be carried out beforehand so as to enable the masses to gain a true understanding of the significance, functions and the way of the convening the chu people's representatives' conference" in Sining, Chinghai, "the Central People's Government Mission to the Northwest...convened three forum meetings of representatives of Tibetan, Mongolian, Turk, Moslem, Salar and Kazakh nationalities, and personages of all circles in Sining, and visited the mosque at the East Gate of Sining and the Chinghai Nationalities House..."

2. Resist-America, Aid-Korea and related movements

After the Communists participated in the Korean War and when the U.N. was discussing the case against Red China, an anti-Austin (chief U.S. delegate to the U.N. at the time) Rally" was held at Sian, Shensi. It promoted the Resist-America, Aid-Korea movement as well as the three self (self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating) movement of the Chinese Christian churches. In January, 1951, there came the first wave of attacks against the religious group I-Kuan-Tao. In 1952, there were the three anti and five anti-movements. About the same time, a movement for production-increase was launched.

3. Agricultural tax campaign

When the new agricultural tax system came into force in June, 1952, the propaganda gave unreserved priase of the new tax and cursed the old regime. It is a good example of the Communist propaganda:

"New minimum tax rate is 7 per cent. For the majority of peasants, the rate will range from 11 to 15 per cent. Exemptions or tax reductions will be given those having economic difficulties arising from calamities, lack of manpower or disabilities and to families of the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea and Chinese People's Liberation Army men. The new system is based on average annual agricultural income of every member of a family.

This new tax system is in sharp contrast to multifarious taxes under the Kuomintang regime. At that time peasants on an average paid from 30 to 60 per cent of what was left to them in taxes to the Kuomintang government after paying 50 to 80 or even 90 per cent of their harvest to landlords as rent." (NCNA, Peking, June 20, 1952. See section Agriculture of General Handbook for an evaluation of the actual tax burden.)

Judging by the above paragraph, the peasants under the Nationalists (Kuomintang) paid as high as 90 per cent of their harvest to

the landlord as rent and 60 per cent of what was left to the government as tax. If these figures were true, then the peasants were receiving only 4 per cent of what they harvested. Furthermore, at the most, the Nationalist Government had taxed the peasants only 6 per cent of their harvest while the minimum tax of the Communists is 7 per cent of the farmers' total annual agricultural income.

4. Achievements of Communist government

After the Communist government had existed for a while, the propaganda emphasized the achievement of the Communist regime. A good example is the article written by Liu Ke-p'ing, Deputy-Director of Commission of Nationalities Affairs of the Central People's Government, concerning "The achivements of the Nationality works during the past three years." In this article he listed the following achievements:

1) The establishment of the autonomous districts
2) The participation of the minorities in the government
3) The training and education of local cadres
4) The sending of Chinese cadres to work among the minorities
5) The establishment of state trading agencies in the minority areas
6) The gradual promotion of land reform among the minorities
7) The gradual change in the feudal relations between the owner and helpers among minority herdsmen
8) The improvements in public health among the minorities
9) The establishment of schools in Sinkiang and other areas where the minorities live
10) The help given to the minorities to create or improve their written languages
11) The printing and distribution of books and periodicals in minority languages
12) The radio broadcasts in minority languages
13) The study and improvements made on the traditional dances and music of the minority groups
14) The organization of the Chinese Islamic Association to honor the customs, habits and religious faith of the minority groups
15) Visiting groups sent to the national minorities from the Communist government and those organized among the minorities to visit Peking and inland China. (The Great Achievements in the People's Republic of China during the Past Three Years, (Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-he-kuo San-nien-lai-te Wei-ta Ch'eng-chiu, Jen min Ch'u-pan-she, ed. Peking 1952, Dec.) p. 37. The article was written on September 13, 1952.)

Propaganda along this same line can be found in Burhan's articles on "The great achievements made in People's Sinkiang during the past three years" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 1, 1953

variable, thus making agriculture hazardous. The growing season is short, with about five frost free months; even the few crops that can be grown are often injured by autumn frosts. Dark colored chestnut earth is common only on the higher parts of the loess plateau of Shensi and Kansu provinces. It also occurs in the high plateau region of Chinghai Province. In the loess region most of the well-developed dark chestnut earth has been buried under recent loess and alluvial deposits. (T.H. Shen. Agriculture Resources of China, p. 20.)

2. Agriculture

Important irrigation systems, made possible by the Yellow River and its tributaries, have been developed in Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi. All these irrigated areas except Shensi produce one crop a year, such as wheat, millet, peas, or flax because the growing season is short. The large irrigated plains in Shensi along the Wei River, a tributary of the Yellow River, produce good American upland cotton in addition to wheat, corn, and millet. The largest irrigated area is in the Ninghsia plain where there are twenty-five canals from the Yellow River maintained by the provincial industrial bureau. Irrigation is only possible in the valleys, but they are narrow and comprise but a small percentage of the total cultivated area. When Buck made his survey of this area in 1929-1933, he estimated that thirteen per cent of the total cultivated land was irrigated. He felt that the extent of irrigation sometimes depended upon the prices of agricultural products fell. Because taxes were still imposed on irrigated land and some of these taxes had even increased, further construction of irrigation works was abandoned until prices commenced to rise again.

The vegetation of this region is distinguished by the xerophytic plants, bunch grasses on the high elevation, and the tall and short grass sod. In Chinghai province, the Tsaidam Basin is characterized by desert and weeds, while in the same province, in the vicinity of Kokonor, there is grass. In Kansu, along the foothills and in the mountains, grass and weeds exist while in the desert area of Ninghsia, only weeds grow. Grass grows in Shensi along the Chin-ling and Huang-lung mountain ranges.

There is an inadequate amount of green manure crops used in this region, which has resulted in a shortage of organic matter and a deficiency in plant nutrients, especially nitrogen. In most of the area, straw of rice, wheat, rape, and legumes are not ploughed under but are used for fuel, decreasing an important source of organic matter to the soil and removing minerals necessary for plant growth and crop production. Application of chemical fertilizer in addition to local manures and the plowing under of plant residue is very necessary to soil fertility.

and coordinate all rural activities toward the fulfillment of Chinese Communist agrarian policy: complete cooperativization of agriculture and the assurance of a steady flow of food and raw materials through fixed purchase of produce. (The problem of agricultural taxes in the Northwest has not been mentioned so far. The Communists have not reported any reduction of agricultural taxes, or what the average tax rates in the Northwest are.) They have a system of cooperatives at the basic production levels. Though cooperativization has taken place slowly because of the peculiar conditions of many areas in the last six years, it is expected that once some nucleus of control has been established in the rural areas in the form of permanent mutual aid cooperatives and producer cooperatives, rapid cooperativization will take place, to embrace, ultimately, all rural inhabitants.

In the national minority area, the Chinese Communists have proceeded slowly, so far, in their attempts to organize agricultural and pastoral activities. The problem of different national minority groups has been one of the principal stumbling blocks in the creation of lower level co-ops, and will undoubtedly pose a barrier to rapid cooperativization.

Secondly, the State has been able to provide only a small supply of farm implements and credit. Shortages in China and the difficulties of transportation undoubtedly account for this. It is questionable whether these shortages can be overcome in the next few years, but when they are, new farm tools and sufficient credit should account for significant output increases.

Thirdly, one of the principal ways the Communists have attempted to increase output in the Northwest has been through extensive farming rather than through intensive means. They have done this by using vast amounts of labor, particularly military, to reclaim desert wastes, build irrigation works, and construct state farms to manage the reclaimed area. Evidence of this is most striking in Sinkiang and Kansu. Although Chinghai and Shensi with their hills and valleys limit extensive farming procedures, cultivation has been extended wherever possible. Because of the shortage of fertilizer and tools the Chinese Communists have been unable to promote intensive farming on a scale that would raise output per acre significantly. Instead, they have had to resort to expanding cultivation, that is, extensive farming, to obtain the desired increases.

Finally, it is clearly evident that in all parts of the Northwest, with the exception of Chinghai, there has been a general neglect in promoting livestock production and instead an all-out effort to increase the planting and extension of cultivation of wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops. This program differs radically from policy measures suggested by Western agronomists, i.e., J.L. Buck and T.H. Shen who advocated the restoration of fertility to

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a correspondingly important part in Chinese history. In more recent days too, during the troubles since the fall of the Manchus in 1911, it has once more figured prominently in the manœuvres of Imperial, Revolutionary, and Republican armies, brigands, and train bands, while in times of peace it lends itself admirably, flanked as it is by river and mountain, to the levying of likin and other barrier tolls dear to the Chinese official. It is a compact little place, with ramparts and gates remarkable for their massive size even in China, the land of walls, overlooking the Yellow River, which pouring down from the north in a turgid yellow flood here strikes the Ch'inling Shan and turns sharply to the east.

As we approached T'ungkuan some one noticed three strange pack mules which had attached themselves to our caravan. Enquiries elicited the fact that they belonged to a merchant who was endeavouring to smuggle three loads of Price's candles through the frontier barrier into Shensi by this means. We had unwillingly to cut him adrift. Unless accompanied by transit passes goods in transport through the interior of China are taxed again and again at every point where a barrier can be erected until the prospective profit on their sale is eaten up by these tolls and their further transport becomes futile.

From the railhead at Kuanyint'ang to T'ungkuan is called a distance of 280 li, and can be done in three days. As far as Lingpao the li are "short li"; thence to T'ungkuan they are "long li"; the difference is most marked, the short and the long li averaging about a quarter and a third of a mile respectively. This absurd and typically Chinese arrangement is said to be due to the fact that the authorities of Honan Fu endeavoured in days gone by to lay claim to the fortress of T'ungkuan on the ground that it was nearer to their city than to Hsian Fu.

A peculiar four-wheeled cart of prehistoric appearance is used round T'ungkuan, the only place in China where I have seen a four-wheeled native vehicle. Even the huge carts which one meets on the grasslands of the Mongolian border or in the sands of Western Kansu, regular ships of the desert, and often accommodating whole families, are always of the familiar two-wheeled type.

From T'ungkuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

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and enters a gorge which soon ends in a stiff climb up to a pass, about 5000 feet high and two hours' scramble from Fenghuangtsui. There is a similar steep descent for a thousand feet or so down the other side into a ravine where farmsteads and rice fields reappear, and then a weary three hours' march down a stony gorge which debouches on to the narrow valley of the Ch'ienyu Ho, a considerable stream for these mountains, which takes its rise in the watershed ranges north of Hsiaoyi T'ing and flows south past Chenan to join the Han near Hsünyang Hsien. The trail continues down this stream, which has to be crossed and recrossed though barely fordable, for another hour's march through precipitous limestone gorges, and then turns up a small tributary to the west for a few li to reach the city of Chenan, a dilapidated little place lying hidden away in the mountains just round the corner from the canyon of the Ch'ienyu Ho.

We had had nine days' continuous travel over the most appalling mountain tracks since leaving T'ungkuan, and as we were well housed in the Yamen of the Chief of Police, and were informed that the trail on to Hsingan was much worse, we decided to rest in Chenan for a day. The fourteen days between T'ungkuan and Hsingan by this route constituted one of the hardest journeys we made in all our wanderings through Shensi and Kansu owing to the roughness of the mountain trail. Travelling as we were with the assistance of the local officials we did not have to sample the inns, if there were any, *en route*; without such assistance it would of course have been very much harder and more fatiguing.

Chenan has practically no city wall left, which is unusual. The explanation lies in the fact that the inhabitants own a particularly fine *chaitzu* on a neighbouring mountain top in which they prefer to take refuge, with their magistrate and his police, in times of trouble rather than defend their city. A large proportion of the population were there at the time of our visit, for at that early period of our journey our party was so formidable in size that when we descended on these small mountain towns like a swarm of locusts the people used often to fly at our approach as though from a band of brigands. Chinese officials travelling on what used to be, and often still is, called an Imperial Mission, such as

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that on which we were engaged, must according to immemorial custom be provided with food and accommodation free of charge by the towns and villages through which they pass, and not only they themselves, but the cloud of parasites who accompany them, servants, soldiers, coolies, and animals as well. The local magistrates of course try and recoup themselves from the people, but in a very poor post they might almost be ruined by the passage of such a party.

There are patches of rice fields round Chenan, but most of the district is composed of a maze of wild mountains, the lower slopes of which are often dotted with the valuable wood oil tree, a pretty sight in blossom in April. The Chinese assert that the district is rich in minerals, copper, iron, asbestos, and antimony. It is a third class district and the post of magistrate is of course a poor one, as the land tax receipts amount to less than a thousand taels per annum. But amongst our party was an official who had been magistrate at Hsiaoyi, a day's journey further north in the mountains, who affirmed that compared to the latter district, Chenan was a garden; for Hsiaoyi, it seems, has no land tax receipts, and practically no population. It should be explained that the land tax is usually collected in grain and remitted to the provincial treasury in silver, the process of exchange from the one into the other not being effected without a certain percentage remaining in the hands of the local official; hence the amount of the land tax is usually considered the standard by which the wealth of a post may be measured.

A road runs due south from Hsian, the provincial capital, through the Ch'inling Shan *via* Hsiaoyi and Chenan to Hsingan on the Han River, being the most direct route between these two important cities, but it is so rough as to be little used. It is bad enough in the dry season when it follows up and down the stream beds in the simple manner of so many mountain trails in China, but when the water rises and the path has to take to the cliffs of the gorges it is very much worse and probably quite impassable for pack animals and chairs. We found the stream bed still just practicable in April.

The number of burnt-out ruins of hamlets, farmsteads, and huts along the trail we had just traversed could not fail

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than some of the veterans of the China Inland Mission, who have passed the best part of their lives in isolated stations in Shensi and Kansu, such as Hsingan, Hanchung, Fenghsiang, Lanchou, Liangchou, Hsining, and Ninghsia, where months and years pass by without their ever seeing another foreigner. Their success in securing converts may not have been striking, but it is permissible to speculate on whether those whom they have secured are not more genuine Christians than the native Catholics. Often in spite of the basest ingratitude on the part of the Chinese, whose wounds and illnesses they tend one day, only to be passed by in the street with a scowl on the next, these noble men have laboured on year after year doing good and leavening, in however small a degree, the leaden mass of Chinese materialism. The results of their work may not always be apparent now, but they have sown a seed which cannot fail in time to produce a harvest of some kind, a harvest of which other Missions not infrequently reap the benefit.

We spent the night at Kulupa, where we were most hospitably received and entertained with a banquet.

The distance to Hanchung is called 75 li. After descending for about an hour's march through gullies in the hills the track debouches on to the famous plain of Hanchung, a highly fertile, heavily cultivated, and densely populated region, stretching for a certain distance along both banks of the Han, and entirely surrounded by mountains. Another two hours' march across this plain, past the boundary between Ch'engku and Hanchung (Nanch'eng) districts, brings one to the Han River here a shallow stream flowing in a broad sandy bed, a hundred yards wide and a few feet deep. The path runs along the banks of the Han for a short distance, and then, crossing by a ferry, continues for ten li over the plain to reach the busy township of Shihpali P'u. This village, which, as its name implies, is 18 li from Hanchung, is developing into a large town, and is evidently the centre of the through trade from Szechuan, Kansu, and Northern Shensi, which, as is usually the case in China, is driven to avoid the capital by the various tolls and dues. From here the road runs west for the rest of the way to Hanchung, passing through a rich suburb to reach the East Gate of the city.

Hanchung, now officially known by the name of t
district as Nanch'eng, is a first class Hsien, and is one
the three or four wealthiest and most populous cities
the province. It lies in the centre of the rich cigar-shap
plain of the Han valley, surrounded by mountains, and
its situation and general appearance much resembles
smaller edition of Chengtu in Szechuan. Two crops, wh
followed by rice, are regularly raised on the plain. A co
siderable quantity of silk is also produced and some cotto
The situation of Hanchung in the centre of the most fer
region in the province and at the point of intersection
four trade routes, south to Szechuan, west to Kansu, no
to the Wei valley, and east down the Han to the coa
has made it a considerable trade centre. For the same reas
it has always been one of the richest and most importa
likin stations in the province, where the Chinese offici
as elsewhere, do their best to throttle the transit trade a
kill the goose which lays the golden eggs by the excess
imposition of dues and tolls. There are few more lucrat
offices in the province than that of Superintendent of t
Hanchung Likin.

Hanchung is the administrative capital of the upper H
basin, and is the seat of a Taoyin and a Chenshoushih. T
position of the former is that of Civil Superintendent of t
magistrates in his jurisdiction. It is nowadays less import
than it was in the days of the Manchus. Since the aboliti
of the hierarchical system of Tao, Fu, Chou, and Hsie
the territorial administration is entirely in the hands of
district magistrates acting directly under the Civil Govern
of the province. Thus the magistrates correspond direc
with the Governor and send copies of their despatches a
reports to the Taoyin, so that the latter is short-circui
and the abolition of the post is sometimes advocated as bei
superfluous. Under the old system the Hsien reported
the Chou, the Chou to the Fu, the Fu to the Tao, and t
Tao to the Governor, each being responsible for the a
of his subordinate. The position of Chenshoushih is th
of a General with powers of military administration. At t
present time, when things are more or less unsettled a
the military rule the roost, a Chenshoushih often has pow
which amount practically to those of an independe

in the loess hills. The path, crossing the northern branch, strikes up the hill side between two ravines and emerges on to a wheat covered plateau intersected by rifts and valleys in the loess. It runs across this plateau in a northerly direction, ascending gradually, for a couple of hours, and then, as the cañons on either side close in and the plateau narrows to a spur, it follows along the top of the latter, still ascending, for another hour to reach the village of Tsuimu, 4800 feet, perched up on a ridge with the ground falling away in deep cañons all around, and 40 li from Linyu. Supplies were very scanty in these hills, as the people are miserably poor; but a little wheat flour could usually be obtained, which was good where not mixed with too much loess in the process of threshing and grinding. Cock pheasants could generally be secured out of the corn fields when required.

It is an agreeable peculiarity of loess mountain country that the trails follow where possible along spurs and ridges rather than the valleys (this is so, in spite of a famous and much quoted description of the loess in which the life and traffic of the region is described as moving along the bottoms of the cañons), and Tsuimu lies on a sort of knot, where several ridges and therefore mule trails meet; consequently, though only a dot of a place, it boasts a likin station, and commands two trails into Kansu. The path to Yungshou Hsien, 50 li, follows along the top of one of these winding ridges, this one being actually the summit of a range which runs eastwards from the Kansu border and constitutes the first barrier crossed by the Great West Road between Hsian and Lanchou, and provides a most interesting march owing to the continuous and extensive views on either side over this peculiar loess country. To the south a series of loess spurs and intervening ravines fall away steeply towards the Linyu valley, beyond which the Ch'i Shan range is seen to end, as Yungshou is approached, in the rolling plains of the Wei River and its tributaries; while to the north, across an intervening dip, rises like a wall the edge of the loess plateau country of Eastern Kansu. These loess clad ridges of Western Shensi seem to be pieces broken off from the Kansu plateau, like the mountains on the edge of the Mongolian plateau, south of Dolonor in Northern Chihli.

From Hoyang to Ch'engch'eng, a short march of 45 li, the trail runs west across the same undulating plains, traversing two deep cañons *en route*. Ch'engch'eng, a second class district city, is a replica of Hoyang.

The next stage to P'uch'eng is a very long march, called 105 li, probably over 30 miles, for the li are long on these prairies. The trail runs south across the plain past numerous hamlets, descending gradually, for three to four hours' march, and then drops by easy gradients in the loess terraces to the walled township of Yungfeng Chen, 50 li from Ch'engch'eng, in the valley of the Lo River. These little walled towns often have the characters for their names inscribed over the gateway, like stations on a railway, a custom which is most useful to the traveller, and which I have not noticed elsewhere.

Five li west of Yungfeng the Lo River, at low water a few feet deep and fifteen yards wide, and of the consistency of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. The Lo here flows from north to south; on the right bank rises a loess bluff a few hundred feet high, and on the left the open valley some miles wide stretches up by easy slopes and low terraces to the level of the plateau. From the ferry the trail ascends the bluff constituting the edge of the tableland, and then runs west across the usual undulating wheat prairies, dotted with walled farms and villages, for the rest of the way to P'uch'eng.

P'uch'eng lies in the open plain backed by low mountains about ten miles to the north. It is a large and important place, a first class district city and the centre of a great wheat-growing region. Many prominent men in Shensi have their homes in the district, which therefore, in these days of home rule, exercises considerable influence in the province. These large first class districts in the loess of Central Shensi, such as P'uch'eng, Lint'ung, Weinan, and Fup'ing, the very heart of ancient China, have always been proverbial for their agricultural wealth, and to this day the provincial Government subsists largely off their land tax revenues.

From P'uch'eng to Fup'ing, another long march of 95 li, the trail continues west across the same undulating prairies past many villages including the township of

west until we had got behind the Liangchou mountains, and then dropping south to Hsining along the Kokonor border. There is a shorter trail south-west from Liangchou, passing apparently more or less directly over the snow-range, but we were told that it was very difficult, seldom used, and probably impassable for loaded mules. There are only a limited number of trails leading up from the plains of Mongolia through the Nan Shan to the Kokonor plateau, and the route we followed, though little known to foreigners, is probably one of the most important of these tracks. It reaches the plateau by means of a famous gorge known as the Pien Tu K'ou (meaning Passage across the Frontier), and the section of our route from Chenfan, in the Alashan desert, to Êpo, in the Kokonor, is probably a portion of an important trail connecting Urga with Lassa, placing these two capitals of Lamaism in communication without the necessity of passing through settled Chinese territory. Our first few days' march lay across a portion of the Alashan desert to regain the Great West Road at Yungch'ang, a very trying experience, since the season of the year was the end of July, when nobody travels in the desert if he can possibly avoid it.

The first stage on this road being a very long one of 100 li across the desert, the magistrate had kindly arranged for us to break it into two by sending on tents to some wells 30 li out. Leaving Chenfan the road runs south through the oasis for 15 li, crosses the main branch of the Chenfan River by a ford, and then turns west into the desert. Two hours' march further on we reached the wells of Sha Ching, where we found a luxurious camp established for us by the forethought of the magistrate. The water from the wells is evil-looking and very brackish, but we had arranged to bring sweet water with us. The contrast between these rich oases, such as Chenfan, and the absolutely lifeless desert, lying side by side so that one passes in one stride from the one to the other, is most striking. The great wealth of the irrigated land is evidenced by the fact that the district of Chenfan, though containing so much desert, offers a highly lucrative post to its magistrate; that is to say the land-tax receipts, consisting of grain, are large; the grain collected in this fashion by the magistrate is remitted by him to the

provincial treasury in silver at an old-established rate much below the market price, permitting a considerable profit to be made on the transaction. The productiveness of the land is of course entirely dependent on the irrigation streams from the snows of the Nan Shan, the magistrate informing us that he had been nine months at his post and only seen rain fall on two occasions.

The following day's march of 70 li to the oasis of Shehsia Kou would have been easy enough had we not lost our way. We started at 3 a.m. in order to try and reach the wells of T'ou Ching, 40 li out, before the sun got too hot. The trail led across a waste of sand hills and soon ceased to exist. The desert is devoid of all vegetation and lifeless except for antelope, which were constantly in view; what they find to eat I cannot imagine. After we had been marching for some hours the soldier from Chenfan who was acting as guide announced that he had lost the way. Looking for the wells where we were to have our midday halt was like searching for a needle in a haystack, and the position was unpleasant enough. Altogether we wandered round, steering more or less west, for some seven or eight hours, suffering greatly from thirst, with the sand often over the ponies fetlocks. Our only landmark was an ancient ruined tower, the remains of some old fortification in this region, perhaps a part of the Great Wall. At last one of the soldiers sent out to reconnoitre from a rise descried the tents pitched at the wells in pretty well the opposite direction to that in which we were then trekking, and an hour later men and animals were satisfying their thirst. Another three hours' march across the desert brought us to the oasis of Shehsia Kou, where we were comfortably lodged in the interior of one of the fortified farms so common in this region.

The next stage is another desert march of 80 li to the village of Ningyuan P'u, but there is an oasis, Tung Wan, half-way, the going is better, and we took care not to lose our way. Ningyuan P'u is a walled village at the mouth of an irrigated gorge where the mountains meet the desert plain. From here to Yungch'ang is a distance of 75 li. The trail follows up the irrigated valley for 35 li to the hamlet of Tsungchia Chai, where it turns up a barren stony ravine, crosses a low pass, and descends across an arid sloping

Kokonor border. The wool is usually bought by Mahomedan middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, and passed on by them to the Chinese agents. A similar, but smaller trade, is carried on at collecting centres such as Chungwei, Ninghsia, Shihtsuitzu, Wufang Ssu, and Huamach'ih on the borders of Mongolia in the north of the province, but this Mongolian wool is inferior in quality to the Kokonor produce.

The immense journey made by this wool from the Kokonor to Tientsin is only rendered commercially possible by the Treaty right exercised by foreigners of bringing produce down to the coast from the interior under transit pass, which exempts the goods from taxation by the likin barriers *en route*, a fixed transit duty being paid to the Customs at the coast. This arrangement is all right when the provinces are knit together under a strong central government and when the finances of the country are national rather than provincial; under a loose federal system of semi-independent provinces, however, into which China appears at times to be drifting, the authorities of a distant interior province like Kansu can scarcely be expected to look with favour on an arrangement by which the most valuable trade in the province is in theory immune from all local taxation.

We purchased ponies at various places during our long journeys as we required them; one of the best I secured was acquired at Hsining. These Kansu ponies are bred on the grass-country of the Kokonor, and the two chief collecting centres for horse flesh are Hsining and T'aochou, especially the latter. They are of an entirely different breed to the East Mongolian pony so well known in the Treaty ports. The Kansu pony is much finer in appearance though not so strongly built or as good a weight carrier at fast paces as the Kalgan pony; and being usually handled at an earlier age he is generally more civilized. For the purposes for which they are required, that is to say long road journeys at four miles an hour or so, the Kansu ponies would be difficult to beat anywhere, doing twenty to thirty miles a day for weeks or months on end, with the roughest of stabling, and on a diet of chopped straw, bran, and peas. A *Pei K'ou Ma* (pony from the Northern Passes, i.e. from Kalgan) is considered of little account in Kansu, and

distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. They informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kiln-burnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the salt tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impossible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

come too,' was gathering impetus for a more organised attack than any to which the Christian community had hitherto been exposed. Severe financial loss was incurred through the death of mules, horses, sheep and cows, in which live stock the Church funds were invested. One of the most valued Christian leaders was at death's door with rheumatic fever, and hope of his restoration was almost abandoned. He, however, slowly recovered, but when barely convalescent, received news that his two cousins who had but recently left us on a visit to Honan, were murdered by brigands on the road. A few weeks later came a letter, telling of a robber-band attack on his home, and the capture of the head of the house. A large ransom was demanded for his release, and the whole clan impoverished itself to raise the money, yet when this was handed over, they merely received the information that his body would be found in a certain well, and so it proved to be.

There had, moreover, been trouble lately in Kanchow, which clearly showed us the active opposition of enemies. The Kanchow Christian farmers had not sown any opium, and so many had registered as enquirers as to cause a positive difficulty to the Local Official in the raising of the twenty-four-thousand-dollar opium tax, at which sum the crop under his control had been assessed. These wheat-growing farmers did not place themselves in a position of financial advantage, as the value of the opium crop, even allowing for the tax, was almost five times that produced by grain. As friction increased, the local tax-gatherer determined to wreak vengeance on the whole Christian community, and thus the plan of revenge was laid with a craft and subtlety such as is difficult for the Westerner to grasp. An old man, seventy years of age, so poor as to be nearly starving, was secretly approached with the offer of

501 dozen whole yak skins are blown up and joined to make rafts and carry wool and other goods that come down from Tibet on camels or small conveyances farther down the river. In 1907 there were eight larger shops where Russian goods of the so-called Tschan tou hui hui - as the Sarts and Turkistan-Turks are called in Kansu - were traded. (1)

1. The number of Russian shops was on the increase. Tschan tou hui hui literally means "Mohammedans with bound heads." This designation comes from the fact that the Turkistan Turks always appear before the Chinese in turbans.

511
651 As long as I was in the province of Kansu the inhabitants used astonishingly few foreign commodities compared to those of other provinces. The population of Kansu is particularly backward. To be sure, the way to the coast is very far and inconvenient. Besides that, the provincial government introduced a trade monopoly in 1907 on glass, bronze and lacquer goods, and Kansu in any case is regarded as the poorest province of the middle kingdom. Its annual balance is said to be so deficient that for many years other provinces have had to assume responsibility for the deficit. The many soldiers which seem to be necessary for the constantly recurring uprisings are said to be to blame for this state of affairs. The chief reason is, of course, the destruction and impoverishment, a result of the wars. Nor was stealing as prevalent in other provinces as here; the emperor was too far away. Payment of direct taxes, of land tax, is largely in kind. The most ancient registers of landed property are still used to control the levying of these taxes, whereas the farmer himself is taxed on the basis of the amount of land he
[661] has at the moment. In this way the agents of the yamen above all amass great riches.

When I was in Lanchow fu there were few Europeans living
563 there and these were missionaries. My old friend, the Belgian Father Van Dyk lived a quite lonely life in his mission and therefore greeted me particularly cordially. I moved into a camel hostelry outside the city quite near the Catholic mission, so that we could get together for an evening of conversation now and then and no city gates separated us, which were are irrevocably locked at twilight and divided up Lanchow fu and its suburbs into several separate parts. (Plate XXXIII). Mohammedans are not permitted to live here in the center of the city, they may only keep

624 se of the so-called Tu jen (2) living in the city. Every day he places

2. A Chinese word, literally: "earth-people," meaning oldest inhabitants.

the insignia of his power in front of the door of his house, like a
685 petty Chinese official or a police officer. Everyone who passes the houses sees two kang (3) and a stick for administering bastinadoes

3. The kang. Chinese kia (popularly known as dia-dia in Kansu) is the rectangular piece of wood, weighing 20 pounds and about 60 centimeters in length, through which the head of a convict is stuck. The Chinese fear it less as a punishment than as a mark of shame, and it is used primarily in cases of petty thievery. The conviction lasts from one to two months, and this collar often may not be taken off at night. But the convicted person may go walking with it if he feels like it and if he has been granted bail or is a property owner.

which are used as punishment or to extract confessions. This represents the power which the li tu se still exercise over their subjects,
346 the Tu jen. The yamen of these tu se is very small. But close be-
178 side it under a three-tiered roof (Plate L) sits a colossal clay Buddha in the midst of a rambling group of buildings which have long since crumbled except for the foundation walls. In any case this structure stems from ancient times (perhaps Ming?) and was the temple of the Tu jen. A large part of the property around the temple still belongs to the Tu jen. There are many inhabitants of Hsining who maintain that the building containing the giant Buddha was not built as a temple but as a palace of the li tu se when they were still independent, around the time of the Sung Dynasty (11th
624 century). A rather large part of the city belongs to the Tu jen who
651 pay taxes to their kings and not to the Chinese officials.

The holder of the position of li tu se in Hsining was a young man in his early twenties who, in complete contrast with his father, enjoyed very little esteem. And rightly so! For, within a few years /171/ he had spent his father's entire fortune in drinking and gambling, and was now heavily in debt. Even his father had little power left over his subjects; the Chinese mandarins have now become even more the rulers. They now gather a tenth of the produce

from the tu se fields into their barns. I shall come back to the sub- 624
ject of the Tu jen later when my journey takes me through their 651
country. In and around the city of Hsining there are only a few Tu jen living today.

The city of Hsining fu is now almost entirely Chinese. Even 563
in the erstwhile very important eastern suburb, the Tung kwan which was destroyed by the Chinese in 1895, Mohammedans are no longer permitted to live with their families; they may only conduct their businesses there. Since 1896 specific sections and valleys in the mountains have been assigned to Mohammedan families. The only thing that is waived today is the decree that was for years carried out very strictly, namely, that Mohammedans wishing to visit the inner part of the city were obliged to have a stamp put on their cheeks as they entered the city gate.

The inhabitants still vividly recalled the horrible battles with 701
the Mohammedans. Hsining was therefore also a military city. There were five ying (battalions) stationed here and the largest and most beautiful yamen was that of the general (tschen tai) who had a rather
large arsenal. In it incense was lit on the first and fifteenth of every [782]
month to the deliverer of the city, an old ko lu pu pau (a Krupp cannon), and officers and soldiers fell to the ground in a kowtow before the rusty cannon. This weapon was the soul of the defense in the year 1895. Human blood was officially smeared around the mouth of the cannon in order to make it voracious and thirst after Mohammedan blood. The natives said: "It has a soul just like a human being," and they undoubtedly had a much more definite image than our native recruits do when we teach them to speak of the "soul" of the axis of a gun or cannon.

The tsch'eng schu ying, the military governor of the city who is 701
also the keeper of the keys to the city gates and commander of the 712
so-called middle battalion, (1) as well as the hsien, the prefect,

1. The Chinese provincial army consisted only of the green banners, the lü ying. In peace time one seldom heard of the larger associations, the tschen piao (brigades), the hsie (regiments), because the Chinese provincial army (I am not speaking of the troops on the coast) was used as a police troop and was garrisoned in various places. The primary important military unit is the ying camp or battalion that is under the command of a major (yu tschi) or a captain (du se or schu be).

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
142 halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

565 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them (allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung Wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao, Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mohammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

After I had had my presents handed over, the conversation turned to 643
European weapons and the dsassak who already had a number of Russian 574
and English repeater guns, made every effort to buy some of my weapons. When I showed no inclination to comply with his wishes, the atmosphere became strained and I hurried to take my leave. /350/

The Barun dsassak (Plate LXXV), like all Dam Mongols, cannot 252
be relied upon. The flour for which I had paid him up in the Wulasetä Valley, was still not ground when I came to Barun kurä, and I was obliged to wait two days before I could get it. It was ground in hand-mills by old women and widows.

There were a great many beggars and cripples loafing about in 735
the dsassak's courtyard. They mumbled their Om mani padme hung
and plucked at their rosaries without ceasing. There were people 644
coming and going all the time who paid tribute to the dsassak, and my companions were always amazed at how obsequious the Mongols were toward their ruler. Whereas the tent Tibetan shows very little respect toward his chieftain, the ordinary Mongol is bound by strict etiquette. He may never sit down with crossed legs before his prince, he must bend his right knee and remain in a half squatting, half kneeling position. If he is not invited to sit down he remains standing with his legs together. He must take his sword in his left hand and may not leave it sticking diagonally in his belt as he usually does.

The Mongol princes have incomparably greater prestige than the 643
chieftains of the Tibetan nomads. I have already spoken of the
princes' right of preëmption. Besides that, the dsassak owns his en- [423]
tire country, he annually apportions the pastures and also the arable land among his subjects and for this he receives his tithe in the form
of animals and grain. Moreover, he demands several days of [651]
gratuitous service from each family, which the wealthier ones may
pay off in the form of added taxes. On his part he feels himself re- [792]
sponsible only toward the priests, he always supports a few lamas and gives large gifts to the monasteries. In many things he is the only source of supply for his subjects. He had large supplies stored in his warehouses in Barunkurä. In them I saw pulo from Shigatse, lamb-skins from Lhasa, Nepalese amulet boxes, peacock feathers from India, saffron from Kashmir, Indian dates and cocoanut, Tibetan stag-antlers and pouches of musk, as well as American cotton materials, boots from Dankar, tea and the many little things with which the Chinese furnish the nomads of the highlands.

While I was staying there a huge felt yurt was erected in the court- 792
yard of the dsassak, measuring 10 meters in diameter. The tribal 346

German castle, while the ordinary priests' houses are spread out on the main mountain behind like a neat little village. (Plate XXVI). In the dschong on the cliff lives the ruler of the Dscherku tribe (Tibetan: sde schok), the Tsawu be hu. At present this is an incarnate lama of the Saskya sect, but it has only been in Manchu times that he has taken the place of the former secular and hereditary princely house. There is now fixed spiritual ownership instead of the hereditary succession of the old aristocratic families. The same soul which from time to time merely enters another body, so to speak, is now permanent master. But, strangely enough, this soul always keeps choosing aristocratic families. He still delivers his taxes to the Chinese every three years. For the rest, he as well as his neighbors are subordinate to the Nan tsien king. In addition to him a second living Buddha has set up his labrang on the mountain.

Since it is the most important place in a wide area, Dscherku ndo is also the center of the Chinese (i. e., Hsining) government in the entire "Hung mao ŏr de ti fang" or "Yü fu" (Peking dialect: Yü schu). At the time of my visit there was, however, only a single man, a Fan tse to boot, from Dunkur who was the representative and political agent of the Chinese in this country. This "Lo ts'a" was given board at Tibetan expense, but was not entitled to anything else, and his only duty was to be able to give information, if necessary, about important events in the country. Real Chinese officials could be found here only once every three years and these consisted of a commission to collect taxes. The latter were taken over from Mongolian times and the amount has been fixed since the year 1732. The commission was made up of a civilian and a military mandarin /Bi tieh sche (2)

2. Bi tieh sche is written pi t'ieh shih in Mayers, The Chinese Government. The name derives from the Manchurian word bitheschi meaning "writer" and one who knows how to write. These officials finally always had Chinese secretaries under them.

and Schu be who in Tibet wore red buttons/ with three interpreters and three secretaries, for whose protection close to twenty Chinese soldiers with four flags and several Mongolians from Tsaidam were taken along. On the journey thither the people always went from Dankar north of the Koko Nor across Tsaidam and the Odontala (Sing /143/ su h'ai) to the northernmost Yü fu tribe, Niamtso, then by way of the tribes of Guts'a and Antschun as far as Dscherku ndo which they finally reached

after three or four months. The nomads living along the route were obliged to furnish free means of transportation (ula) and plenty of free food (seven sheep a day). En route disputes between tribes were ironed out as much as possible, and secretaries and interpreters received earnings from this as well as from the ula. The commission stayed in Dscherku 10 to 13 months, that is, strictly speaking, long enough until the K'amba tribes had paid their taxes, whereupon the Chinese traveled back to Hsining fu with ula out of K'am by way of Deda, Lab (e) and Tendo, approximately along the route that I had taken to K'am. The result of these strenuous journeys, besides the moral reminder of Chinese supremacy was a sum of 2,000 taels. However, in the last few years it had never been collected, but had shrunk to 600 taels because the tribes always sought to avoid payment and maintained that they were unable to collect the proper amount. They said this was caused by progressive poverty which was supposed to have been caused by over-population and increasing summer droughts. I was told by various people that there had been very poor harvests the preceding years. However, my six Schen si merchants thought that the chief reason for the refusal to pay taxes lay in the small amount of authoritative power which China develops in K'am. (1)

1. The expenses involved in the sojourn and the return journey of the Chinese, which the K'amba had to pay in kind amounted to another 3,000 taels or so.

The ula, that is, free transportation back to Hsining, was arranged so that the K'amba gave the Chinese two oxen and one horse for each man and 15 oxen and 5 horses to transport the silver and the goods that had been got in trade, giving them a total of 75 to 80 oxen and 35 horses as their property and only a few guides besides.

The tax which each individual family was required to pay in money every three years was 0.075 tael (about 22 pfennig). Originally each 100 families were required to furnish one horse. As long as the value of a horse was still 7.5 tael (1780) the horse tax was figured in silver and this figure has been retained. On the basis of 0.075 tael per family and five members to each family, one can estimate the population of the Yü schu at 133,300 laymen and 22,000 tax-exempt lamas (that is, approximately one-sixth of the population) or a total of 155,300 souls. I regard this as a fairly accurate figure (i. e., 1.9

653

653 PUBLIC WORKS--government construction of dams, reservoirs, canals, ship channels, railways, highways, sewers, and public buildings; method of accomplishment (e.g., by labor drafts, by contract with private entrepreneurs); public works policies (e.g., to relieve unemployment, to increase public revenues); maintenance of public works; etc. See also:

Cultural goals	186	Forced labor	466
Water supply	312	Highway and railway construction	499
Construction contractors	331	River and harbor improvements	503
Public buildings	344	Political graft	667
Sewers	364	Public works programs to relieve unemployment	746

and the other at San-men which will give an annual output of 110,000 million kilowatts of electricity, ten times the nation's total output of power in 1954.

In San-men gorge, where the river is narrow and its bed solid igneous rock, a dam and reservoirs will be built. The dam will be some 295 feet high and detain in its huge reservoir water to a level of 1,150 feet above sea level. The reservoir will be able to hold back some 47,086,344,000 cubic yards (7,923,600 million imperial gallons) of water. At San-men gorge, a great million kilowatt power station is to be built with an average output of 4,600 million kilowatt hours, equivalent to sixty-four percent of the country's total output of electricity in 1952. A big electricity supply network in central China as well as over the vast rich basins of Wei-ho and Fen-ho rivers in Shensi and Shansi respectively will be built around the San-men gorge; over 2,623,400 acres more land will be irrigated before 1967, for the water levels and the huge waterhead above the dam - the water above it may be close to 230 feet higher than it is below.

At Liu-chia, above Lanchow, another million kilowatt hydro-electric power station will be built with an annual output of 5,230 million kilowatts. It will not only supply ample and cheap electric power to the new industrial enterprises in and around Lanchou and Hsi-ning, but also would free the city of Lanchow from the menace of inundations caused by the overflowing of the river during a flood. In addition, large tracts of land in Kansu as well as Inner Mongolia will be brought under irrigation. Navigation between Lanchou or even Hsi-ning along the Huang -shui, a tributary of the Yellow River, and Paotou in Suiyuan will also be improved.

The two great power stations will mark the completion of the first phase of the plan in the fifteen years ending 1967. Thus the completion of these multiple-purpose plans for flood control, power generation and irrigation works to be built along the mid-course of the Yellow River will bring a new phase in the industrial and agricultural development of the region.

2. Iron Ore and Ferro-alloys

Northwest China has a fair amount of iron ore deposits and some ferro-alloy minerals, such as tungsten, molybdenum and nickel.

a. Iron Ore:

Iron ore deposits are found in all the four provinces of Northwest China. In Shensi province, iron ore is widely spread in the Chin-ling and Pa-shan Mountain ranges - extending west to Kansu, east to Honan, and south to Szechwan provinces. It is relatively more concentrated in the districts of Feng-hsien

by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food, shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

The realization grew however that with regard to natural disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

Unfortunately, there is very little information available on the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

654

654 RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT--government-supported research in applied science (e.g., agriculture, fisheries, mining, forestry, nutrition, medicine); public extension and demonstration services; government subsidies to weak or essential industries (e.g., airlines, shipping, agriculture); exploration; coast, geodetic, and geological surveys; meteorological research and weather stations; etc. See also:

Mining and forestry	31	Agricultural science	242
Water and air transport	50	Exploring expeditions	481
Cultural goals	185	Military research	711
Marine industries	228	Public Health	744

N
135 oil field which was discovered near Yümen in northwest Kansu
N during the latter part of the last war. Though several wells
[315] had been drilled and a small refinery plant established, oil
[489] production was never large due to shipping and transportation difficulties. (It might be noted that construction of the Kansu-
[499] Sinkiang Railway has been completed up to Yümen in July 1956. Tank cars may now replace trucks in the transportation of Yümen oil.) Despite these adverse factors, the Peking Government's planned economy gives top priority to the development of the known and the search for the unknown mineral wealth of China's Northwest.

N
315 Thirteen construction projects were completed in the Yümen Oil Field, China's biggest oil center, in the spring of 1955. A number of these projects now enable Yümen to produce
N eighteen percent more heavy lubricating oil and fifteen percent
316 more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955). A large coal field was discovered in Kansu in April, 1955. It is reported the new discovery with a total of approximately thirty-two million metric tons is four times as large as the A-kan-chen colliery of Kao-lan (Lanchou) county, one of the major coal mines in the province.

S Work has been started by three oil prospecting teams sent
N to Sinkiang and Chinhai provinces by the Northwest Geology
315 Bureau under the Ministry of Geology. The prospectors are
[654] operating in Turfan and Dzungaria Basins, Sinkiang and in Tsaidam, Chinahai, to locate oil-bearing structures, oil shales, heavy feldspar and other minerals. (NCNA April 19, 1955). One of the plans for 1955 was to complete the prospecting of several oil-bearing structures in the Turfan Basin and obtain the data to design a modern shaft mine in the Urumchi coal field (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955). In addition, rich coal deposits have been discovered in North Sinkiang, particularly in the Ili Valley.

According to 1955 reports, new oil fields were discovered and drilled, e.g., at Tu-shan-tzu, south of Wu-su, and new
S coal fields were discovered in Sinkiang. Up to now, eight coal
N fields are being worked along the foothills of Tien-shan in
316 Sinkiang, which form one of the largest coal fields in China, ranking third among all the provinces. In coal reserve, Sinkiang is next only to Shansi and Shensi. The present coal reserves of Sinkiang are estimated at 35,040 million metric tons and can last for three hundred years at the present daily output rate of 320,000 tons.

Iron ore and ferro-metals like tungsten, manganese, molybdenum and nickel, as well as some non-ferrous minerals, like gold, platinum, copper, lead and zinc, and aluminum have been discovered and some even worked, especially in the province of

new oil plants at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. Undoubtedly, the exploitation of the Yü-men oil field of Kansu has been considerably increased in the last two years. At a conference on petroleum research, called in May, 1954, by the Ministry of Fuel, Popoff, a Russian professor, laid great emphasis on the development of Yü-men oil fields, where Russians have been working side by side with German, Czech, and Rumanian oil experts (KM Oct. 1, 1954). Towards the end of 1953 the Russian Atlas (sic!) was experimenting there on an improved method of oil exploitation which was to be introduced in 1954 (PD Feb. 9, and June 23, 1954).

Special emphasis on oil prospecting and drilling are given by the Communist Government. Throughout the nation, geological surveying and prospecting plans since 1953 have been the most inttensive in China's history. Total Government investment in surveying in the Northwest in 1953 was nearly seven times more than the previous year. Twice as many oil wells were planned to be sunk in 1953 as compared to 1952, while work on other mineral reserves topped previous years' quota by thirty-three percent.

The bureau in charge of prospecting and surveying mineral reserves in the Northwest trained nearly 2,000 workers in drilling, surveying, drawing, and analysis in 1953. (Geological Report, China Monthly Review, May, 1953).

The first drilling for oil was made some sixty years ago at Yen-chang in northern Shensi province. During the Anti-Japanese war, China spent large sums to equip the China National Petroleum Corporation's field at Yü-men in Kansu. At present, the major production is at Shih-you-ho near Yü-men in the most northwestern part of Kansu at the foot of the Nan-shan. There the possible oil-bearing formations extend 700 miles, with a width of some tens of miles. Seepages are known in four localities, but only a few anticlines have been developed. Drilling started in 1939, and the yield amounts to several thousand barrels a day. The oil has a fifteen percent paraffin base. Prospects in Sinkiang appear even more promising, with oil on both sides of the Tien-shan Mountain Range. Drilling at Wu-su, west of Urumchi and in the northern foothills of Tien-shan began in 1935, under Soviet direction. Its current yield is only a few hundred barrels a day. However, some new fields have been discovered and new wells drilled in other parts of the province.

Recently, both oil-extracting and refining industries have been growing rapidly. Refining facilities in northwest China with its five oil regions distributed in north Shensi, West Kansu, central Kansu, and Ho-hsi corridor and Sinkiang have been substantially extended. Petroleum development is one of

oil shales, heavy feldspar, and other minerals. By mid-June, 1955, as a result of an air survey to prospect for oil in Sinkiang, in addition to ground teams with magnetic and gravitational methods in the search for oil, the secret of a petroleum river has been leaked out from a state oil refinery. (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955; June 16, p. 3-5), and ten promising areas for petroleum production are discovered.

Oil prospecting in Chinghai:

No actual drilling and production of oil are reported from Chinghai, but the province has been prospected extensively for oil since early 1955. Promising discoveries of oil-bearing structures have been increasingly revealed.

Two oil-prospecting teams were sent to Chinghai under the supervision of the Ministry of Fuel Industries and the Ministry of Geology. A new oil field was first discovered southeast of Hsi-ning, the capital of Chinghai province. Oil wells for trial production are reported to be sunk there. (NCNA, April 26, 1955). New Oil-bearing structures have just been discovered in the Tsaidam Basin in Changhai province. (Am. Consul General: SCMP June 1-30, 1955, p. 27).

The Tsaidam Basin is one of the concentration points of present day oil prospecting and more oil bearing structures have been increasingly discovered in the area. (NCNA, June, 1955). In order to do the prospecting work, members of the Youth Prospecting Corps are dispatched there, and they have reported new discoveries of oil structures in the basin. Following the recent discovery of the four layer oil structure by the fourth Sub-company of Number 632 Company of the Northwest Geological Bureau, the Number 104 Company under the Chinghai Petroleum prospecting Bureau of the petroleum prospecting General Bureau discovered at the foot of the northern slopes of the Kunlun mountains, a three layer oil structure in May, 1955. (Am. Consul General: SCMP June 1-30, 1955, p. 28). As to the exact locations of these new discoveries and their possible reserves, no data are available. Recent reporters however say that the newly discovered oil deposits in the Tsaidam Basin and at Karamai Northwest of Urumchi have even greater prospects than the Yü-men field (N. Y. Times, August 15, 1956).

b. <u>Coal</u>

Northwest China is particularly rich in coal. About twenty-nine percent of China's coal reserve lies in Shensi alone, formerly considered second only to its neighbor Shansi, if claims of recent Manchurian discoveries are discounted). With some new discoveries, Sinkiang claims a coal reserve next only to Shansi and Shensi provinces. Thus the Northwest

*668 and coordinate all rural activities toward the fulfillment of Chi-
241 nese Communist agrarian policy: complete cooperativization of
474 agriculture and the assurance of a steady flow of food and raw
185 materials through fixed purchase of produce. (The problem of
agricultural taxes in the Northwest has not been mentioned so far.
[651] The Communists have not reported any reduction of agricultural
taxes, or what the average tax rates in the Northwest are.) They
have a system of cooperatives at the basic production levels.
Though cooperativization has taken place slowly because of the
peculiar conditions of many areas in the last six years, it is
expected that once some nucleus of control has been established
in the rural areas in the form of permanent mutual aid coopera-
tives and producer cooperatives, rapid cooperativization will
take place, to embrace, ultimately, all rural inhabitants.

*668 In the national minority area, the Chinese Communists have
563 proceeded slowly, so far, in their attempts to organize agri-
cultural and pastoral activities. The problem of different national
minority groups has been one of the principal stumbling blocks in
[474] the creation of lower level co-ops, and will undoubtedly pose a
barrier to rapid cooperativization.

*668 Secondly, the State has been able to provide only a small
241 supply of farm implements and credit. Shortages in China and
the difficulties of transportation undoubtedly account for this.
654 It is questionable whether these shortages can be overcome in
452 the next few years, but when they are, new farm tools and suffi-
cient credit should account for significant output increases.

*668 Thirdly, one of the principal ways the Communists have
attempted to increase output in the Northwest has been through
241 extensive farming rather than through intensive means. They
433 have done this by using vast amounts of labor, particularly mili-
tary, to reclaim desert wastes, build irrigation works, and con-
struct state farms to manage the reclaimed area. Evidence of
this is most striking in Sinkiang and Kansu. Although Chinghai
and Shensi with their hills and valleys limit extensive farming
procedures, cultivation has been extended wherever possible.
Because of the shortage of fertilizer and tools the Chinese Com-
munists have been unable to promote intensive farming on a
scale that would raise output per acre significantly. Instead, they
have had to resort to expanding cultivation, that is, extensive
farming, to obtain the desired increases.

*668 Finally, it is clearly evident that in all parts of the Northwest,
241 with the exception of Chinghai, there has been a general neglect
in promoting livestock production and instead an all-out effort to
231 increase the planting and extension of cultivation of wheat, cotton,
433 and oil seed bearing crops. This program differs radically from
policy measures suggested by Western agronomists, i.e., J.L.
Buck and T.H. Shen who advocated the restoration of fertility to

655

655 GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISES--government monopolies (e.g., salt, tobacco); enterprises operated by the state or its political subdivisions (e.g., postal system, telephone and telegraph services, railways, power plants, banks); organization and mode of operation of each; types of government enterprise; etc.

See also:

Social planning	185	Government property	421
Postal system	205	Banks	453
Telephone and telegraph	206	Government ownership and control of capital	471
Salt manufacture	258	Economics of state enterprise	475
Tobacco manufacture	277	Monopolies	477
Municipal power and light facilities	365	Railways	496
Power development	371		

S 316 Sinkiang. One lies near Urumchi, the capital of Sinkiang and the other is in the Kuldja area in the Ili river basin. Data are collected for designing a modern coal mine in the Urumchi coal field where large deposits of good steam coal have been proved to exist. The two coal fields will in time supply fuel for the Lanchou-Urumchi-Alma Ata Railway Line which is now under rapid construction.

N Coal Mining and Its Production:

316 While the Northwest leads in coal reserve among the major geographical and administrative areas, its production is still small compared to the Northeast and North China. This has been mainly due to the difficulty in transportation and backward mining techniques. At present, the only mining of importance takes place in Tung-kuan near Sian in Shensi, at A-kan-chen near Lanchow in Kansu and ad Urumchi in Sinkiang. They are close to the populous administrative centers of the three provinces. The coal mine at Tung-kuan is connected by a xixty mile long sideline of the Lung-hai Railway at Hsien-yang which is close to Sian, the capital of Shensi. A number of N [655] the small mines in Tung-kuan are still privately owned. But since 1954, the Government has taken over control of production and sale of ninety-five percent of the coal production in these N [466] mines. The villagers were conscripted to transport the coal by mule collie carrier and ox cart (TKT, June 17, 1954). In addition, primitive coal mines for local use are also found at Pai-shui, Pu-cheng, and Lung-hsien.

The chief coal mine worked in Kansu is in A-kan-chen, near Lanchow, where primitive methods are still used. There are other coal mines in Liang-tang, Wu-tu, Min-hsien, Tien-shui, and Cheng-hsien. Small coal mines are also located along the eastern foothills of the Ho-lan-shan Range between the districts of Chung-wei and Teng-kou in former Ninghsia province. Production will be increased when adequate machinery is supplied.

S 316 Coal mining in Sinkiang is also carried on mainly by primitive methods which are crude and cumbersome, Up to the present the coal mined has only been used locally. Because of the primitive nature of mining, many accidents occur and the fatality rate is high.

The major coal producing areas are at Ta-cheng and Tihua and Hami on both sides of the Tien-shan mountains. Considerable coal mining is done on a small scale for local consumption as fuel, but extensive development of coal reserves must await the completion of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway. At present, eight coal fields are being worked near Tihua (1955-56), which extend to about fifty kilometers, having thirty seams. In addition to Urumchi, coal deposits are apparently also being

*668 491 178 Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been re-opened for traffic. (See section Communications.) With these improvements in transportation, it is only logical to assume that trade in the Northwest must also have increased in volume.

*668 178 433 [315] [288] [439] Another important change is the increase of production of the Yümen Oil Field and the establishment of four new textile factories in Shensi (for details see section Industry). Although there is no information on the distribution of these products, it is reasonable to assume that most of them are intended for the consumption in the Northwest. If this is the case, the import of textiles and kerosene, which were two of the most important items of the imports of this region, must have been reduced.

*668 178 248 [438] [439] Still another important change is the enlargement of cotton plantations in Sinkiang. It is reported that the China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region plans to send five thousand tons of cotton to other parts of the country in addition to ensuring an adequate supply for local consumption. On November 3, 1955, the first cargo of cotton of Sinkiang was dispatched to Shensi for its textile industry.

B. Government Control

*668 655 43 The Communist control of trade in the Northwest is more or less the same as that in other parts of the country. The main instrument of control is the state trading companies, which are in charge of wholesale trade and, together with the various co-operatives and mobile trading units, purchase of native products from this region. According to Communist reports, the six basic commodities in Sian, i.e., food, cotton cloth, edible oil, coal, tea and salt, have been fully monopolized by the state trading companies since June 29, 1955; and all private wholesale establishments dealing with those goods have been liquidated. More than one hundred members of the "capitalist side" were sent to reform camps, and the store assistants were either employed by the state trading companies or sent back to their native places to seek other employment. In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the number of branches of state trading companies exceeded five hundred in 1954, about eight times as many as in 1950. They provide the people there with general merchandise, cotton cloth, oil and fats, petroleum, pharmaceuticals and stationary.

Aside from supplying goods on the wholesale level, the state trading companies have also undertaken to buy goods from this region. Among the goods bought in 1950 are: (1) wool, 23,000 catties, (2) hides, 800,000 pieces, (3) intestines, 1,270,000 pieces, (4) bristles, 280,000 catties, (5) tung oil, 4,500,000 catties, (6) medical herbs, 4,000,000 catties, (7) cotton, 800,000 piculs and (8) grain, 130,000,000 catties (cf. The Native Products of the Northwest, preface, Sian, 1951).

As to control on the retail level, it is exercised through the various cooperatives and the mobile trading units. As far as the cooperatives are concerned, detailed information is not available. However, a recent report on the state of trade in the rural market, Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu, may well illustrate how deeply the Communist control has penetrated into the rural areas. According to this report, Lo-men-chen is one of the large rural markets in the county of Wu-shan, which lies near T'ien-shui on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. The market is open on every other day, and the number of people coming to trade is usually between five and six thousand. Before the Communists took over, there was no government control over such markets. But under the Communist regime, the following measures have been adopted (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1956, No. 2, pp. 94-96):

1. State Purchase: The Communists demand that farmers or producers sell certain commodities to the state trading companies or their agencies before they may sell elsewhere. Such commodities, in 1954, were grain and oil products.

2. Controlled Markets: The Communists have put five commodities under their direct control. They are grain, cattle, lumber, firewood and hemp. Prices are fixed by those who are in charge of economic control, and trade is conducted mainly on the wholesale level under the supervision of the Communist cadres. The volume of trade of these commodities in 1954 amounted to 276,422 yüan (approximately U.S. $110,000), constituting some 30 per cent of the total value of trade of Lo-men-chen.

3. Free Markets at Fixed Locations: Such markets are conducted in a specific place, and the Communists do not regulate the quantity nor the price. In 1954, the volume of trade in these markets amounted to 448,379 yüan, constituting some 60 per cent of the total value of Lo-men-chen trade. The main commodities belonging to this category are straw hats (seasonal), bamboo and wood articles (mostly farming implements), hemp rope, hemp shoes, vegetables, fruits and chinaware. The participants include the agencies of the state trading companies and the cooperatives.

4. Mobile Free Markets: These include peddlers who are not under government control and do not have a definite place of marketing. Trade of this nature is necessarily on a very small scale, the total volume constituting about ten per cent of the total trade of Lo-men-chen.

It is mentioned in the same report that government control has made remarkable progress since 1953. In 1953, all retail trade of Lo-men-chen amounted to 2,123,682 yüan (NJMP), of which amount the state trading companies handled 3.58 per cent,

the cooperatives handled 2.65 per cent and 93.77 per cent was handled privately. But in 1954, private trade was reduced to 43.02 per cent, state trade increased to 41.55 per cent and that of cooperatives increased to 15.43 per cent, the total being 2,372,936 yüan. In the first five months of 1955, the private trade comprised only 23.42 per cent of the total of 871,234 yüan, and the state and cooperatives handled 74.36 per cent. Although all this is the situation in one single rural community, it can be assumed that it is typical.

The mobile trading units are especially designed for the control of trade in the so-called national minority regions where the people are mostly nomads. They travel from one place to another, to provide the herdsmen with the supplies they want and to buy up their products. According to a semi-official statement concerning the trade in the national minority regions (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79), the Communists aim to achieve two things in this connection. One is to raise the standard of living of the minority peoples by giving them better terms of trade. For instance, the exchange ratios between wool (the main export) and tea and cloth (the main imports) in Hsi-ning from 1950 to 1954 were as follows:

Table X: Exchange Ratios between Wool, Cloth and Tea in Hsi-ning

Year	Price of Wool per 100 catties (yüan)	Exchange Ratio with respect to: 1. cloth	2. tea
		(No. pieces per 100 catties/wool)	
1950	745,700	2.29	11.61
1951	1,042,700	3.09	19.61
1952	1,230,758	3.71	28.13
1953	1,278,825	4.18	34.44
1954	1,258,000	4.18	31.45

Source: Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 3., p. 146.

The other aim is to drive foreign goods out of the national minority regions and replace them with goods made in China. If the Communists really mean what they said, this would lead to a sharp conflict between Chinese and Soviet goods, especially in Sinkiang, where Soviet goods have long been very popular. However, no detailed information on this matter is now available.

C. Evaluation and Prospects

According to Communist propaganda, trade control in the Northwest has been very successful. For instance, they boasted that the per capita purchase of commodities in Liu-lin-chu, Yao-hsien, Shensi, has increased from 345,000 yüan in 1953 to

467,000 yüan in 1954, showing an increase in purchasing power of 40.8 per cent. In the second sub-district of Hsien-yang, Shensi, the per capita outlay was 410,000 in 1953, and 620,000 yuan in 1954, showing an increase of 51 per cent. In Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the purchasing power of the people is said to have increased 13 per cent in 1954 as compared with 1953, and the total value of state purchases of local products went up 3.7 times in 1954 as compared with 1950. And in the national minority regions, the total sales of state trade in 1954 increased 4.7 times as compared with 1951, and the total purchase in 1954 increased 5.1 times as compared with the same period.

On the other hand, the Communists have admitted certain failures. For instance, on March 15, 1955, the Sian Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a directive to improve the work of unified grain marketing, in which it was pointed out that waste and extravagance have been prevalent, and it was demanded that the party and the New Democratic Youth League branches in the various places should supervise and ensure the check-up.

Another failure is revealed in the report on trade control in Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu. From June, 1954, to January, 1955, the supply and purchase cooperatives in that area undertook to buy all the native products at an official price and prohibited the farmers from entering free trade. But the farmers refused to cooperate, and they reduced production and lowered quality. As a result, the Communists had to reverse themselves and announce that it was still too early to eliminate free trade entirely in the rural areas.

As to trade in the national minority regions, the shortcomings as admitted by the Communists are as follows: One is that the state trading agencies were interested only in wholesale and refused to purchase products in small quantities. Another shortcoming is that they sometimes unduly eliminate private merchants and thus a shortage in commercial outlets results. Still another shortcoming is that the Communist cadres had failed to pay attention to the specific needs of the national minorities. For instance, some of them were so careless as to send swimming suits to mountainous areas or electric typewriters to areas in which people do not even know how to write (cf. Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79).

The main difficulty of the Communist control of trade in the Northwest seems to be the lack of cadres. For instance, the so-called socialization of wholesale trade in the coastal cities such as Shanghai and Tientsin was more or less completed in 1953, but they did not start it in Sian until 1955. Similarly, the control of rural trade in Kansu, as revealed in the report on Lo-men-

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656 GOVERNMENT REGULATION--policies underlying government regulation of private enterprises and activities; general aspects of supervision, restriction, and enforcement; specific instances of government regulation not classifiable elsewhere; etc. See also:

Government regulation of hunting and fishing . . . 22
Government regulation of food processing 25
Government regulation of the manufacture and distribution of liquor and drugs 27
Government regulation of banking and finance . . 45
Government regulation of business and industry . . 47
Government regulation of travel and transportation 48
Government regulation of immigration 167
Conservation policies 185
Government regulation of radio 207
Government regulation of dairying 234
Rationing 434
Price controls 435
Government regulation of wages 465
Government regulation of marriage 582
Wartime regulations 722
Government regulation of medical personnel . . 759
Government regulation of weights and measures . 804

PUBLIC INFORMATION

I. Newspapers

During the past decades, Northwest China was lagging in cultural development. There were very few newspapers before 1937. After the war started, numerous people migrated from the coastal provinces into the Northwest. Among these there were a great number of intelligentsia. Several universities moved from Peking into the Northwest and thousands of students poured into the area. With the coming of these people, the average of cultural standard was greatly raised and the demand for more and better newspapers increased. A number of papers emerged and some stayed. Among these, some were supported by the Nationalist Party, such as the Hsi-ching jih-pao or the Western Capital Daily in Sian. Some were supported by the San-min-chu-i Youth Corps, such as Ch'ing-nien jih-pao or the Youth Daily,in the same city. Some were supported by churches, such as the I-shih-pao (Sian edition) in Sian, a Catholic paper. Some were supported by local influences, such as Ch'ing-feng jih-pao in Sian. After the war, there were even anti-government papers, such as Kung-shang jih-pao in Sian, organ of the Democratic League.

Some of these papers achieved an admirable standard of quality. In appearance, these papers were unattractive. Usually printed on the native newsprint, which was thin, dark and rough, the print was often unclear. Bad as it was, this kind of newsprint was expensive and could be bought in quantity only through government rationing. In fact, the government did occasionally use this authority of rationing newsprint to practice a kind of indirect censorship on the papers. Papers were occasionally cut off their rations and found it necessary to buy on the black market at forbidding prices. The dailies usually had no more than four pages, with half of the space occupied by advertisements. About a page and a half would carry the national and world news, editorials, and articles, leaving about half of a page for local news and miscellaneous subjects. The news were mainly supplied by the Central News Agency, a Nationalist Party organ. Within these limitations, little could be done to give profile to a paper. This monotonous pattern was later broken by the anti-government papers, which carried a lot of the Communist news and views. The circulation of all the papers was limited among the intelligentsia, officials and merchants. Few, if any, of the papers exceeded a daily circulation of 10,000 copies. In Sinkiang, during the administration of Sheng Shih-tsai, there were editions of the Sinkiang jih-pao published in seven languages. (Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 73.)

After the Communists conquered the Northwest, they took over all the former government papers. The private papers were discouraged to continue. According to the limited information available, the following papers have been or are being edited in the

N /Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/
157 because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week
485 a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour
[434] at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of
[654] which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year,
and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never
thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and
occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they
do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she
will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble
N her again."

157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and
physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human
being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he
shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes
S N or reactions.

485 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that
795 Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of
the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This
798 is a very particular observation, as in other places in the North-
west, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaur-
ants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In
many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business,
so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests
abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan
which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed
inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between
host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even
S N to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is
485 somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experi-
795 ence of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and
True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was
114 different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were
798 known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard,
and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu.
We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran
was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an
insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was
kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have
been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure relig-
ion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged
that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly
stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus
S N 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he
795 heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means
554 like to make others understand that they are wealthy people.
485 "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree,
114 he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

culture on land already under cultivation might be realized.

The Nationalist Government gave no financial assistance of any magnitude until the Second World War. Finally, when it was forced to retreat into the remote areas of Southwest China, the government had to depend largely on the Northwest for food and revenue (agricultural taxes). The Nationalist Government became more interested in the agricultural development of the Northwest and some experimental stations were set up in Kansu. Government assistance, however, was directed primarily to farmers engaged in producing crops for the war effort; e.g., cotton.

After 1938, the price index for farm products rose rapidly in all four provinces and the purchasing power of the farmers began to grow. After 1940, food prices rose speedily and the farmers had more money than in prewar days. By examination of the data of the war years as to whether farmers undertook to increase their scale of production and thereby extend cultivation, we can say that there was little increase in extensive farming (except in the case of Ninghsia) and that the output increases during this period can be attributed (wheat especially) largely to intensive farming.

Turning to the land tenure system, the percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants, as determined by a land survey undertaken by J. L. Buck, reveals that on the average most of the farmers own their own plots of land. The following chart, compiled from data collected by Buck in 1933 on a sample basis gives us the landholding breakdown. In Farm Survey (a), farmers who own their farmsteads but who rent all their crop land are classified as tenants rather than as partowners. When compared to the agricultural survey (b), (in this survey, 236 localities, 146 hsien, and twenty provinces in China were examined), the results in both cases are similar except in the case of Chinghai where the few samples taken disallows an accurate breakdown. (Land Utilization in China p. 57.)

Percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants

Province & local	Farm Survey (a)			Agricultural Survey (b)		
Kansu	owner	part-owner	tenant	owner	part-owner	tenant
Kao-lan	86.0	11.0	3.0	60.0	15.0	25.0
Lin-hsia	-	-	-	60.0	10.0	30.0
Wu-wei	96.0	4.0	0	60.0	25.0	15.0
Yung-teng	-	-	-	35.0	5.0	60.0
Ping-liang	82.0	17.0	1.0	85.0	10.0	5.0
Tien-shu	62.0	21.0	17.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Average	78.6	14.2	7.2	58.4	15.8	25.8
Ninghsia	98.0	2.0	0	96.0	1.0	3.0
Chinghai						
Hwang-yau	67.3	22.7	10.0	-	-	-

000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped
to the U.S.S.R.

452 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, ex-
474 tensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under
*668 the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to
extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are
designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realiz-
ation of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely
coordinated with the development of agricultural producer coopera-
tives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simul-
taneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among
these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing,
cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households
to determine household consumption and output. Frequently,
advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made
by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State
marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State appara-
tus to where they can be used most efficiently.

• 654 The State has taken measures to increase livestock production
232 by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral
*668 people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas
[476] to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock
to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to
improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from
[177] the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred
with native stock.

242 Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a
*668 scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire tech-
nicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where
[177] the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been
distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and
campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate
plant and animal diseases.

313 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the
region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand
*668 existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and
carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese
*668 Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the
country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing
[433] the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the
[242] introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming.
[474] However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to
achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.

[578] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not
welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their
programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

*175 conditions in 1954 and tasks for 1955, it was stated that 2,000
185 modern plows were now in use, and 67,245 mou (10,221 acres)
*668 of dry fields have been converted into water fields, while adequate
241 water supply has also been made available to 28,597 mou (4,347
433 acres) of original water fields. It was planned to have 746 agri-
[474] cultural producer co-ops in operation in 1955, with an area of
5,115,000 mou (777,480 acres) to be sowed with a planned output
for the province of 853,350,948 carries (42,337,207 bushels).
An area of 500,000 mou (76,000 acres) is to be sown for oil
bearing crops with a planned output of 10 million catties (24,137
*175 metric tons). There is so little data for the pre-Communist and
241 Communist period that it is impossible to construct a table.
433 The only comparison that can be made is in oil seed bearing
crops (and livestock which follows). The pre-Communist figures
give an average of 21,000 metric tons for the years 1931-1939.
Since it is planned to increase output to 24,137 metric tons, this
will mean an increase of 3,137 metric tons; not a very significant
increase.

162 In Chinghai there is a population of over one million; sixty per
cent belong to the Tibetan, Mongolian, and Hui minority nationali-
*668 ties. The Communists reported that the province's seven million
231 head of livestock in 1951 was increased to over twelve million in
185 1954 and it is planned that 20 million will be raised by 1957.
*175 (Pre-war and war year statistics list the total livestock at little
over one million. Communists claims of sevenfold and twelve-
fold increases in this case, ought to be accepted with reserva-
tions. However, because the base year (one million) is so low,
it is possible to have rapid increases of a relatively large magni-
[654] tude.) The People's Government issued loans to husbandmen
engaged in animal husbandry totalling 6,555,000,000 yuan (U.S.
$266,365) in 1954. Steps were taken in cutting and storing grass
for winter, repairing sheds and enclosures, and building winter
and spring shelters to protect livestock during the cold season.
It was also reported that in 1954, goals in planned purchases of
cattle and sheep were achieved, and this produced definite con-
tributions in support of the industrial construction of the State.
At the same time, these activities served to educate the people
in patriotism and mutual aid.

*668 Tasks for the future were to continue to raise agricultural
185 production based on the mutual aid and producer co-ops and to
develop supply and marketing co-ops, credit co-ops, and arrange
for markets in rural areas to promote interflow of supplies and
planned purchase and planned supply of food. Care was to be
taken to preserve livestock and to continue afforestation schemes.
It was reported that within the province some 38,900 mou (5,913
acres) had been afforestated in 1954 and the number of fires
greatly reduced.

S N 214 177 March, 1955. Through these regulations, the prices of some books were lowered from 4% to 21%.

S 214 668 177 The above reported figures are impressive. The narrow choice of titles, however, has given constant cause for complaint. Readers in Aksu, Sinkiang reflected, according to a Sinkiang jih-pao report of January 11, 1953: "Why do you people in the Hsin-Hua Book Store sell only this kind of book?" And the editorializing explanation: "...to spread Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" will have hardly sounded convincing to the questioner. The China Youth Journal, 1955, No. 10, writes: "For a long time, young people have not found satisfaction in the published books. They are mentally half-starved. Some youths are so eager to read that they have fallen prey to feudal, superstitious, mysterious and sexy books."

S N 214 668 177 [656] Similar complaints can be found in the press and the journals all over the country. Apparently, the policy of the Communists to swamp the "simple-minded" minority groups with Party doctrine did not pay off. Thus recourse was had to censorship. On July 20, 1955, the State Council promulgated the Temporary Regulations on Controlling the Book Renting Business, according to which the books which are lewd, supernatural and full of reactionary ideas are excluded from circulation.

N 207 *668 177

V. Radio

Radio broadcasting of the Chinese Communist Party had a humble start. On September 5, 1945, the Hsin-Hua Broadcasting Station in Yenan made its first official broadcast. It had a power of 300 watts only. When the Nationalists attacked, the station fled with the Party headquarters but never ceased to broadcast.

From September 5, 1945, to September 4, 1946, it broadcast for two hours a day. The programs included news, comments, introduction to the liberated areas, etc. From September 5, 1946, the time increased to two and a half hours daily. The program included speeches, and voices of the people. Later a broadcast to the Nationalist Army was added. Starting from September 5, 1947, the broadcast increased to three hours. News summaries were added, and later, programs in English.

In March, 1949, the station moved to Peking and took over the Nationalists' station there. On October 1, 1949, the name was changed into the Central People's Broadcasting Station. It became the leading broadcast center.

In April, 1950, the Communists began to establish monitoring stations throughout the country. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has since broadcast the main programs for the monitoring stations all over Red China, including the Northwest. In 1950, there was only one program lasting 7 1/2 hours per day. From 1954 on, it increased to two programs with a total broadcasting

*668 violate rules and regulations are stressed as they were in the monarchal days.

[626] Social pressure is also great. With the whole population organized under the Communists' tight control, the entire society can be mobilized to work against crime and political conspiracies. This has been well demonstrated by the various "anti" movements and the study groups.

174 B. Current Problems of Administration

Because of the tight governmental control of news and the dis-
*668 tance which separates northwest China from the outside world,
[656] very little information has been obtained about resistance activities in the area. However, judging by the meager information offered by the Communists themselves, their rule over the northwest has not been very smooth. The Communists seldom, if ever, reveal their troubles while they are current, but they do uncover some facts when the resistance has been suppressed. By careful screening, one may piece together the picture of subversive activities in the area. Sometimes they were on an alarming scale. To help clarify this general background, some excerpts from the Chinese Communists' own reports and a few indirect quotations are presented as examples.

1. "During the past year, (i.e. 1950)...we have destroyed
*175 more than 69,600 bandits in the northwest. Right now there are
579 still more than 5,400 active bandits. The largest group is the one
*668 under the leadership of Osman and Husein who are hiding in the
669 deep mountains along the border line between the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. There are about two to three thousand men in this group. The rest of the bandits are in small groups linked with various underground spies and the rural counter-revolutionary forces. The condition is still very complicated..." (Jen-min ch'u-pan-she: Cheng-fu kung-tso pao-jao, 1950, p. 418, Report on the book of the Government.)

2. "...the misunderstanding...between the various nation-
*175 alities has not yet been thoroughly dissolved. Consciously or un-
563 consciously,...the Pan-Chinese idea still exists in our Chinese
*668 cadres' mind. Besides, we still have some serious shortcomings
669 and mistakes in our nationality work. When the remnants of the bandits and spies fanned up the feelings of the people, it led to the disputes that occurred among the nationality groups in certain areas after the liberation. In the area of Lin-hsia (in Kansu), the military conflict between the Moslems and the Chinese caused more than one thousand deaths and the dislocation of more than 30,000 people who were forced to leave their homes. The loss in production was even more serious.

"In Ta-t'ung county of Chinghai, the T'ung-hsin-ch'eng of Ninghsia, in the area of P'ing-liang of Kansu, there have been

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*668 more, in places where restrictions are exercised over the slaugh-
796 ter of cattle and sheep, these restrictions may be relaxed.
• 656

*668 B. Guided Tours
484 Representatives of national minorities from northwest China
648 are invited to visit Peking and other urban centers of north and
*563 east China. They are guided to see the factories, schools and
palaces of historical interest. After being deeply impressed they
are sent back to their homes. They often become good native
propagandists for the Party.

*668 C. School Programs
208 In local schools, the pupils are not spared from propaganda.
876 For instance, in the Mongol schools in the province of Chinghai:
"In mathematics, the number of American and bandit Rhee's
troops annihilated by the Chinese and Korean people's armies in
Korea and the construction figures in Chinghai were made into
questions for the students and the masses to solve. By this way,
they not only learned mathematics but they also retained in their
minds the victorious results of our war and the great achieve-
ments in construction following the liberation." (Sian, Ch'un-
chung jih-pao, March 30, 1952.)

*668 D. Other Methods
208 The whole propaganda system generally functions as follows.
When the Party central committee decides to promote certain
propaganda, it orders the reporter at every level of the Party
organization to report the party line to the people inside as well
as outside the Party. Then the propagandists and activists all
go out to do the work. This can be done in various ways, accord-
ing to the situation. In factories, it may be a kind of question
and answer. The workers might be asked to check each other
with these questions until all got the right answers. In streets,
it might be in the form of door-to-door visits and "casual chats."
While these were going on, the people would be bombarded daily
with the same theme in newspapers, blackboard newspapers, wall
newspapers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, pictures, cartoons,
radio broadcasts, concerts, lantern slides, movies, plays, operas,
story-tellers, picture-story books, street meetings, signature
drives, production competitions, challenges, counter-challenges..
and a lot of other devices to drive the point home.

V. The Campaigns and Contents of Propaganda.

A. Campaigns
1. Destruction of organized resistance
The contents of propaganda follow the shifts in the Party line.

159 and the so-called Four Ma, all of M
[614] k'ui is one of them. His father, Ma
Yun-t'ing), served in the early year
High Commissioner for Chinghai, et
Division for Altai, and later in the s
1913, the Commission of the Guards
When the Revolution of 1911 broke
[669] studying at the military school in La
small part in the revolution by mobi
school and trying, unsuccessfully, t
points in the city.
159 He started his military career w
701 Ninghsia as a batallion leader. In 19
transferred to be the garrison comm
promoted as commanding officer of
During the war between Chang Tso-
P'ei-fu of Chihli (Hopei) Province, h
commander of the cavalry in Jehol,
inces. After the war was over, he f
eral Feng Yu-hsiang to Peking. In 1
pedition started, he followed Genera
the expedition. At this time his troo
Fourth Army of the First Army Gro
mander of the Fourth Army. In 1928
China and his troops suffered a grea
was settled, he regrouped his troops
was put in charge of suppressing the
[669] of Shantung Province. In April, 1929
hsiang revolted against the Nationali
Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Ma
tionalist Government. His troops we
the 11th Army. In 1930, his army wa
my Group and was in charge of patro
Tientsin-Pukou Railway lines. In the
dered to go to Ninghsia, and on Janu
pointed governor of Ninghsia.
When Ma Hung-k'ui took over the
159 province of Ninghsia was in a deplor
185 from floods and the ravages of Ma C
• 656 peace and prosperity to the people,
[579] up the remnants of the bandits in his
the Pao-chia system by which the pe
insure against the recurrence of ban
measures to put a gradual end to the
opium. Fourth, he stabilized the cu
improved the taxation system. Simu
policies of improving land administr

159 afforestation, construction and repair of roads, and introducing
185 the irrigation system. During the fifteen years of his adminis-
[656] tration, 1933-1948, Ninghsia Province changed from a land of devastation to a land of peace and normalcy, achieved by ruthless regimentation.

159 648 When the war between Japan and China broke out in 1937, Ma Hung-k'uei volunteered to fight the enemy. Because of the importance of the Northwest, and because of the importance of Ninghsia as the gateway to the Northwest, he was ordered by the Central Government to stay in Ninghsia to guard that strategic area against Communist infiltration. From 1937-1945, however, Ninghsia became a part of the Eighth War Area, and Ma was appointed as the deputy commander-in-chief. When the war against Japan was brought to an end in 1945, he was appointed deputy director of the Northwest Headquarters of the president.
159 669 When all-out fighting started between the Nationalists and the Communists, he was given the post of deputy Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area. In July 1949, when the Communist troops began to push their way to the Northwest, he joined Ma Pu-feng, another member of the famous Ma clan, then Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area, to set up defense lines. But the victorious forces of the Communists broke through all these lines and pushed their way to the eastern and southern parts of Kansu Province. The two Ma flew to Canton, the provisional capital, to see Vice-President General Li Tsung-jen for new instructions. It was decided to concentrate the troops to defend Lanchou. On August 25, 1949, when the troops of Ma Hung-k'uei were still some eighty miles away from Lanchou, the Communist troops had already reached that city. By the middle of September, 1949, the whole Northwest, including Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, was taken over by the Communists.

[631] In 1949 when the Nationalist Government took up the defense of Kansu Province, Ma was appointed concurrently as governor of Kansu. His administrative record in Kansu was short-lived. The Communists took over the whole Northwest by September, 1949. When the Nationalist Government retreated to Taiwan, both the military and political life of Ma Hung-k'uei came to an end. He entered the United States and lived a life of retirement in San Francisco.

159 Ma Hung-pin (1883-)

Another of the Four Ma who once ruled the Northwest of modern China, Ma Hung-pin is a cousin of Ma Hung-k'uei, governor of Ninghsia Province from 1933-1948 and governor of Kansu Province from 1948-50. Together with Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing of Chinghai Province, they were usually called the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest.

*668 As to control on the retail level, it is exercised through the
474 various cooperatives and the mobile trading units. As far as the
443 cooperatives are concerned, detailed information is not avail-
656 able. However, a recent report on the state of trade in the
43 rural market, Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu, may well illus-
trate how deeply the Communist control has penetrated into the
*668 rural areas. According to this report, Lo-men-chen is one of
the large rural markets in the county of Wu-shan, which lies
443 near T'ien-shui on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. The market
656 is open on every other day, and the number of people coming to
43 trade is usually between five and six thousand. Before the Communists took over, there was no government control over such markets. But under the Communist regime, the following measures have been adopted (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1956, No. 2, pp. 94-96):

(655) 1. State Purchase: The Communists demand that farmers or producers sell certain commodities to the state trading companies or their agencies before they may sell elsewhere. Such commodities, in 1954, were grain and oil products.

2. Controlled Markets: The Communists have put five commodities under their direct control. They are grain, cattle, lumber, firewood and hemp. Prices are fixed by those who are in charge of economic control, and trade is conducted mainly on the wholesale level under the supervision of the Communist cadres. The volume of trade of these commodities in 1954 amounted to 276,422 yüan (approximately U.S. $110,000), constituting some 30 per cent of the total value of trade of Lo-men-chen.

3. Free Markets at Fixed Locations: Such markets are conducted in a specific place, and the Communists do not regulate the quantity nor the price. In 1954, the volume of trade in these markets amounted to 448,379 yüan, constituting some 60 per cent of the total value of Lo-men-chen trade. The main commodities belonging to this category are straw hats (seasonal), bamboo and wood articles (mostly farming implements), hemp rope, hemp shoes, vegetables, fruits and chinaware. The participants include the agencies of the state trading companies and the cooperatives.

4. Mobile Free Markets: These include peddlers who are not under government control and do not have a definite place of marketing. Trade of this nature is necessarily on a very small scale, the total volume constituting about ten per cent of the total trade of Lo-men-chen.

It is mentioned in the same report that government control
has made remarkable progress since 1953. In 1953, all retail
*(175) trade of Lo-men-chen amounted to 2,123,682 yüan (NJMP), of
(655) which amount the state trading companies handled 3.58 per cent,
(474)

*668 the cooperatives handled 2.65 per cent and 93.77 per cent was
443 handled privately. But in 1954, private trade was reduced to
• 656 43.02 per cent, state trade increased to 41.55 per cent and that
43 of cooperatives increased to 15.43 per cent, the total being
*175 2,372,936 yüan. In the first five months of 1955, the private
655 trade comprised only 23.42 per cent of the total of 871,234 yüan,
474 and the state and cooperatives handled 74.36 per cent. Although
all this is the situation in one single rural community, it can be
assumed that it is typical.

*668 The mobile trading units are especially designed for the con-
443 trol of trade in the so-called national minority regions where the
people are mostly nomads. They travel from one place to an-
563 other, to provide the herdsmen with the supplies they want and
43 to buy up their products. According to a semi-official statement
concerning the trade in the national minority regions (cf. Hsin-
hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79), the Communists aim to
achieve two things in this connection. One is to raise the stan-
dard of living of the minority peoples by giving them better
terms of trade. For instance, the exchange ratios between wool
[175] (the main export) and tea and cloth (the main imports) in Hsi-
ning from 1950 to 1954 were as follows:

Table X: Exchange Ratios between Wool, Cloth and Tea in Hsi-ning

Year	Price of Wool per 100 catties (yüan)	Exchange Ratio with respect to: 1. cloth	2. tea
		(No. pieces per 100 catties/wool)	
1950	745,700	2.29	11.61
1951	1,042,700	3.09	19.61
1952	1,230,758	3.71	28.13
1953	1,278,825	4.18	34.44
1954	1,258,000	4.18	31.45

Source: Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 3., p. 146.

The other aim is to drive foreign goods out of the national minority regions and replace them with goods made in China. If the Communists really mean what they said, this would lead to a sharp conflict between Chinese and Soviet goods, especially in Sinkiang, where Soviet goods have long been very popular. However, no detailed information on this matter is now available.

*668 C. Evaluation and Prospects
According to Communist propaganda, trade control in the
43 Northwest has been very successful. For instance, they boasted
*175 that the per capita purchase of commodities in Liu-lin-chu, Yao-
hsien, Shensi, has increased from 345,000 yüan in 1953 to

657

657 PUBLIC WELFARE--pensions and welfare services for government employees; government care and administration of dependent ethnic groups (e.g., reservations); extent of public support of social work, welfare, relief, social insurance, and public health; etc. See also:

Social problems . . . . 73 Public health 744
Government housing programs . . . . 362 Social insurance 745
Public parks and playgrounds . . . . 367 Public assistance 746
Administration of dependent territories 636

The newest
311 development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang,
is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the
sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates,
salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only
563 outnumbered but also outweighed in economic and political
respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have
been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as
Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they
never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier
areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum
of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the
lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed them-
selves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or
governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking
175 was to make use of the existing form of governmental institu-
642 tions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-
177 Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang,"
631 i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had
existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The
[171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols
were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental
institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners
ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in
Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks
[668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist
[565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were ruled by Bäks with various
175 ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk,
631 "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue";
795 the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintend-
647 ant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi,
• 657 "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by
the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon
the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor,
although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang,
Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the
province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese
175 military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi,
631 Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc.
647 Relay stations provided communication between the government
[202] in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness
of the means of communications was an important duty of
000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile high-
ways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

S N
489 Only since 1950 have some automobile high-
496 ways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation
648 with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway,
668 linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without
175 doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and
[491] above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral
S N nomadism.

631 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols
563 (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders
563 of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia
657 and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form
175 leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until
S N the Communists came into power.

563 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the
657 course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed:
175 the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to
exploit, and to sinify them.

S
631 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province
635 of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after
175 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were
S administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.
631 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia,
657 Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as de-
175 pendencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of
the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian
647 west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bëk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bëk's policy

students from the nationalities to learn prophylactic and therapeutic work." (FBIS, November 30, 1955).

Particular attention has also been paid to the Tibetan region as a whole and to Chinghai Province. About health programs developed in Tibet we have the following information: "Over 5 million yüan have been allocated by the Central People's Government to develop health work in the Tibet region during the past four years. During this time hospitals have been built in Lhasa and Chamdo; in addition, clinics and mobile medical teams have given service to patients in small towns and remote areas. Incomplete statistics show that free medical treatment and innoculation reached 963,000 people. In the same period, 170 Tibetans have been trained as medical workers. The Central People's Government has sent more than 400 doctors and nurses from other parts of the country to the region.

Plans were drawn up at a regional health conference of leading members of Tibet's health organizations and representatives of the Ministry of Public Health to establish more clinics and mobile medical teams and to train 50 to 80 Tibetan medical workers in the coming two years." (FBIS 181, September 16, 1955).

In Chinghai province itself, the Provincial Health Office administers the health program. Health clinics have been established in different parts of the province. The work here is more difficult because of the many nomadic tribes in the steppes. The Communists have aimed to train people among the nomads to take the position of medical personnel in their tribe. Progress in this area is slower. Some of the bigger already established clinics have been converted to hospitals.

According to their reports, on the whole, the progress made by the Communist Government in the field of health and sanitation is quite impressive. The first positive steps toward improving the health and sanitation conditions have been taken, but there is still much to be done in the future.

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. Introduction

Welfare work in China's Northwest has to be conducted for the benefit of two distinct categories of people in need. The poor are composed of those whose problems arose out of inadequate standards of living. They include the aged and disabled, the orphans and other destitute or handicapped people. Marginal cases of this category are the underprivileged groups of society, who might maintain themselves, even though precariously, in years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and charity organizations normally available to this category are discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

The second category however, the victims of natural disasters, poses a special problem in the Northwest. As has been demonstrated in other Sections of this Handbook, the maintainence of agriculture in the Northwest is more dependent upon conservancy and irrigation projects than in other regions of China. During the last period of the Imperial era, many of these projects have fallen into disrepair, thus exposing the area to more critical inundations and droughts. Reports from the Imperial period reveal that there were fourteen severe inundations in the province of Shensi during the hundred years 1800-1900 and seven in Kansu. The same century brought sixteen severe droughts to Shensi and nine to Kansu. The droughts of 1877 which encompassed both provinces, of 1900/01 in Shensi, and of 1908/09 in Kansu were catastrophes of a national extent.

The frequency and severity of earthquakes in the Northwest adds to the problems of the region, particularly since in many areas of the region people live in loess caves. The great earthquake of 1879 which hit both Shensi and Kansu, the one of 1881 in Kansu and the ones of 1892 in the Kucha district of Sinkiang and the Hsi-ning district of Chinghai are still in everybody's memory, even though the twenties of our century have again brought two devastating earthquakes.

Nor is this all. During the last hundred years the Northwest has been ravaged by rebellions and civil wars almost without interruption. Several of these events left in their wake a vast number of displaced and needy people, who added to the problems of emergency and disaster relief.

II. Welfare Among the Moslems

A. The Distribution of Welfare Responsibilities

Most of the efforts in the field of public welfare among the

by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food, shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

The realization grew however that with regard to natural disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

Unfortunately, there is very little information available on the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

done in public welfare. The information about the situation in the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-194_), that the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers; organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

The activities of the National Relief Commission included care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them sere sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Chinghai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

These internal differences have made it impossible for the people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated government of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary movement and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China, but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung-t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social structures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mongols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them, while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs; they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control. Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

III. Functions of Propaganda System

A. Sounding Board

This propaganda network has another important function. It also checks public opinion and relays it to the Party. Every propagandist is supposed to report back not only what he has said but also what the public has said to him. Since the Communist Party has control of all newspapers, radio broadcast programs and other means of public information, there is no other way of knowing the true feelings of the people. Thus, the propaganda machine is utilized to sound out public opinion, in order to better deal with the public.

Furthermore, the propaganda machine is fluid and can be used as a weapon in every field. (For the details, see the Propaganda section of the General Handbook).

B. Work with National Minorities

1. "Central People's Government Mission to National Minorities of Northwest"

Besides the regular propaganda organizations, special groups and teams have been sent at various times to different areas. For instance, in 1950 the Communists sent a "Central People's Government Mission to the National Minorities in the Northwest." The chief of the mission was Shen Chun-ju, the deputy chiefs were Sa K'ung-liao and Ma Yu-kwei. The mission visited Panchan Lama on November 1, at Kumbum monastery in Chinghai. There they also attended a welcome meeting of 12,000 people of all the nationalities in Chinghai. The Panchan Lama presented Shan, Sa and Ma with katag, consisting of silk woven portraits of Buddha, the most precious gift to the Tibetans (obviously these were specially made, usually there is no portrait of Buddha), and expressed his profound respects for, and gratitude to, Chairman Mao Tse-tung. "At the welcome meeting to the mission at Sining city on November 2, representatives of seven nationalities in Chinghai submitted to Chairman Mao a katag consisting of a silk banner more than 10 geet in length, inscribed with words in the Chinese, Arabic and Tibetan languages, stating: "Most Respected and Honored Chairman Mao; under your glorious banner, we have achieved equality, mutual assistance, love and unity." On the top of the banner there were attached 8 national flags of China and the portrait of Mao, at the bottom were paintings of the people of the seven nationalities in the province. (NCNA, November 4, 1950).

Of course, these activities greatly impressed the local people. This same mission in different groups visited Ninghsia and Sinkiang.

In 1952 the Party promoted an ideological remoulding and study campaign among the literary and art circles in the Northwest. Many of those so indoctrinated were organized into groups and sent

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658 PUBLIC EDUCATION--extent of direct and indirect public support to education; government sponsorship and support of the fine arts, pure science, libraries, and museums; etc. See also:

Fine arts 53
Science 81
Education 87
Libraries and museums 217
Musical and theatrical productions 548

EDUCATION

I. Nationality Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. The Traditional Pattern

During the Manchu period, education in the Northwest was characterized by permissive and non-interfering policies of the government. This meant that the minorities were able to maintain and develop their own educational systems. During this period schools connected with the mosques, in the case of the Moslems, and the monasteries, in the case of the Buddhists, were the primary educational institutions. The minorities were allowed to formulate their own educational principles. It may be noteworthy that in the Manchu period, eighteen medrese, mosque schools, existed in Kashgar alone. Reading and writing were taught in these schools, and up to two thousand students were enrolled in the schools in any given year. The total number of medrese in the Northwest during the Manchu rule is unknown, but it is safe to say that each Moslem community had at least one educational institution.

1. Moslem schools

The Mohammedans have two kinds of school. The mekteb, elementary school for children, is administered by the local mosque. These schools provide education for all male children older than six. Since 1923 the Mohammedans have initiated the same educational provisions for girls.

The program of a mekteb comprises, first, the memorizing of a surprisingly high number of suras (chapters of the Koran), then the study of the Arabic alphabet, which is used by the Uighur. By memorizing various suras the pupils acquire some hundred Arabic words by the end of the first year, though their meanings do not become clear until the fifth year when the teaching of Arabian grammar is begun. Between the fifth and tenth years the curriculum covers advanced Koran exegesis, the history of Islam, geography and basic arithmetic.

The medrese, the institutions of higher learning, also teach such familiar subjects as al-mantik (logic), al-arithmāṭīḳī (arithmetic), al-handasa (geometry), al-hai'a (astronomy), al-ṭibb (medicine), al-falāḥa (agriculture); also some subjects which are specifically Islamic in nature, such as al-kalām (theology), al-taṣawwuf (ceremonies or practical theology), 'ilm al-ilāhīyāt (metaphysics), al-'arūḍ (metrics) and al-ḳāfiya (prosody).

As in elementary schools, the method of education consists primarily of learning by rote (talkīn) and dictation. Those

arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.: C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memoriaed.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan ṅags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural by-products. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational system as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Education became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

The plan was to enforce four years of compulsory education in lower elementary schools, and a great effort was made to establish new schools in all the major centers of the nationalities. In Sinkiang, however, this development had not yet superseded the importance of the mosque schools. Figures (for 1941) on the number of schools and on school attendance are as follows:

Table 1

No. of Schools and Students in Sinkiang, 1941*

	Schools	Students		
		Male	Female	Total
Chinese Public Schools	236	9,461	1,979	11,430
Mosque Schools	1152	62,198	12,982	75,180
Total	1,388	71,659	14,961	86,610

* (Hsü Ch'ung-hao, Hsin-chiang chih-lüch, 1944, pp. 232-233.)

According to another source, the schools were mostly established and operated by the cultural associations of various nationalities in Sinkiang. These cultural associations maintain offices in most of the cities of Sinkiang, with headquarters in Urumchi. They were supported by the ahungs, the village head men, living buddhas, princes and native chieftains, and they had a greater influence upon the promotion of education in Sinkiang than the provincial bureau of education. The number of schools operated by these cultural associations and the number of students enrolled in the schools in the year 1938 were as follows:

Table 2

Schools Operated by Cultural Associations in Sinkiang, 1938*

	Schools	Students
Uighur Cultural Associations	1,540	89,804
Kazakh Cultural Associations	275	14,322
Moslem Cultural Associations	1	44
Mongolian Cultural Associations	24	917
Total	1,840	105,087

*(Ch'en Chi-ying, Hsin-chiang Niao-k'an, Changsha, 1941, p. 36f.)

The Uzbeks, Tatars and Kuei-hua (White Russians) also have cultural associations which operate schools. Statistics about them, however, are not available. It is possible that there is a

certain amount of overlapping of the figures in Tables 1 and 2.

During the war years there was an expansion of schools in Sinkiang. By 1946 the number was as follows:

Table 3

Schools in Sinkiang in 1946 *

1. Schools under the Provincial Bureau of Education
   a. Higher Education: 2 (the Sinkiang College and the Sinkiang Women's College, both at Urumchi)
   b. Middle Grade Schools:
      (1) Middle Schools
         Senior Grade: 4 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 4 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chuguchak)
      (2) Normal Schools
         Senior Grade: 2 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 5 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chugachak, one at Aksu)
   c. Vocational Schools
      Senior Grade: 2 (one at Ining, one at Chuguchak)
      Primary School Level: 4 (Urumchi, Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu)
   d. Public Schools, primary level: 580
2. Schools under the Cultural Associations:
   a. Primary Schools: 1,883.

*(Ministry of Information, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

Government sponsored education of Mongols and Tibetans was already initiated in 1910, when the comptroller-general of Chinghai founded the Chinghai Mongolian Academy at Hsi-ning. This school was conceived for service to the Mongol Banners exclusively.

A somewhat peculiar situation existed in Chinghai after the revolution of 1911. Chinghai in this period was ruled by Moslem generals, who persued a rather fair policy toward ethnic groups. The activities of one of these Moslem generals, Ma-Ch'i, should be stressed. The goal he set for himself was the introduction of at least one primary school in every community of Chinghai, regardless of the ethnic composition of the particular community. His activities were marked by his insistence that all children should learn Chinese in addition to their own language. Besides, he developed and enlarged the training of the ahung (teacher or lowest priestly rank). His first act upon becoming vice-governor of the province was the establishment of

the first middle school in this area.

After the revolution of 1911, the Chinghai Mongolian Academy was renamed Ning-hai Mongolian and Native School, and was now open to other ethnic groups such as Tibetans, Chinese and Moslems. In 1919 this school added a department for the training of elementary school teachers. Since the enrollment of Mongol and Tibetan children steadily decreased after 1919, the government ordered the Mongol nobles to send the children under their jurisdiction to this school. In 1926 the school was again enlarged, and renamed the Planning School of Frontier Development. After the addition of a middle school to this institution, it became the center of secondary education in the area. The curriculum of this school comprised language training in Mongolian, Tibetan and Chinese. Otherwise the school program corresponded to that of other middle schools in China proper. In 1929 the department of vocational education was separated from the school and became the First Provincial Vocational School. The Planning School itself was then renamed First Provincial Middle School. About this time other schools, such as First Provincial Normal School, First Provincial Girls' Middle School and First Provincial Agricultural School, were founded.

In 1930 the First Middle School provided a Mongolian and Tibetan normal division as a course of study; this division became in 1937 an independent Tibetan and Mongolian Normal School under the supervision of the Chinghai Bureau of Education. The authorities of the Chinghai Moslem Association, to eliminate the differences between the various minorities, established also their own middle school.

There were three cultural organizations in Chinghai worthy of note, namely the Tibetan Language Study Association, which translated the Three Principles of the People into Tibetan, and provided Tibetan school children with Tibetan reading and grammar books; the Tibetan Culture Promotion Association, which was founded in 1931 and which was supported by military and political leaders. Its objectives were to propagate the Three Principles of the People in a manner that would awaken the Mongols and Tibetans from their so-called backward cultural condition. A further goal of this association was to unify Tibetan and Mongol culture, and to maintain the physical existence of these minorities. Third, there existed a "Moslem Promotion Association which was primarily concerned with promotion of general education among the Moslems of Chinghai and their indoctrination with the Three Principles of the People. A further objective was to overcome certain racial resentments that existed among various minority groups in the area. Branch associations were set up in all counties (hsien) where Moslems live. The headquarters for all branches was located at Hsi-ning,

and attached to these headquarters was a primary and a middle school. The Moslem Promotion Association, discussed here, operated a total of eighty-three primary schools, twelve of them senior primary schools. They had a total of 5,300 students and 201 teachers.

The main purpose of the government during wartime, in bringing educational facilities to the Northwest, was to unify and reconstruct the cultures of the ethnic minorities along Chinese principles with equal emphasis in primary education on citizenship training, language, vocation and hygiene. In secondary education, the Kuomintang government attempted to develop or initiate technical abilities.

During World War II the Kuomintang government showed some interest in the education of the nomadic Tibetans. Chiang Kai-shek induced some tribal leaders to carry a school tent with their tribes. These tents served as primary educational centers. This move was revolutionary, as it was the first type of education, or at least of organized education, to reach the nomadic Tibetans.

Up to 1945 the educational program sponsored by the provincial authorities was as follows:

1. In Chinghai: As of 1943, there were eleven nationality schools operated by the Mongolian-Tibetan Cultural Promotion Association. These eleven schools supplemented the forty-four Mongolian-Tibetan Nationality Schools already in existence. Following the transfer of the Chinghai headquarters of the Mongolian-Tibetan Cultural Promotion Association to Yü-shu in 1943, six more nationality schools were established, of which two were directly under the administration of the association. In addition, the association established two training classes for teachers of Mongolian and Tibetan, one at Ta-t'ung and one at Yü-shu. Hsi-jao-chia-tso, with the financial assistance of the Ministry of Education of the National Government, also established a training class for the teaching of Chinese language to the native teachers.

2. In Ninghsia: The educational program of the local authorities received a boost when the Yün-t'ing Educational-Cultural Fund of one million dollars was appropriated. The money, however, was in depreciated currency of the National Government and did not amount to much, but with it the provincial authorities were able to set up twelve Yun-t'ing Primary Schools which had a total of twenty-five hundred students. In Ninghsia the number of mosque schools was much fewer than in Sinkiang. Here there were, up to 1945, only twelve classes with a total of two hundred and forty students. There were two nationality schools, one at T'ao-yueh and one at T'eng-k'ou, one banner school and a teacher training class in the Alashan Banner.

3. Kansu: The educational program was more advanced than in the other provinces in the Northwest. The number of schools and students as of 1945 was as follows:

Table 4

No. of Schools and Students in Kansu, 1945*

	Teachers	Students
1. Middle Schools		
a. Under Provincial Bureau of Education		
(1) Hsia-ho Normal School		112
b. Private		
(1) Northwest Middle School, Lan-chou	25	211
(2) Ch'ing-yun Middle School, Wu-wei	28	314
(3) Yun-t'ing Middle School, Lin-hsia	11	74
(4) K'uei-feng Middle School, Lin-hsia	9	68
2. Primary Schools		
a. Border Region Nationality Schools		
12 schools	85	2,124
b. County (Hsien) Nationality Schools		
129 schools	313	7,198
3. One mobile team of teachers for Mongols in northern Kansu		

*(Ministry of Education, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

II. Chinese Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. Education under the National Government

During recent decades, the education in Northwest China has been backward compared to that in the coastal provinces. The educational standards within Northwest China also differed greatly. Generally speaking, the farther the people lived from the big cities, the less they were educated.

Even though the general Chinese school system was introduced also to the Northwest, in remote places the so-called schools were scarcely different from the old-fashioned tutor system.

The provincial authorities were handicapped by the shortage of funds as they struggled to set up schools with what little was appropriated to them by the Central Government. In 1935, the Central Government appropriated half a million dollars for border education, and within two years the following schools were established:

In Kansu: A training class for village teachers and fifty-five primary schools.

In Chinghai: A normal school for the teaching of Mongolian and Tibetan at Hsining, two middle schools, 143 primary

• 658
871 schools.
*175 In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.
563 Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the
658 great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongol-
792 ian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan Peo-
871 ple's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

*175 During the war against Japan, with the migration of the
166 coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war
871 front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest en-
[648] joyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built
[658] up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

658 Under the school system of the National Government, chil-
872 dren started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better
658 off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from
873 the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected
[874] group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocational schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

658 873 [874] or other professions to those who would enter a profession immediately after graduation. The normal schools offered training for grade school teachers. Each of these three types of schools was divided into two periods of three years each, the junior and the senior. In the Northwest, the government pushed toward the goal of having at least one junior secondary school in each county, and a senior secondary school at every center of each of the provinces. Not only were the normal schools free of tuition, but the government supplied board, room, books and even pocket money against the obligation to teach for a certain number of years.

873 Of institutions of higher education before the war, there was a National Northwest Junior Agricultural College in Wu-kung, Shensi, with modern buildings, equipment and vast experimental farms. In Sian, Shensi, there was the National Northeast University which had moved from Mukden to Sian after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. In Lanchou, Kansu, there was a college with very low standards. In Urumchi, Sinkiang, there was the Sinkiang College.

After the war broke out in 1937, the Northeast University moved from Sian into Szechwan. But three other important institutions moved into Shensi, the National Peking University (Peiping), the National Peiping Normal University and the National Peiyang University of Tientsin. These three were combined to form the Northwest United University (later called Northwest University) and stayed in Ch'eng-ku, Shensi. Later the engineering school was separated to form the Northwest Engineering College, with its campus at Ku-lu-pa, Shensi.

873 874 At the time the Communists took over, there were more institutions of higher education in the Northwest than ever before. The following list shows the increase of these schools during the war and post-war years:

1. Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
2. Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
3. Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu
4. Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
5. Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
6. Sinkiang Provincial College, Urumchi, Sinkiang
7. Northwest Agricultural Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu
8. Shensi Provincial Junior Commercial College, Sian, Shensi
9. Shensi Provincial Junior Normal College, Sian, Shensi
10. Shensi Provincial Junior Medical College, Sian, Shensi
11. Private Northwest Pharmaceutic Junior College, Sian, Shensi

(Ministry of Education: Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

In addition, in 1946, were the following institutions not of

III. Functions of Propaganda System

*668 **A. Sounding Board**

208 This propaganda network has another important function. It also checks public opinion and relays it to the Party. Every propagandist is supposed to report back not only what he has said but also what the public has said to him. Since the Communist Party has control of all newspapers, radio broadcast programs and other means of public information, there is no other way of knowing the true feelings of the people. Thus, the propaganda machine is utilized to sound/out public opinion, in order to better deal with the public.

Furthermore, the propaganda machine is fluid and can be used as a weapon in every field. (For the details, see the Propaganda section of the General Handbook).

B. Work with National Minorities

*668 1. "Central People's Government Mission to National Minorities of Northwest"

657 Besides the regular propaganda organizations, special groups

*563 and teams have been sent at various times to different areas. For instance, in 1950 the Communists sent a "Central People's Government Mission to the National Minorities in the Northwest." The chief of the mission was Shen Chun-ju, the deputy chiefs were Sa K'ung-liao and Ma Yu-kwei. The mission visited Panchan Lama on November 1, at Kumbum monastery in Chinghai, There they also attended a welcome meeting of 12,000 people of all the nationalities in Chinghai. The Panchan Lama presented Shan, Sa and Ma with katag, consisting of silk woven portraits of Buddha, the most precious gift to the Tibetans (obviously these were specially made, usually there is no portrait of Buddha), and expressed his profound respects for, and gratitude to, Chairman Mao Tse-tung. "At the welcome meeting to the mission at Sining city on November 2, representatives of seven nationalities in Chinghai submitted to Chairman Mao a katag consisting of a silk banner more than 10 geet in length, inscribed with words in the Chinese, Arabic and Tibetan languages, stating: "Most Respected and Honored Chairman Mao; under your glorious banner, we have achieved equality, mutual assistance, love and unity." On the top of the banner there were attached 8 national flags of China and the portrait of Mao, at the bottom were paintings of the people of the seven nationalities in the province. (NCNA, November 4, 1950).

Of course, these activities greatly impressed the local people. This same mission in different groups visited Ninghsia and Sinkiang.

*668 In 1952 the Party promoted an ideological remoulding and study campaign among the literary and art circles in the Northwest.

658 Many of those so indoctrinated were organized into groups and sent

*668 to factories, rural villages, areas along the railways and in the
• 658 minority districts. Among them, 45 literary and art workers in Sian formed twelve creative writing teams and proceeded to factories, rural villages, areas along the Tienshui-Lanchow railway cities.

2. Propaganda missions by minority representatives

*668 a. To minority areas

658 There was another form of propaganda team which included
*563 well-known local leaders as members, with one of them as the head of the group. They were sent to a particular area to win over its minority groups. For instance, in June, 1952, the Northwest Military Administrative Committee sent out two propaganda missions from Sian, one to the Tibetan districts in southern Kansu and the other to pastoral districts in southern Chinghai. Each of these two divided again into two sub-groups. The first sub-group of the mission to the pastoral districts in southern Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-tso (Tibetan), visited the Mongolian banners and Chien-cha districts; the second sub-group, led by Hsia-jih-tsang, the Tibetan Living Buddha of Tung-jen hsien, Chinghai, visited Tung-teh and Tung-jen. The first and second sub-groups of the mission to the Tibetan districts in Kansu arrived at Hsia-ho and Lin-tan on July 17 and 20 respectively. The first sub-group led by Chief Huang Cheng-ch'ing (Tibetan) and Deputy Chiefs, Chu Hsia-fu, Ma Pei-ching (Moslem) and Huang hsiang, offered gifts to Labrang Monastery and its Living Buddha, Chia-mu-yang VI, on July 24. The visiting mission's welcome by the
[576] Tibetans, who had awaited the mission along the Mien-hsien-Hsia-ho highway, included the most solemn welcome ceremony of salutes fired from horseback and the presentation of katags. Abbot Tachi of Labrang Monastery and the leader of the mosque, Kung Ching-lu, were also present to welcome the mission at the outskirt of Labrang. Similar organizations were formed on other occasions.

b. To Peking, etc.

*668 Besides organizing and sending propaganda teams to the minori-
658 ty groups, the local minority people were also organized and trans-
*563 ported inland, especially to the Red capital, Peking, for short visits.
484 There they were exposed to systematic propaganda. They might come to attend meetings, to give performances, to receive training and education, or simply to have a sightseeing tour. The following are some examples.

"The preparatory meeting of the Chinese Moslem Association was held in Peking on July 27-31. The meeting was initiated and convened by eight well-known Moslems among minority nationalities: Burhan, Liu Ko-ping, Saifudin, Ta Pu-cheng, Ma Chien, Pang Shih-ch'ien, Yang Ching-jen and Ma Yu-huai. The meeting was attended by 53 delegates from all parts of China. Among them were Akhuns, Mullah and responsible people of the Moslem groups

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

*668 of Muslim-Hui, Uighurs (Sarigh-Uighur), Kazaks, Usbeks, Tatars,
• 658 and Tung-hsiang nationalities. (NCNA Peking, August 4, 1952).

*563 A 45 member delegation from 15 different nationalities of
484 Northwest China arrived in Peking yesterday to take part in the coming October 1st National Day celebrations....

The Northwest delegation, headed by Mainor, an Uigur woman, included the following 15 nationalities: Han, Hui, Uigur, Kazakh, Mongolian, Tibetan, Tunghsiang, (Sarigh-Uighur), Uzbek, Manchu, Tartar, Solon, Khalhas (Kirgiz), Tajik, Sibo and Russian." (NCNA Peking, September 24, 1952).

*668 3. Minority group organizations

*563 Various nation-wide organizations such as the China Buddhist
794 Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, the Chinese Moslem Cultural Association, and the China-Soviet Friendship Association were organized with numerous minority and local leaders as members and sponsors. The local chapters also have propaganda departments. For instance, the Tibetan Buddhists in Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o contributed 728,750,000 for the Resist-America Aid Korea movement in the year 1951 alone. Some monasteries signed patriotic compacts and launched programs of propaganda on current events. According to Hsi-jao-chia-ts'os report,

"The next step is to expand the propaganda work, mobilize the lamas to organize propaganda teams, make use of temple fairs or festivals for propaganda activities, and carry the propaganda deep into the rural villages and nomadic regions.... In pushing the autonomous work in the minority region, Buddhism should give more active support and preach the nationality policy of the People's Government." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 23, 1951.)

Besides the Buddhists, the Moslems are used to promote the
[788] Communist programs, not only in Northwest China, but some were
[648] organized into pilgrim groups to visit Mecca and the Moslem nations in the Near East in order to win the friendship of these nations for Red China.

*668 The special effort to create Sino-Soviet Friendship Associa-
648 tions in northwest China can be seen in the following incomplete figures. By September of 1951, Sino-Soviet Friendship Association organizations had been organized in four provinces, four municipalities, thirty-six administrative districts and 157 hsien in northwest China. There were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations with a total membership of 336,610 of all nationalities. The purpose of this association is to tell the people of the merits of the USSR.

Obviously a special attempt has been made in Northwest China to capture the minorities with propaganda.

659

659 MISCELLANEOUS GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES--governmental activities not classifiable elsewhere (e.g., census taking, government support of national and state forests; of established churches); expenditures on public safety (e.g., military establishment, police, fire protection, disaster relief); etc. See also:

Census data	16	Police	625
Army, navy, and air forces	70	Disaster relief	731
Fire protection	368	Established churches	795
State and national parks	529		

*668 So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to have operated in several provinces. In Hopei, the public security
669 organs uncovered several cases of "I-kuan-tao" sabotage. The
578 "I-kuan-tao" are supposed to be remnants of KMT officers and several sects like the "Golden Line". These elements had operated in Kansu, Shensi, and Inner Mongolia. They usually recruited former prisoners who had been in Chinese Communist prisons. These elements were supposed to have wormed their way into economic enterprises, rural mutual aid, and co-ops to engage in sabotage. They are blamed for fabricating rumors, and during the unified purchase of grain, they are supposed to have instigated the peasants to put aside grain and not send their surplus to the State.

*668 Another major problem is the assessment of cotton output and
659 the fixing of cotton purchase quotas. What the state does with
433 commercial crops, as it does with nearly all rural produce now, is to send teams out to each household and estimate what the
248 output, consumption, and surplus will be. The amount to be purchased is determined on the basis of these findings. Once this data is collected and examined, other items can be planned such as the amount of thread to be spun, the textile output that will result, and how much cotton cloth can be made available to the rural areas. It is very important, then, that the initial surveys to determine the available surplus that may be purchased by the State be correct in order to fulfill other portions of the plan. If incorrect estimates are made; i.e., lower estimates of output allowing peasants to retain excessive quantities of cotton, this would promote the growth of rural capitalist elements who might carry on speculative activities by selling their surplus cotton at a higher price than offered by the State. The Chinese Communists blamed two factors for incorrect assessments of cotton output; the incorrect ideological approach of cadres and their poor survey methods. In the latter case, some cadres, because they were unpopular among the peasants, thought it advisable to make slightly lower estimates of cotton output. In other villages, local cadres wished, by making lower estimates, to keep an extra supply of cotton for themselves or for their relatives and neighbors. In regard to defective working methods, the cadres did not carry out their estimation of output by first propagating Communist policy and mobilizing the masses; they made investigations without the assistance of the peasants and encountered difficulty in deriving the true output.

If inaccurate estimates of peasants' cotton production are made, it will also have a direct effect on peasants activity for mutual aid and cooperation and will hinder the unity between organized and individual peasants. It seems that the difficulties of estimating cotton output were widespread in Shensi and had given rise to peasant resistance of Communist agricultural

*668 policies. Such resistance is revealed in instances where wheat
659 fields have been enlarged at the expense of cotton cultivation.
433 Any failure to carry out the State's purchasing plans correctly
then, will "undermine the prestige of the party and of state poli-
248 cies, encourage spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peas-
ants, and throw State plans into confusion." (Survey of China
Mainland Press. No. 971. Supplement, January 19, 1955.
"Make Accurate Estimates of Cotton Output and Fix Purchase
Quotas.") Since the publication of this article on estimating
cotton output and fixing purchase quotas, Peking has encouraged
the "three fix policy" which is a measure designed to overcome
food and agricultural raw material shortages in order to meet
the planned targets set by the State. This policy provides for
every administrative body throughout China to fix the production,
fix the purchase of output, and fix the marketing of this output
for the agricultural sectors of the Chinese economy. Undoubted-
ly this policy has been rigorously applied to the Northwest.
Information is not available, however, as to whether the "three
fix policy" has solved the above problems.

4. Kansu

*668 The Communists have made strenuous efforts to restore Kansu
185 to its former prosperity (in the days of the old Silk Road to Europe
Kansu was a fertile and prosperous region). The plan to build
Lanchow, the capital, into an industrial base safely removed from
the seacoast, the opening of the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway, and
the extensive geological surveys for minerals and oil, indicate
recent attempts to do this. On March 14, 1956, Deputy K'o Shih-
king reported on the province's five year plan. Only information
pertaining to agricultural progress and policy will be considered.
*668 The total output of grain and cotton in 1956 will be 10,350 million
185 catties (207 million bushels) and 250,000 piculs (16,662 tons)
433 respectively, representing 124.42 per cent (or 6,882,750 tons of
[241] grain) and 281.87 per cent of the quotas set for 1957 in the first
five year plan. Afforestation will be carried out over an area of
[313] 5,300,000 mou (806,061 acres). (Union Research Service, Vol.
3, No. 3, April 10, 1956. p. 40.)

185 A comparison of Communist output figures with those of the
433 pre-Communist period is difficult. Since we cannot consider
[114] wheat only as grain (grain in this case would include corn, barley,
millet, etc.) We possess no figures for oil seed bearing crops
[248] for 1956. However, for cotton, where Communist resources have
been invested to expand cotton production and output, the 1956
figure of 16,662 tons as compared with the 1941 high of 3,712
tons represents around a fourfold increase.

*668 The Chinese Communists predict that the vast areas of waste-
185 land in Kansu will be transformed into cotton fields soon. Ex-
248 perts have been experimenting, it is reported, to select the most
311

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661 EXPLOITATION--exercise of their power by holders of political office to further personal goals, whether materialistic, psychological, or ideological; perquisites of office (e.g., exceptional income and material comforts, special sexual or marital privileges, unusual honors or deference); use of office for self-aggrandizement (e.g., exhibitionism, extortion of bribes, protection of vice, acceptance of commissions for services rendered); employment of power to force others to conform to personal ethical or religious convictions; suppression of rivals (e.g., purges); oppression of opponents; nepotism; protection of vested interests; etc. See also:

Organized vice . . . . 548 Religious persecution. 798
Political machines. 667

*175 bureaucraticism and isolated themselves from the masses. Various
*668 national minorities adopted narrow nationalism as a means of pro-
578 tection against the ruling race (i.e., the Chinese)" (JMJP October
*563 1, 1950).

The conflict between Han Chinese cadres and national minority cadres, became so serious that in September, 1953, following the promulgation of four documents on the policy towards national minorities, the Government Administration Council and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a joint order to local party committees to investigate the implementation of the nationality policy and to cadres to carry out self-criticism and mutual criticism. The Jen-min jih-pao in its editorial (on October 10, 1953), also inveighed against the ideology of Great Hanism among the Han Chinese cadres and the "ultra-nationalism" of the minority cadres.

C. Cadres Reforms and Purges

*175 The remedy the situation, the Communist high command insti-
*668 tuted a series of reindoctrination conferences, the screening of
* 661 government personnel, and wholesale arrests and purges to improve
578 the quality of the cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün headed the panel of
Chinese Communist Party and government speakers who harangued the cadres at mass meetings, held in May, 1950, in August-September, 1951, and in May, 1952, castigating them for bureaucraticism, commandism, incompetence, and corruption. The conferences of cadres were convened upon instructions from Peking. Following the speech of Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in April, 1951, urging Communists to take the lead in rallying non-Communists and Han Chinese cadres to check their growing tendency toward "Great Nationality ideas," the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party, at the conference of the cadres held in August-September, 1951, adopted a program for the reform of the cadres, to be in three stages. Stage one, to begin September 21, was for a two and a half month study of Chinese Communist and Soviet Communist Party documents; stage two, beginning December 6, forty days for the registration, reexamination and selection of cadres on the basis of their qualifications; and stage 3, to begin January 16, 1952, thirty days for the reform of branch organizations. (Ch'ün=chung jih-pao, October 8, 1951).

This was the occasion for the screening and dismissal of large numbers of cadres. But more drastic action was still to come. At the fourth plenary session of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, November 22=29, 1951, the program of party reform was merged into the campaign for production and austerity. Article 5 of this program was "to simplify and retrench the

*175 government structure and to promote work efficiency," and article
*668 6 was "to strictly enforce austerity, to develop the struggle against
578 corruption, waste, and bureaucratism." (NCNA December 2,
661 1951).

The announcement of the "simplification and retrenchment" program was the signal for the purging of additional thousands of cadres, but this was still only the beginning. A month later, in January, 1952, Hsi Chung-hsün convened a conference of the Production and Austerity Committees in government organs throughout the Northwest, attended by cadres above the rank of deputy chief in the party, the government, and the military district. At this conference, Hsi Chung-hsün made a blistering speech charging that the campaign in the Northwest was not satisfactory, not penetrating, not broad enough, not directed to the main target and did not have concrete results. The leaders were sleeping, he ranted on, and the masses lacked leadership. The middle and minor officials were guilty of corruption, waste and decay. The top officials, he concluded, should assume responsibility and proceed actively in a militant attitude. (NCNA January 10, 1952).

The result of the purges, known as the Three-Anti Movement (anti-graft, anti-waste, and anti-bureaucratism), which was launched throughout China in 1952, and which, with its companion campaign, the Five-Anti Movement directed at businessmen, became a reign of terror unprecedented in magnitude and in horror. Untold thousands of cadres, Communists as well as non-Communists, and officials in the middle and lower grades of government, were arrested, tried and convicted in "people's courts," and executed while thousands more were jailed or condemned to corrective labor camps.

However, terror and persecutions did not accomplish the desired end of bringing the cadres in line. By spring of 1954, the demoralization of the cadres and the friction among them became so serious that a series of conferences was convened by the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party at Sian. They were convoked upon orders from Peking, following the 7th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and in pursuance of its "Resolution to strengthen party unity." The speeches of the leaders all indicated that the demoralization of the cadres was worse and the differences and clash of interests between Communist and non-Communist cadres and between Chinese and non-Chinese cadres had increased. The cadres in general were charged with "conceit, departmentalism, dispersionism, exaggeration of seniority, boasting of achievements, concealing of defects, and suppression of criticism." (NCNA April 25, 1954), and the party cadres, in particular, were charged, at a later party conference, with "bourgeoise individualist ideas, conceit, sectarianism, parochialism, dispersionism and egotism." It was stated that "the low level of Marxist-Leninist consciousness

of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders, "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralization of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Hu-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 20, 1954).

V. Political Structure and Political Progress

A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were also established in the five provinces then comprising the Northwest: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang.

While the members of the Military and Administrative Council were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the members of the provincial and municipal people's governments were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by conventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities. Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

*668 is evident that loopholes are open everywhere for sudden changes in tactics and policy. Overnight, a most loyal attitude may change into subversion.

*668 The Communists themselves admit that tensions exist even
578 within the ranks of the cadres. Not only do Chinese and non-Chinese cadres confront each other with antagonism, but friction also exists between the old veteran cadres and the newly graduated younger men, as well as between party cadres and non-party cadres. Personal jealousy and ambition, mixed with the fear of sudden purges, have hardly diminished over the last few years and will probably continue to hamper the efficiency of the Communist administration. (See Political Dynamics.)

2. Effect of the campaigns

*668 Nation-wide drives and campaigns are felt as strongly in the
661 border regions as in China Proper. The effects of the Three-
578 Anti and the Five-Anti movements were especially violent when they hit the people of the Northwest in 1952. Countless cadres, officials, and ordinary citizens of the merchant class were charged with graft, waste, bureaucraticism, tax evasion, bribery, cheating in government contracts, theft of economic intelligence, and stealing of national property. Many were imprisoned, sent to corrective labor camps, or sentenced to death. It is difficult to gauge, however, to what degree the Communist charges were true, or, on the other hand, how much the policy of terror increased resentment against Communist rule. But it goes without saying that the result of such spiritual and physical control makes for continual intimidation and fear. While it makes concerted opposition impossible, it foments the bitterness and unrest upon which eventual open resistance is based.

*668 Undoubtedly, the role of the army in carrying out government
578 policies causes much tenseness. It heightens the intensity of
[701] terror involved in the implementation of such campaigns as land reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. (Union Research Service, September 27, 1955.) To compensate for the lack of man-power in agriculture and industry, the Communist government has sent large numbers of "reform workers" to the Northwest. According to one source, a subversive potential has been created as "reform workers and minority peoples whose interests are identical, have banded together to oppose Communist rule," and that "cases of resistance have been more numerous than has been imagined." (Ibid.)

3. Effect of economic measures

*668 The Chinese Communist government hopes that the Northwest
177 will eventually play an important part in the industrial growth of the entire country. For the moment they are still concentrating on increasing the agricultural output and developing animal husbandry. The initial pressure on Northwestern farmers to

it under heaven." 361 631

The common people usually call the city of Lanchow fu, Gao lan hsien, after the title of the sub-prefect or head of the district (hsien) who has his seat there and who chiefly deals with the people. (1) The city lies close to the right bank of the Hwang Ho where

1. This post of Gao lan hsien was supposed to be a very busy one but poorly paid. These officials were therefore usually transferred to a good sinecure after a year. If they knew how to make a good impression on their superiors and relieve them of a great deal of work, they usually got Tsin tschou in the following year. I heard of a mandarin who three times changed over from one of these posts to the other, i.e., in one year he had to supplement his salary, whereas in the next, his earnings were very good. [661]

the latter narrows down for a short distance to a width of only 250 meters. There is no other place up and down the river where there is a similarly favorable spot for crossing over.

Each winter at this place the Yellow River is frozen over for at least one and one-half months, so that even heavily-laden freight wagons can drive across. The opening of this natural bridge which took place toward the end of December was always a great festival occasion and was celebrated with great pomp. First of all the Gao lan hsien as fu mu kwan, i.e., father-mother-mandarin, as the patriarchally-minded Chinese calls his district chief, had to drive over the ice in his gala carriage, accompanied by a large retinue, in order to prove that the ice was safe. On the other hand, in fall and spring when the ice broke up, river traffic was often blocked for days or weeks. One could, perhaps, at the risk of one's life cross the raging stream between the ice floes on a raft of goat-skin bags. But in the spring when the ice had disappeared, the famous pontoon bridge, the afore-mentioned wonder of the world, was set up at the expense of the provincial government. Twenty-two box-shaped wide boats of poplar wood were held together with heavy iron chains and especially with thick hemp ropes, as may be seen on Plate XXXIV. On top of these were laid unfinished planks, but so unevenly that one seldom dared ride across on horseback. Everywhere there were large holes, everywhere the planks rocked and tipped. The wooden railing, too, was more to look at than to lean on. Even Europeans regarded the bridge as a wonder of the world, but only /148/ to (133 481 527 491)

491 wonder why this weak-looking work of man did not cause untold damage annually with the very swift river current. On several of the large iron posts that looked like cannon bores and were rammed into the earth along the bank in order to hold the large ropes and chains of the bridge, I found an inscription which revealed that the bridge had been put together in this manner long ago under the Ming emperors (in the fifth year of Emperor Hung Wu, 1372 A.D.), and was thus an arrangement that was centuries old. The government was obliged to pay out 10,000 taels (30,000 marks) each year to keep it in repair. And the cost of repair was actually said to have consumed a few thousand taels each summer. A hemp rope alone of the kind necessary to give added support during the summer [661] floods, cost about 1,000 marks in our money. But from the 10,000 taels the officials who in the eyes of the people represented father and mother, must have been able to pocket a tidy little sum. (1)

1. After negotiations lasting one-half year - for a long time the "parents of the people" would not hear of a change - a German firm succeeded in getting a contract to build a narrow iron bridge across the river a year after my arrival. This was built during the years 1908-1911.

712 Thus Lanchow fu is a bridgehead, a fortress, which defends a convenient Hwang Ho crossing. From time immemorial the place was regarded as important and was occupied by troops. Long before the beginning of our era, during the Ts'in and Han dynasties, we find mention of a fortified encampment here. (2) The Yellow

2. In the feudal age in China, during the Tschou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) the boundary of present-day Lanchow fu bordered on the territory of the Hsi Kiang (Chinese), who, one suspects, were Tibetan nomads. At times the place was also entirely inundated with Hsi Kiang. At the time of the Ts'in dynasty (255-206 B.C.) and of the Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) the district became more and more Chinese. But the chief city of the district lay somewhat farther south. The present-day settlement was begun by Emperor Wen ti, the founder of the Sui dynasty (589-605). In the year 764 during the Tang dynasty everything was again lost to the Tibetans and remained in their hands, with some interruptions, until, after the year 1000, the Hsi Hsia kingdom

501 dozen whole yak skins are blown up and joined to make rafts and carry wool and other goods that come down from Tibet on camels or small conveyances farther down the river. In 1907 there were eight larger shops where Russian goods of the so-called Tschan tou hui hui - as the Sarts and Turkistan-Turks are called in Kansu - were traded. (1)

1. The number of Russian shops was on the increase. Tschan tou hui hui literally means "Mohammedans with bound heads." This designation comes from the fact that the Turkistan Turks always appear before the Chinese in turbans.

511 651 As long as I was in the province of Kansu the inhabitants used astonishingly few foreign commodities compared to those of other provinces. The population of Kansu is particularly backward. To be sure, the way to the coast is very far and inconvenient. Besides that, the provincial government introduced a trade monopoly in 1907 on glass, bronze and lacquer goods, and Kansu in any case is regarded as the poorest province of the middle kingdom. Its annual balance is said to be so deficient that for many years other provinces have had to assume responsibility for the deficit. The many soldiers which seem to be necessary for the constantly recurring uprisings are said to be to blame for this state of affairs. The chief reason is, of course, the destruction and impoverishment, a result of the wars. Nor was stealing as prevalent in other provinces as here; the emperor was too far away. Payment of direct taxes, of land tax, is largely in kind. The most ancient registers of landed property are still used to control the levying of these taxes, whereas the farmer himself is taxed on the basis of the amount of land he [661] has at the moment. In this way the agents of the yamen above all amass great riches.

563 When I was in Lanchow fu there were few Europeans living there and these were missionaries. ~~My old~~ friend, the Belgian Father Van Dyk lived a quite lonely life in his mission and therefore greeted me particularly cordially. I moved into a camel hostelry outside the city quite near the Catholic mission, so that we could get together for an evening of conversation now and then and no city gates separated us, which were here irrevocably locked at twilight and divided up Lanchow fu and its suburbs into several separate parts. (Plate XXXIII). Mohammedans are not permitted to live here in the center of the city, they may only keep

have only one-story houses with spacious yards. 361

According to my observations, Hsining fu is 2,300 meters above sea level, while Hedin estimated only 2,265 meters, Grenard 2,250 meters and Filchner, on the other hand, by far the highest figure, namely, 2,380 meters. It lies in the middle of a flat alluvial valley, two kilometers wide, the floor of which can be irrigated, which fact determines the relative wealth of the inhabitants and above all the great cheapness of food supplies. The spot where the city stands has again, of course, been very cleverly selected from a strategic and economic point of view, namely, just below the point from which two broad-bottomed valleys, each containing an important road, branch off to the north and south (2) from the larger Hsining (361 487)

2. The southern road leads to the Gum bum monastery and the city of Kue de ting; the northern one to Dai tung and farther toward Kanchow fu and the old Yümen, the gate toward Turkistan.

Ho Valley running from west to east. The mountains which enclose these valleys are covered with loess and consist of the horizontal, red sandstone and clay strata which we find today under loess in such extensive areas of Northwest China, and which I have so often had occasion to mention. These reddish mountains rise up as much as 300 and 400 meters above the valley floor and are hopelessly bare. The summer rains are scarcely able to alter their faded color. Not even a tree anywhere. Even the willows and poplars around the villages are scarce. One very seldom sees large old trees anywhere in Kansu; they were cut down and burned during the many rebellions when the fetters of reason and right of ownership were loosened. 133

There is a great deal of rain in the region and many natural springs. It is a little granery. Grain is sent from here to Lanchow fu and many other places. The district also has a large untouched store of minerals. It is counted among the good sinecures. The best picture of its wealth is probably given by the annual income of the lowest civil mandarin, the Hsien, which amounts to between 20,000 and 30,000 taels (one tael is more than three marks, for the Hsining taels are very large). His regular income is, of course, as always in China, only 60 taels, the "rest" are perquisites. /173/ Taxes and - so it seems - lands which were formerly not surveyed but have now been reclaimed by the Chinese, and above all sentences in the many litigations make up the large sums. (631 661)

491 661 Here, as in Lanchow fu, the sum set aside since ancient times by the imperial government for bridge repairs has played a certain part in the income of the hsien of Hsining. The city lies in the far west of China proper. And China represents the world to its inhabitants as well as its rulers. Therefore, outside the west gate of Hsining - as every child in the city knew - lay the tien bien yüe ya kiao, that is, the bridge which officially connects the earth with the moon. Now, no one can blame the holders of the honorable post of hsien for annually pocketing the monies with which, by royal decree, they are supposed to keep this important bridge in repair. But I was shown at least one stone which is supposed to have at one time been the beginning of the bridge. From here the way leads to the Hsi tien, the "western heaven," as Tibet is referred to by many Buddhists.

231 494 Another peculiarity of the city of Hsining is the enormous number of ponies which its inhabitants keep. There are surely several thousand of them. Almost everyone has his pony and everyone setting out on a journey, every cobbler or apprentice, rides horseback. Feed is cheap and the price of ponies not high. And if one is not too particular, one can buy up quite a number of ponies in
437 a rather short time. In this respect Hsining is a favorable starting point for a journey into Tibet, and that is why I again looked it up. Nevertheless, it took me a whole week to buy three good ponies. During this time I had ten Chinese women at my inn sew a large servants' tent for me. Carpenters, saddlers, shoemakers, smiths were engaged to complete my equipment. There was nothing in stock, everything had to be ordered. I had to bargain endlessly for every single object. For every button or piece of rope, for every little thing ten times its value was boldly demanded, laboriously I was obliged to bargain it down to a normal price, and if a day later I bought a duplicate, the tiresome haggling began again. Besides, there were so many things I wanted which I could not get. For instance, I had great trouble in that big city finding three pieces of wood which could be used as tent poles. The region has extremely little wood. After we had spent days looking in vain for a piece that would serve as a ridge pole, the son of the general finally took what I needed out of the arsenal and gave it to me.

Anyone wishing to travel in China should first of all tuck patience into his traveling bag. A Chinese must never be allowed to notice that you are in a hurry for a thing. In Hsining fu, also, all trade, whether in the open market or in shops, is carried on

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665 POLITICAL PARTIES--organization for the purpose of acquiring and retaining political power; political factions; organized political parties (e.g., number, composition, leadership, objectives); party organization (e.g., national, regional, and local committees); methods of recruiting and rewarding members (e.g., spoils system); nomination procedure (e.g., caucuses, primaries, conventions, slates); special organization during electoral campaigns; integration of political parties with the structure of the state and its subdivisions; etc.

but the products are wretched. In any case all these enterprises suffer from the blight of Chinese official management. 381
Lanchou is also at a great disadvantage in this respect owing to the immense difficulties involved in transporting foreign machinery and all kinds of foreign goods across the many hundreds of miles of intervening mountains from the coast. The foreign resident can import a case of beer, drink the contents, and then sell the bottles for more than the original cost of the beer; but this does not represent a new method of getting rich quick, as the cost of transport is likely to be greatly in excess of the value of either the beer or the bottles. There is, however, one really flourishing native 277
industry in Lanchou, independent of foreign machinery, and that is the cultivation and manufacture of water pipe tobacco, 438
which is exported to all parts of China.

The time of our visit to Lanchou coincided with the 635
period of Yuan Shih-k'ai's power, and the Governor was one of the latter's Northern Generals. He was an excellent representative of the type of Northern soldier, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the best rulers Kansu has ever enjoyed. Owing to the geographical isolation of the province and the conservative nature of its Mahomedan [669]
population, the rebellion of 1916 had but little effect locally, and the Governor maintained his position after the fall and death of Yuan Shih-k'ai; and had we again visited Lanchou two years later we should have found him still ruling only under a different title. After the Revolution the Governors of provinces were styled Tutu[1]; Yuan Shih-k'ai abolished this name with its republican associations, and revived the old title of Chiangchün[2]; after the compromise which followed the rebellion and Yuan Shih-k'ai's death, the title of Governor was also compromised in true Chinese style into Tuchün[3]. The Governor was a native of Hofei Hsien in Anhui, and consequently not a few civil and military officials throughout the province at the time of our visit wrote Hofei on their cards. It is extraordinary what a 665
number of prominent Chinese in recent years have been natives of this obscure little district in Anhui, ever since

[1] Literally "General Manager," i.e. Governor.
[2] Literally "Army Leader," i.e. Marshal.
[3] Literally "Army Manager," i.e. Military Governor.

665 the days of the great Li Hung-ch'ang, himself a native of that place. All these officials are, of course, more or less members of the Anhui military party, whose influence in the government of the country has been so great in recent years[1].

[797] The foreign community of Lanchou at the time of our visit consisted of the China Inland Mission, a Catholic
[177] priest, and the British Postmaster, who, like his colleague
205 in Hsian Fu, and indeed the foreign postal officials throughout the country, is doing splendid work for the Chinese. The efficiency of the Chinese Postal Service, under a French Director-General in Peking working with a staff of French, British, and other nationals, is truly remarkable, when one takes into consideration the many difficulties there are to contend with. Especially has this been the case during the constant rebellions and civil wars of the past few years, in spite of which steady progress has been made. On the whole the warring factions, whether government troops, revolutionaries, rebels, or brigands, respect the C.P.O. in a remarkable manner, due apparently to their genuine admiration for the one really sound institution in the interior; and the postal couriers are often able to pass backwards and forwards through districts where no other Chinese dare venture. Occasionally, but not often considering the numbers carried, a mail is lost through the action of brigands.

797 There are not a great many missionaries in Kansu compared to some of the other provinces, at the time we were there only about ten or a dozen stations altogether, and only one doctor. It would probably surprise many people not well acquainted with missionary work in China to find how few ordained clergymen there are amongst the ranks of the Protestant missionaries; I do not think we met any in Kansu. This puzzles the Catholics very much with their strict system of training. Of course there is no particular reason why a missionary should be a clergyman, though the uninitiated are apt to look upon him as such; except that ordained clergymen are usually well-read men of superior

[1] This influence has since steadily increased until in 1920 a group of rival Northern Generals challenged the Anhui military party (on the usual pretext of defending democratic principles) and overthrew them in a series of battles round Peking in the summer of that year.

666

666 ELECTIONS--voting; informal methods of selecting public officials; organized electoral systems (e.g., election districts, registration of voters, requirements for nomination, polling places, balloting, precautions against fraud); election campaigns (e.g., fund raising, campaign platforms, speaking tours, use of publicity and propaganda); voting behavior and its determinants; electoral intimidation and fraud; methods of minority control (e.g., gerrymandering, rotten-borough system, poll taxes); etc. See also:

Nonelectoral methods of filling political offices 62, 63, 64
Molding of public opinion 208
Oratory 537
Franchise 641
Punishment of electoral fraud 687

reform movement encountered in Sinkiang. The attempts at forced cooperation resulted in many hard feelings and in violations of the principles set forth by the government. Examples were cited of "middle farmers" supplying carts or other tools, but not participating in the actual labor. Village cadres were unwilling to work on the cooperative farms lest their private interests suffer. Considerable difficulties were experienced in finding people who would accept responsibility. A partial solution was sought in sending more professional party workers to aid the cadres.

Similar reports are available from other parts of the Northwest. From these reports the following trends can be gathered:
(1) In the program of cooperativization the policy was to exclude not only the landlords but also the rich farmers. Since those who were not in the cooperatives would suffer social and economic ostracisim, the threat to all individual farmers kept out of the cooperatives was great.
(2) The experience of those who did join the cooperative groups, however, was not happy. Their hard work often was not properly rewarded. It was difficult to keep the record of credits straight. This was the reason why many cooperatives collapsed.
(3) However, the average farmer, including the party cadre, dreamed of becoming a rich farmer and private businessman.

Against this background one can understand the significance of Mao Tse-tung's drive for one million cooperatives in 1955. According to Mao's plan, by the spring of 1958 half of the agricultural population must be organized into cooperatives. In other words, by that time, half of the farmers in Northwest China would no longer be working on their own farms.

In the field of commerce and industry, the 3-anti and 5-anti movements were the prelude to the program which calls for the total elimination of private enterprise.

As described above, the political rights in the Chinese Soviet days followed the conventional Communist Party line. But during the Second World War, the Chinese Communists had advocated their democratic government and democratic elections in the border regions. Their procedure of a secret ballot included the following practices: "Each of the candidates' names is written on a bowl. The voter drops a bean or pea in the bowl bearing the name of his choice. If his election "unit" is entitled to more than one representative, he is given the proper number of beans. If a considerable number of the voters cannot read, the candidates are lined up, each carrying a well-calanced bowl or basket on his back. The voter drops his bean or beans into the bowl or bowls of his favorite candidate or candidates. The bowl is carried on the back to insure secrecy, so that no candidate knows who elects whom." (Hsu Yung Ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 59.)

Communists, it was claimed, would occupy only one-third of the total membership of any administrative organ of the government of any popular organization elected in this way. One-third of the members would go to the Nationalists while the other third would be reserved for non-party people. They called this the 3-3 system. (Hsu Yung Ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 74). The system worked beautifully. The Communists activists together with their "non-party" following were always assured of a comfortable majority.

V. Pledges and Practices Regarding Political Rights

A. Elections

After the take-over, the Common Program of 1949 declared: "The state power of the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The people's congresses and people's governments of all levels are the organs for the exercise of state power by the people. The people's congresses of all levels shall be popularly elected by universal franchise. The people's congresses of all levels shall elect the people's governments of their respective levels..."

But before a general election was held, the People's Political Consultative Conference, which was an appointed body, acted as the All-China People's Congress. (Article 13). In the local districts, the appointed All-Circles Representative Conferences acted as the local People's Congress. (Article 14).

On February 28, 1951, Liu Shao-ch'i reported on the way in which the People's Congress of Peking was elected. He said: "The manner of electing the representatives differed according to the situation. In State Enterprises and schools of higher education the voters gathered in their productive or school units to have a direct election. For the farmers in the countryside, the workers, the businessmen, the youth, the women and the districts, the representatives were elected by 'the representatives of the voters.' With the only exception of the schools where people were experienced and literate, all the units elected representatives on a candidate list produced in the meeting by raising their hands. In schools, the elected with secret ballot. I think this is absolutely accurate and necessary... I think not only the People's Congress of Peking...but all the other places... shall follow the experience of Peking to elect their congresses in the similar way ...

"Whenever we mention election, people often think of 'universal, equal, direct and secret ballot.' This old slogan undoubtedly served its propaganda purpose under the reactionary, dictatorial Chiang Kai-shek's regime... But if we request to realize this slogan under today's New Democratic regime, it is not yet very suitable to the reality. Therefore we cannot wholly adopt it." (Liu Shao-ch'i:

By this law, the key elections are those below the county level. These elections were generally open elections by raising of hands in public. Only under special conditions were secret ballots allowed.

Furthermore, in spite of article 4, which promised equal rights of election to different groups of people, article 5 disqualified everyone who might vote in opposition.

The control of elections was tightened by article 8. As all campaign expenses are dispersed by the State Treasury, the Communists can easily make or break any candidate.

In the new Constitution of 1954, there are at least ten articles, i.e., 23, 24, 27, 38, 39, 44, 56, 61, 86, referring to the right to vote or right to stand for election. There is no basic change from the situation analyzed above.

C. Political Rights in Practice

The following news items trace the practice of political rights in the Northwest: "On the basis of the universal convocation of People's Representatives' Conferences of all circles in municipalities and counties throughout the country, 20 provinces have successfully convened their first Provincial People's Representatives' Conference of all circles. These provinces and districts are...Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai...

"Of these, the People's Representatives' Conferences of all circles of the first 16 provinces in the above list have successfully elected their respective Provincial People's Government Committees. The People's Representatives' Conferences of various provinces and administrative districts have further elected and set up consultative committees to assist the government in carrying out the resolutions of the conference after it adjourns." (NCNA, Peking, December 20, 1950).

"Since last year, the provincial and municipal People's Governments in the Northwest region have attached importance to People's Representative Conferences. Except for some pastoral districts of Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang which still do not possess conditions for holding People's Representative Conferences, all counties and municipalities in the Northwest have held People's Representative Conferences while those of over 80 counties and municipalities exercise the functions and power of People's Congresses. But there are still a number of responsible officials of counties and municipalities who do not sufficiently understand that People's Representative Conferences and People's Congresses represent the basic system of our state and who do not convene People's Representative Conferences according to the system." (NCNA, Sian, July 15, 1952)

"During the three years from 1949 to 1952, twice the Provincial Conference of Representatives of All Nationalities and All Groups of the People was held in Sinkiang Province. In each of

the 78 counties, 1 municipality, 1 central district in Sinkiang, at least three times, and up to nine times... these conferences have been held. In Tihua Municipality and Ch'ien-tse County, the conference has already acted as the People's Congress. It elected the mayor or the head of the county and the Council members..." (Burhan: "The great achievements during the three years of people's Sinkiang" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 1, 1953).

"In October, 1953, a general election was held..." (Burhan: "The work report of the past six years of the Sinkiang Provincial People's Government," a report at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the Provincial People's Congress, in Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 11, p. 30).

This general election mentioned by the Governor of Sinkiang, Burhan, was one part of the election held all over the country. It was carried out according to the Electoral Law of 1953. The nation-wide election was not completed until September, 1954, just in time to meet for voting on the new Constitution. The meetings of the leading local People's Congresses in the Northwest were held on the following dates: (NCNA, August 24, 1954)

Unit	Beginning (1954)	End (1954)	Days of Meeting	Deputies Elected to the National People's Congress
Sian Municipality	July 14	July 17	4	8
Sinkiang Province	July 21	July 31	11	21
Chinghai Province	August 4	August 15	12	9
Shensi Province	August 4	August 12	8	19
Kansu Province	August 16	August 20	5	25

The real meaning of this kind of election was well illustrated in a deputy's confession: "I have never thought of being elected as a deputy to the National People's Congress. Some of my friends ran over the other day to congratulate me, saying, 'Do you know that? You have already received the weighty trust of the people of the whole nation. You are a deputy!'

"When I read my name in the People's Daily I did not know whether I was happy or flurried. My eyes became moist. I was grateful as well as ashamed. I felt that I could hardly catch my breath." (Ts'ao Yü, "I must do my job well as a deputy to the National People's Congress" in Hsin-kuan-ch'a, 1954, No. 18, September 16, p. 3).

VI. The Rights of the Minorities

A. Constitutional Rights

In the Common Program of 1949, chapter VI defined the Communists' Nationality Policy. In this chapter, it said:

Article 50: All nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal....

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. The Government of Administrative Regions

*175 A. Basis of Regions

*668 The turning point of the Chinese Communists' military campaign in northwest China was on April 22, 1948, when they retook 669 Yenan. With the deteriorating general military situation, the Nationalists rapidly lost the Northwest. In December, 1949, the Communist conquest of the area was basically complete. Just as in other areas, the army was their main strength, essential in maintaining peace and order. Thus the local political structures which they set up were closely knit to the military forces, an inheritance from the civil war. Recognizing this fact, the central *175 government of the People's Republic decided to divide the nation *668 into several large regions, roughly corresponding to the assigned 631 areas of each field army. It appointed the commanders of the various field armies to manage the civil administrations of the corresponding regions. The Northwest Region included the municipality of Sian, directly under the central authority, and five provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang.

*175 B. Organizational Regulations

*668 1. Military and administrative council

On December 16, 1949, the Government Administrative 631 Council passed the organizational regulations of the People's Gov- 701 ernment Committee on Administrative Regions. According to these regulations, a Military and Administrative Committee was to be appointed by the Central Government in each administrative region to maintain peace and order during the first stage of the Communist conquest.

a. composition

P'eng Te-huai, the commander of the First Field Army, was appointed Chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, which had two vice-chairmen and forty-one members. The chairman and vice-chairmen were Chinese, and the members included four Moslems, two Uighurs, one Tibetan, one Mongol, and thirty-three Chinese. One of the Chinese was a woman.

b. expiation

In the regulations it was also stated that the Military and Administrative Councils were to be abolished as soon as the following conditions were fulfilled:

(1) when the military action was over;

(2) when land reform was completed;

(3) when the people of each region were well organized and a general election had been called. Then the People's Congresses of [666] each administration region, elected by popular vote, were to elect

*175
*668 a People's Government Council of the administrative region to take
631 the place of the Military and Administrative Council.

701 2. Northwest administrative council

[666] a. composition

Apparently this anticipated election never took place in Northwest China under the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. Since November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government ordered the reorganization of the Council into the Northwest Administrative Council, it has been known as the Northwest People's Government Council.

*175 b. functions

*668 Article 3 of the same regulations indicated that the People's
Government Council of the administrative region (the Military and
631 Administrative Council) was to be a part of the regular local government system, ranking between the Central Government and the provinces. It represented the Government Administration Council in guiding the provincial and county governments in administrative work.

This was well defined in Article 4, which gave the detailed functions of the Council. The Council was to be the organ for transferring the orders of the central government to the provincial and other lower local governments. It made suggestions to the central government concerning personnel, law, and financial arrangements for the region. It also coordinated and supervised administrative work for the central government.

These regulations indicated that the Communist Government meant to make the administrative regions and their administrative structures a part of their regular, permanent government system. This was quite a change from the former system, which emphasized the position of the provinces.

c. structure

*175 After the Communists organized the Military and Administra-
*668 tive Councils of the administrative regions into offices with real
631 power, their structure became large, and even bulky. In 1952,
at the peak of its power, the Northwest Military and Administra-
647 tive Council included the following offices;

Administrative Office;
Committee on Political and Legal Affairs;
Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs;
Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs;
Committee on People's Control
Committee on Land Reform;
Commission of Nationalities Affairs;
Department of Personnel;
Department of Civil Administration;
Department of Public Safety;
Department of Justice;

*175 they were to forward orders from above to the lower level govern-
*668 ments; to make decisions or suggestions concerning the personnel,
635 laws, and financial arrangements of the province; and to coordinate and supervise work in the area. There were, however, some new points. They were required "to execute the decisions of the provincial people's congresses."

a. limitations on authority

The significance of this requirement was lessened by the qualification: "provided that these decisions have been approved by the Government Administrative Council or the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions." Thus, nothing could be done on the provincial level that was not acceptable to the officials of higher levels. Second, the provincial councils were to
[632] "annul or revise the decisions and orders of the municipal and
[634] county people's government councils, or the municipal and county people's congresses under its jurisdiction, whenever these decisions and orders are contradictory to those of the higher level people's government." The higher government officials could over-ride the local interests.

b. increased authority

Under this system, the provincial governments of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang actually were branch offices of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, until the power of the latter was weakened in 1952. With the abolition of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council in June, 1954, the traditional importance and position of the provincial governments was fully restored. However, primarily they still are instruments of the central government.

B. People's Congress and People's Councils

631 The day after the First National People's Congress passed the
*668 new Chinese Communist Constitution, on September 21, 1954, the same congress passed the organic law for local governments.
[671] Taken at face value, this law gives more power to the local governments as well as to the people. From the town level up to the province, each is supposed to have a people's congress and a people's council, the congress representing the people, and the council acting as the executive body. Their position and interrelation can be seen in the following excerpts from the law:

1. Role of peoples' congress

Local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of government authority in their respective localities. (The Organic Law of People's Congresses and People's Councils at all Local levels in Chinese Peoples' Republic, p. 1, Article 3.)

a. election of deputies

• [666] Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central authority, counties, and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses

*668 of the next lower level; deputies to the people's congresses of
631 municipalities not divided into districts, municipal districts,
• 666 hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns are directly elected by the
[563] voters. The minority groups shall have guaranteed quotas in these congresses. Minority nationals in administrative areas shall have an appropriate number of deputies to the people's congresses of their administrative areas.

Thus, the people theoretically have political authority and the people's congresses are the organs for practicing this authority. These congresses on the lower levels are elected directly by the voters, while those on the higher levels are elected by the people's congresses of the next lowest level. For instance, the voters elect the people's congresses of the various towns. Then the People's Congresses of the towns elect deputies to the people's congresses of the counties, and so on. The provincial People's Congresses are elected for four years, while the other local congresses are elected for two years.

b. functions of congress

*668 As listed by law the functions of the people's congresses are
631 numerous. In brief, the congresses are to defend the rights of the
671 people and also to assure the support of the people. They approve local budgets and financial accounts; draw up plans for local economic and cultural development; elect and recall the people's councils at their own level; elect the deputies to the people's congresses at the next highest level; listen to and examine the working reports of the people's councils at their own level; and revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders issued by these people's councils.

These functions and powers could make the local people's congresses into real "watch dogs" for the people, but for several hidden handicaps. One of these is to be found in this same Organic Law, Article 6, which states that a people's congress can "revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the people's congresses at the next lower level." In this way power is retained by the upper level.

2. Role of people's councils

*668 The people's councils have a dual role: they are responsible
631 to the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, and they are responsible to the governments above their own levels. Although they are supposed to be the people's instruments of self-government, they are also agencies of the central government and must obey the State Council. Theoretically, this double responsibility could put the local governments in an embarrassing dilemma, were the local congresses to differ with the central government on policy. In practice, however, it is not possible, because of the tight party control at every level and since the representatives are hand-picked by the party.

a. composition

In addition to the council members, a local People's Council

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631
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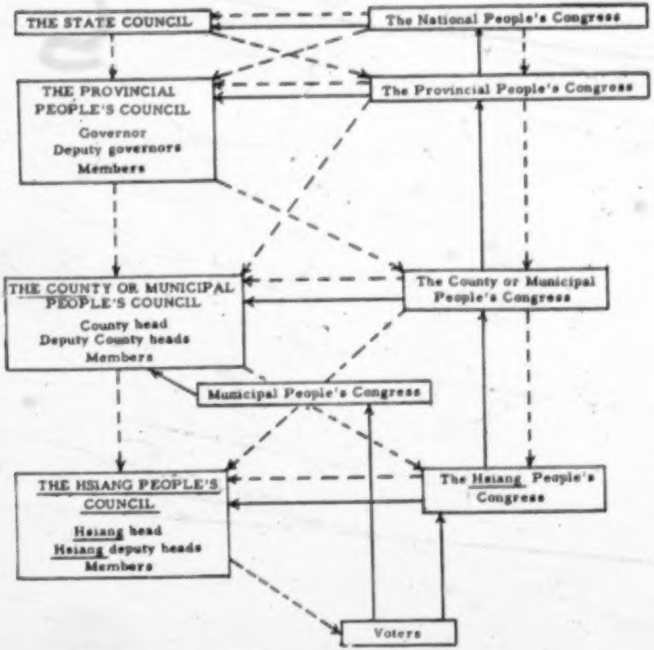
TABLE VI

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM UNDER THE COMMUNISTS AFTER SEPTEMBER 21, 1954.



→ The Line of Election

- - → The Line of Control

LEVELS:

The Nation

Provinces, including:

Municipalities directly controlled by the central government

Autonomous areas

Administrative districts, including:

Autonomous *chou*

Counties, including:

Municipalities

Autonomous *hsien*

Hsiang, including:

Towns

Nationality *hsiang*

Districts under municipalities

The people

following page 474 (e)

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major changes in Northwest China:

(1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.

(2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.

(3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region on October 1, 1955.

Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu, and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1, 1955, are shown in Table 9.

After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes, but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

A. Earlier Systems

In the past, although the Chinese government gave little publicity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minorities in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minorities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

B. The Communist System

The Communists have a definite program for changing the social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is necessary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface, they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they control them from within through hand-picked Party members. So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the Communist Central People's Government were the same men who had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-appointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the Northwest, but not in a basic change in the composition.

The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Communists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops, who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ninghsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and Sinkiang.

Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes: the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties, such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions. They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since 1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant, Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders, "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralization of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Hu-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 2[illegible] 1954).

V. Political Structure and Political Progress

A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were also established in the five provinces then comprising the Northwest: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang.

While the members of the Military and Administrative Council were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the members of the provincial and municipal people's governments were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by conventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities. Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

Chinese-owned companies. Although Soviet and Eastern European experts were retained as salaried technicians, the move was made to appear that Soviet Russia was withdrawing from Sinkiang in favor of Communist China.

In addition to these conditions, there was a whole plethora of other factors which made the Communist authorities reluctant to grant regional autonomy to the people of Sinkiang. However, as they had in repeated pronouncements promised autonomy to the non-Chinese inhabitants of this province, they found that they could not procrastinate any longer, and in the late summer of 1953 they finally agreed to the establishment of the first autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang, but on an experimental basis. The three experimental autonomous governments were: one for the Sibo on the hsiang level, one for the Chinese Moslems on the county level, and one for the Mongols on the district (ch'ü)level. In December, 1953, Saifuddin urged "that a good job must be done to guarantee that the various national autonomies in the province may be established." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 6, 1954).

The experiments proved successful and by May, 1954, the green light was given for the establishment of autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang for other concentrations of national minorities in the province. There were thirty-three autonomous areas below the level of district in Sinkiang in August (NCNA, August 7, 1954). However, in proportion to its population of non-Chinese people, Sinkiang was still behind. During the same period, the number of autonomous areas in Kansu had increased to 86 (NCNA April 9, 1955).

C. The General Election of 1953-54

In 1953, the people of Northwest China, as elsewhere in China, were for the first time permitted to cast their votes for the election of their representatives. In February, the Central People's Government in Peking passed the Election Law which provided for suffrage for adults over 18 years of age with the exclusion of all those whom the Communist authorities had classified as landlords, counter-revolutionaries, and lunatics and those who were deprived of the right to vote or to run for election. The certified voters vote only once, at the lowest or basic levels, and by a show of hands (art. 55). The system is pyramidal. The representatives chosen by the people at the basic election elect their representatives to people's congresses of a higher level, and these in turn elect representatives for peoples of still higher level, and so on up, through the levels of county and district people's congresses to municipal and provincial congresses, and through the level of municipal and provincial congresses to the National People's Congress. Only at high levels was the balloting secret. The candidates running for election were Communist or men approved by the

Communists. On paper, the people were permitted to nominate candidates from the floor, but such practices were discouraged. "Through the method of small group discussions and appraisals now adopted... individual nomination will gradually be standardized and consequently should not be subject to any restrictions." (Wang Shui, "How to nominate candidates for election" JMJP June 11, 1953). Thus the electoral procedure followed the Soviet practice of presenting single lists of candidates. The nominees were shifted by means of a process of "consultation and agreement" and after the list of names were agreed upon, the voters go through the motion of approving it.

This manner of voting bears close resemblance to the system in the USSR and is a far cry from the system adopted by the Chinese Communists in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region sixteen years before. (See Table 5).

In preparation for the election, large numbers of cadres were given training to qualify them to serve as chairmen of basic level election committees and to guide, conduct and supervise the elections. The number who were assigned was one cadre for every 2,000 persons and one technical cadre for every 500 persons. In the months before the election, the people were screened during the process of census-taking, and the qualified ones were registered. They were subjected to a barrage of propaganda and indoctrination in the form of meetings, forums, discussion groups, and through the media of books, pamphlets, films, radio broadcasts, and exhibitions. Mock elections were held where the cadres taught the voters how to conduct themselves, how to discuss the list of candidates and how to cast their ballots. Prior to the real election, experimental elections were held in a number of selected locations. These were the straw votes to give the Communist authorities an idea as to how well the cadres and propagandists have indoctrinated the people, how well the machinery operated, and what were the reactions of the people.

In Shensi, the experimental elections were held during the months from May to October, and the places where they were held included: the counties of Lin-tung, Nan-cheng, Pao-shan, Tao-shui, and, surprisingly, the wartime capital of the Communists, Yenan. As the results were satisfactory, the real elections were permitted to take place in October, and they were expected to be completed by the end of April, 1954.

In Kansu, due to the mixed population, the preparations for the elections were the reverse of those in China Proper. While in North China, in preparation for the elections, 67,727 hsiang were merged into 20,000. In Kansu, the 3975 hsiang were increased to 5650.

By March, 1954, it was reported the basic elections were nine-tenths completed in Ninghsia with 90 per cent of the people

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 516]

Table 5. COMPARISON OF ELECTION PROCEDURES

Chinese Communists in 1937	Chinese Communists in 1953	Soviet Russia in 1936
Universal, direct, equal	Restricted to certain groups; direct at lowest level and indirect at upper levels, unequal	Restricted, indirect, unequal
Secret ballot	Show of hands at lower level, secret ballot at higher levels	Show of hands
All men and women over 18 including landlords and capitalists	All over 18 except landlords, counter-revolutionaries, lunatics, and those deprived of civil rights	Limited to workers, farmers, and petty bourgeoisie.
Voters vote as many times as there are levels, in county and regional elections	System pyramidal. Voters vote only at lowest levels for delegates who in turn elect delegates to higher levels	Pyramidal. Voters vote for delegates to local soviets, who in turn vote for upper soviets
Ballots of citizens in all walks of life counted without discrimination	Different proportions for urban, rural, Chinese, non-Chinese, army and overseas Chinese	Segregation of farmers, workers votes. Disproportionate representation.

The sections on Chinese Communists in 1937 and Soviet Russia in 1936 are based on Chu Yun, Factual Account of a Shensi Trip (Hankow, 1938), pp. 11-12, quoted in Hsu Yung-ying, A Survey of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region (IPR, 1945), I, p. 43.
The section on Chinese Communists in 1953 is based on the Electoral Law of 1953.

going to the polls, but in Chinghai where it was reported that 95 per cent of the people went to the polls, the election was only one-fourth completed.

In Sinkiang, the Communist authorities were more cautious. The experimental elections began in May, 1953, in 17 basic election units (hsiang) selected from the ten administrative districts, then in 36 basic election units. In these experimental elections, 80-95 per cent of the electorate turned out. With the successful conclusion of the experiments, the real basic level elections began in September in 665 basic level areas in Sinkiang, followed in December by the second group of 860 basic level area elections. By April, 1954, the basic level election in Sinkiang was concluded, having been held in 2,424 basic units in 83 counties and municipalities. In urban areas, 89 per cent of the voters turned out, while in southern Sinkiang, the turnout by the Uighur population was 95 per cent. The elections during 1953 had been supervised by 1,127 cadres who formed 144 election courts and 98 mobile investigation teams, which uncovered 204 cases of irregularities and nonconformity.

The fruit of the efforts of the election cadres was the election of large numbers of cadres and party members. Sixty-three per cent of the 619 new party members employed in the Sinkiang provincial and Urumchi municipal governments were elected as delegates. In 312 hsiang in Sinkiang, out of the 7,088 of the delegates elected, 5,248 were Communist Party cadres, and the bulk were Chinese. In Ninghsia, only 25 per cent of the 9,700 deputies elected in the basic level elections were Chinese Moslems (Hui).

Moreover, the elections in the Northwest, as in the rest of China, were by no means universal. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, one of the top officials in charge of the nationwide elections, revealed that basic level elections were not held in a quarter of the regions inhabited by national minorities, and the number of national minority people who were not given a chance to vote came to 8,708,169. The reason for defranchising these minority people, he said, was due to the "lack of requisite conditions," which were (1) the native cadres were unsatisfactory and (2) the people failed to appreciate the nationality policy of the government. (NCNA June 19, 1954).

In contrast to the publicity given to the basic level elections in the Northwest, the elections in the higher levels were conducted quietly and, in many cases, the results were not published. However, from scattered information gleaned from the Communist press, the following picture emerges: in Shensi, Kansu, and Sinkiang, the incumbent governors were re-elected. Only in Chinghai, was there a change in the governor. In these four provinces, three of the governors are Chinese. In the three provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai, about half of the thirteen vice-

governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen, nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

A word must be said about the representation of national minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32. Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82. It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not mean that the people have been given the right to govern themselves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control

In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their final stage, there were structural changes in the administration of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was relaxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the

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668 POLITICAL MOVEMENTS--mass movements for substantial political change; types (e.g., messianic, nativistic, nationalistic, radical, revolutionary, reactionary); organization (e.g., into political parties, underground cells); leadership; doctrines, policies, and programs (e.g., socialism, communism, fascism); overt activities (e.g., passive resistance, propaganda, pressure politics, mass demonstrations, fomenting of labor disturbances); covert activities (e.g., infiltration, circulation of disparaging rumors, secret distribution of inflammatory literature, "front" organizations); proportion of population affected; etc. See also:

Social trends	178	Socialism	471
Reform movements	185	Development of nationalism	619
Propaganda	208	Temperance movements	733
Collective bargaining	468	Sociopolitical theories	819

The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered but also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were ruled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dsasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system. Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the 'Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

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[For additional information on the communist party in Northwest China prior to 1956, its aims, objectives, programs and the way in which these programs were implemented, see category 116, pp. 73, 158, 180, 235, 296-298, 312-320, 351-356, 358-361, 365-377, 379-381, 397-399, 408-409, 422-423, 434, 437, 441-442, 447-448, 450-452, 454-455, 459-460, 465-477, 480-482, 484,486, 488-510, 513-524, 535-545, 560, 569, 571-578, 581-596, 598-608, 611-612, 615, 618-619, 624-626, 629-632, 636, 648, 650-652, 654-665, 671-672, 675-676, 685-690, and 696-704.]

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "bëks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

A group of patrilineally related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational) unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other Northwestern societies, has not undergone great changes under Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

The Oirats (or Western Mongols:

The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads. Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the available resources.

The designation for these small economic and migrational units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worthwhile to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger group and render services in return for the benefits gained thereby.

Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in this group.

The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of the group is arranged according to the age of the male members in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

Wives of members of these extended families are also affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's. A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in developing a final and real unity among Russians.

Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Communist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group consciousness.

As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it can be stated that because of their geographical separation (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a trans-logical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

HISTORICAL SETTING

I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

March, 1955. Through these regulations, the prices of some books were lowered from 4% to 21%.

The above reported figures are impressive. The narrow choice of titles, however, has given constant cause for complaint. Readers in Aksu, Sinkiang reflected, according to a Sinkiang jih-pao report of January 11, 1953: "Why do you people in the Hsin-Hua Book Store sell only this kind of book?" And the editorializing explanation: "...to spread Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" will have hardly sounded convincing to the questioner. The China Youth Journal, 1955, No. 10, writes: "For a long time, young people have not found satisfaction in the published books. They are mentally half-starved. Some youths are so eager to read that they have fallen prey to feudal, superstitious, mysterious and sexy books."

Similar complaints can be found in the press and the journals all over the country. Apparently, the policy of the Communists to swamp the "simple-minded" minority groups with Party doctrine did not pay off. Thus recourse was had to censorship. On July 20, 1955, the State Council promulgated the Temporary Regulations on Controlling the Book Renting Business, according to which the books which are lewd, supernatural and full of reactionary ideas are excluded from circulation.

V. Radio

Radio broadcasting of the Chinese Communist Party had a humble start. On September 5, 1945, the Hsin-Hua Broadcasting Station in Yenan made its first official broadcast. It had a power of 300 watts only. When the Nationalists attacked, the station fled with the Party headquarters but never ceased to broadcast.

From September 5, 1945, to September 4, 1946, it broadcast for two hours a day. The programs included news, comments, introduction to the liberated areas, etc. From September 5, 1946, the time increased to two and a half hours daily. The program included speeches, and voices of the people. Later a broadcast to the Nationalist Army was added. Starting from September 5, 1947, the broadcast increased to three hours. News summaries were added, and later, programs in English.

In March, 1949, the station moved to Peking and took over the Nationalists' station there. On October 1, 1949, the name was changed into the Central People's Broadcasting Station. It became the leading broadcast center.

In April, 1950, the Communists began to establish monitoring stations throughout the country. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has since broadcast the main programs for the monitoring stations all over Red China, including the Northwest. In 1950, there was only one program lasting 7 1/2 hours per day. From 1954 on, it increased to two programs with a total broadcasting

all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevisation. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods, but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.

The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and government, can be described as the average conception of the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.

Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course, the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia, became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep inclination towards Communism.

In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

N
159 Forces in Korea; 1955, deputy director of the General Political
668 Department of the People's Liberation Army.
[701]
[631] Kao Chin-shun: Communist Party member
Background unknown. When the Communists took over Sin-
S
159 kiang in late 1949, he was chosen as one of the two vice-chair-
668 men of the People's Government of Sinkiang. He is now vice-
631 chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and second
secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP.

N Li Ching-lin
159 Background and dates unknown. 1949-53, member of the Mili-
668 tary and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and vice-
631 chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia; 1953-54,
member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chair-
man of the People's Government of Ninghsia.

Liao Han-sheng: Communist Party member
A native of Hupeh Province, dates unknown. A political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; in 1949 he was appointed a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Chinghai Province until the election of 1954. When the council was reorganized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative Council, he continued as a member.

Lo I: Communist official and mass organization leader
Background unknown; member of the commission on political and legal affairs, land reform and people's supervision in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, and member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Member of the All-China Democratic Youth Association. In charge of youth work for the CCP in the Northwest.

Ma, Hsi-wu
Background unknown. In 1952 he was president of the Northwest court of the Supreme People's Court, and member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Land Reform Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1955, vice-president of the Supreme Court in Peking.

N
159 Ma Hung-k'uei (1893-)
614 In the study of the modern history of Northwest China under
the Nationalist administration, particularly the history of the
provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, special attention
must be directed to the history and background of the Ma clan,

669

669 REVOLUTION--attempts to seize political power by violent means; types (e.g., palace revolts, fifth columns, insurrections, class uprisings, civil wars); causes and objectives; rationalizations; participants; tactics (e.g., seizure of leading opponents, of military strongholds, of strategic urban utilities); counter-revolutionary tactics and movements; results of success and failure; etc. See also:

History and culture change	17	Ingroup antagonisms	578
Social stratification	56	Riots	579
War	72	Punishment of treason	687
Cultural goals	185		

S
631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge
of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian
S N inhabitants in general.
175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking,
the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
S N minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
175 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
657 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
563 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784,
669 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times
they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bëk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dsungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N
175 II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode
of Economy of the Minorities.

631 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
619 glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and
always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S N political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land
175 of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
631 again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it
668 was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
178 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
619 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
648 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's
cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bëk's policy

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

565 extremely obedient and timid toward the government officials.
829 Anyone who has some connection with the government can com-
181 mand the service and materials of the small people. One who has
just a sword may act as a lord in the Chinese rural community.
The common people in these communities are too meek and ignor-
ant to resist. The rural people in general are primarily con-
cerned with their food problem. Their attitude toward anything
565 is affected by this problem. Their attitude toward the coming of
829 the Communists, for example, was quite interesting. They were
anxious to know how far the Communists were and how great the
668 possibility was of their coming. When they were asked how they
177 felt about the coming of the Communists, the answer was that
what they feared mostly about the Communists was that the Com-
munists might eat up all the food they had and then they would be left to starvation. They seemed to believe that the Communists would not persecute them because they were just poor people. They had heard that the people in Szechwan called the Communists the misfortune bringers. It meant that wherever the Communists appeared they would bring misfortune. The Kansu people would not care how sweet the Communist promises might be, if the Communists had to live off the province's scanty food supply, they were not wanted. This shows that the economic conditions in the Northwest, as in other places, had great influence on the people's political attitude.

However, this does not mean that the Chinese peasants in the Northwest care only about their stomach and overlook all else. They also resent the fact that the government officials and the local gentry looked down upon them and treated them as people of little value. It is reported that bad administration of the local government at that time was the reason that the local Communists, led by a man named Liu Tzuotan, were able to make considerable progress among the peasants in a big territory between the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. The Communists gave the people many kinds of little or temporary advantages and made all sorts of big promises. At the moment they looked much better than the local government officials and therefore they won the people's confidence and support. It is reported that when the government tried to call the people in the villages to a meeting so they might be enlightened about the government's policy, very few came. But whenever Liu Tzu-tan wanted a mass meeting, the peasants swarmed into wherever the gathering was held. Liu Tzu-tan knew the common people's psychology and their dire needs, and he skillfully played these factors for his purpose. Consequently, his movement was very successful among the rural masses.

423 According to Fan Ch'ang-chiang's report, the Chinese farmers
in the areas between Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia were by and large landowners, not tenants. The areas were very thinly populated

II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves was at times considerable. As an illustration one might remember that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

S N 563 182

The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

S N 563 668 [641]

Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

S N [177]

S N 563 829

Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

S N 563 668 578 669

The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

S N 829

Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission.

S N 829 571

The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

B. Population Problems

1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

Of the many problems in regard to the population of Northwest China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese, together with its international complications, is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, west of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

2. The Uighur Autonomy

Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

"Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang, the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

certain amount of overlapping of the figures in Tables 1 and 2.

During the war years there was an expansion of schools in Sinkiang. By 1946 the number was as follows:

Table 3

Schools in Sinkiang in 1946*

1. Schools under the Provincial Bureau of Education
   a. Higher Education: 2 (the Sinkiang College and the Sinkiang Women's College, both at Urumchi)
   b. Middle Grade Schools:
      (1) Middle Schools
         Senior Grade: 4 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 4 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chuguchak)
      (2) Normal Schools
         Senior Grade: 2 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 5 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chugachak, one at Aksu)
   c. Vocational Schools
      Senior Grade: 2 (one at Ining, one at Chuguchak)
      Primary School Level: 4 (Urumchi, Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu)
   d. Public Schools, primary level: 580
2. Schools under the Cultural Associations:
   a. Primary Schools: 1,883.

*(Ministry of Information, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

Government sponsored education of Mongols and Tibetans was already initiated in 1910, when the comptroller-general of Chinghai founded the Chinghai Mongolian Academy at Hsi-ning. This school was conceived for service to the Mongol Banners exclusively.

A somewhat peculiar situation existed in Chinghai after the revolution of 1911. Chinghai in this period was ruled by Moslem generals, who persued a rather fair policy toward ethnic groups. The activities of one of these Moslem generals, Ma-Ch'i, should be stressed. The goal he set for himself was the introduction of at least one primary school in every community of Chinghai, regardless of the ethnic composition of the particular community. His activities were marked by his insistence that all children should learn Chinese in addition to their own language. Besides, he developed and enlarged the training of the ahung (teacher or lowest priestly rank). His first act upon becoming vice-governor of the province was the establishment of

'P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaqtu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The "Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a chain of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhabitants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism. Buighabu Bātur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a reward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church. After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the world but with the conquest of souls.

C. The Lamaism of Chinghai

The province of Chinghai, or Amdo as the Tibetans refer to it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Buddhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Langdarma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect, the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate excuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been supplied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Centuries ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was instituted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters concerning Mongolia and China.

Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall (1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk. Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have continued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kumbum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until recently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

N
361 also in Dzungaria. There a large expanse of pasture land
233 prevails more in the south along the northern foothill slope
311 of the Tien-shan than the north along the southern side of
the Altai.

N
161 C. Population Trend and Its Significance
1. The Changing Trend of the Northwest in Comparison with Other Major Regions.

The population of the Northwest as in the rest of the country has been on the increase in spite of the limited arable and irrigable land resulting from inadequate rainfall, and the mountainous terrain, as well as the frequent earthquakes in
N Kansu and repeated Moslem disturbances. It was reported that
[731] more than 246,000 people were killed by the great earthquake
[165] of Hai-yüan, Ching-ning, and Tung-wei in eastern Kansu in
[269] December, 1920, and the Moslem uprisings of 1861-1874,
1895, and 1944. Long before the 1953 census was taken, there has been an incessant influx of people in large numbers. A gradual increase is marked by various estimates and reports.
S For example, in regard to the population estimation of
[161] Sinkiang Province, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1910 gave the figure of 2,670,000 and 2,519,579 in 1923; the record taken from "Le Temps" of April 5, 1934, is around 5,000,000. According to a nation-wide regional survey taken by the Agricultural College of Nanking University in the period from 1928-1933, the annual rate of natural increase of the Northwest was at 11.5 per thousand which was exceeded only by the North China Plain, as illustrated by Table XII.[2]

N
163 According to the 1953 census report for the nation as a whole, the average birth rate is thirty-seven per thousand,
165 average death rate, seventeen, and average annual natural increase, twenty.

Table XII clearly indicates that the annual natural increase rate of the Northwest is due to a smaller death rate rather than a higher birth rate as compared with other regions. This might be the result of a healthier, drier climate rather than better living conditions or medical care. The 1953 census report gives an even larger natural increase for the nation due to a higher birth rate and a lower death rate. The gradual
N population increase of the Northwestern provinces is also
161 shown by Table XIII.[2] this table shows a considerable increase for the provinces of Shensi and Kansu (including Ninghsia)
S especially. As for Chinghai and Sinkiang, although the increase
[161] is not so pronounced, nearly one third of a million for the former and 1.1 million increase for the latter are indicated. These bring a total increase of over thirteen million (more than half the original number in seven years) for the four

1,2. [See pp. 135-136--Analyst]

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

792 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic
871 monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more complete systems of education and organization than are to be found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage.
[778] Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries
[423] own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious.
[651] Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries, these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

792 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the mon-
701 asteries perform many functions for their subjects and believers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies
[669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem rebellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely
795 in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

/Chinese Moslems/

equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of his followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divine revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to all questions and appeared to know many things. As the founder of a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. The differences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the following passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Koran should be recited once only instead of three times as held by the Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised once instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of Allah the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to religious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting for an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such an arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for calculating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering strictly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chinese lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat while praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to the tradition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, whereas the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is also a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria for preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to Islamic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs that have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem state in the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion during the nineteenth century.

After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in his sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma Hi-hsi, fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi had the advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, became an important religious center.

Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northwest, which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately there is not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Sufi order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of Jahrivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like the Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally despised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however, identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriva

/Chinese Moslems/

referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

H. The Salars

The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

A. Sites of Religious Traditions

The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-tzu

Democratic Dictatorship, 1949), the term "citizen" is restricted to certain select classes of people, not all the people.

Moreover, as the Communist officials have frankly stated, toleration would be granted to only religious faiths which (1) have been purified of foreign influences and "feudal superstitions," (2) contribute toward the increase of production, and (3) do not conflict with the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung. In other words, the Chinese Communists sanction only religions that have been tamed, domesticated, and cleansed of political coloration.

In the implementation of this policy of the Central People's Government, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, announced in February, 1955, that only "legal religious activities would be permitted by the people's government," because, he said, "individual counter-revolutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam and, under the cloak of religion, are carrying on counter-revolutionary activities." (Sinkiang jih-pao, February 25, 1955.)

The stiffening of Chinese Communist policy toward the adherents of Islam represented, actually, no radical change but rather the shedding of the pretense of benevolence toward the nationality minorities whose attachment to their religion was stronger than their allegiance to the state. It represented, too, a recognition by the Chinese Communists of the fundamental differences between Islam and Communism and of the impossibility of rationalizing these differences. Islam, with its strong social principles for the regulation of state and homelife, conflicts with the totalitarianism of Communism. As Moslem leaders of Asian countries have pointed out, Communism advocates the use of force against those who would not readily accede to it; Islam teaches men to bring others to follow the way of God by peaceful means. Communism does not respect the sanctity of human life, but teaches violence and favors the organization of society based upon atheism and anti-religion; Islam provides for individual rights and freedom, and encourages humanitarian services, compassionate feeling toward all living beings, apart from devotion to God.

Besides being a religion, Islam in Chinese Turkestan has also been a strong political force welding the multi-racial groups together in their struggle for self-rule and their resistance to oppression. The insurrections of the Moslems against the Chinese in the beginning of the nineteenth century have been led by religious leaders, the Khojas; the widespread uprisings of the Moslems in the 1860's were led by Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Kansu, and by Yakub Beg, who bore the title of Commander of the Faithful, in Kashgaria.

The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. Introduction

657 Welfare work in China's Northwest has to be conducted for the benefit of two distinct categories of people in need. The poor are composed of those whose problems arose out of inadequate standards of living. They include the aged and disabled, the orphans and other destitute or handicapped people. Marginal cases of this category are the underprivileged groups of society, who might maintain themselves, even though precariously, in years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and charity organizations normally available to this category are discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

657 731 The second category however, the victims of natural disasters, poses a special problem in the Northwest. As has been demonstrated in other Sections of this Handbook, the maintainence of agriculture in the Northwest is more dependent upon conservancy and irrigation projects than in other regions of China. During the last period of the Imperial era, many of these projects have fallen into disrepair, thus exposing the area to more critical inundations and droughts. Reports from the Imperial period reveal that there were fourteen severe inundations in the province of Shensi during the hundred years 1800-1900 and seven in Kansu. The same century brought sixteen severe droughts to Shensi and nine to Kansu. The droughts of 1877 which encompassed both provinces, of 1900/01 in Shensi, and of 1908/09 in Kansu were catastrophes of a national extent.

The frequency and severity of earthquakes in the Northwest adds to the problems of the region, particularly since in many areas of the region people live in loess caves. The great earthquake of 1879 which hit both Shensi and Kansu, the one of 1881 in Kansu and the ones of 1892 in the Kucha district of Sinkiang and the Hsi-ning district of Chinghai are still in everybody's memory, even though the twenties of our century have again brought two devastating earthquakes.

[669] Nor is this all. During the last hundred years the Northwest has been ravaged by rebellions and civil wars almost without interruption. Several of these events left in their wake a vast number of displaced and needy people, who added to the problems of emergency and disaster relief.

794 II. Welfare Among the Moslems

735 A. The Distribution of Welfare Responsibilities

779 Most of the efforts in the field of public welfare among the

/Chinese, Chinese [redacted]lems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. The Government of Administrative Regions

A. Basis of Regions

The turning point of the Chinese Communists' military campaign in northwest China was on April 22, 1948, when they retook Yenan. With the deteriorating general military situation, the Nationalists rapidly lost the Northwest. In December, 1949, the Communist conquest of the area was basically complete. Just as in other areas, the army was their main strength, essential in maintaining peace and order. Thus the local political structures which they set up were closely knit to the military forces, an inheritance from the civil war. Recognizing this fact, the central government of the People's Republic decided to divide the nation into several large regions, roughly corresponding to the assigned areas of each field army. It appointed the commanders of the various field armies to manage the civil administrations of the corresponding regions. The Northwest Region included the municipality of Sian, directly under the central authority, and five provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang.

B. Organizational Regulations

1. Military and administrative council

On December 16, 1949, the Government Administrative Council passed the organizational regulations of the People's Government Committee on Administrative Regions. According to these regulations, a Military and Administrative Committee was to be appointed by the Central Government in each administrative region to maintain peace and order during the first stage of the Communist conquest.

a. composition

P'eng Te-huai, the commander of the First Field Army, was appointed Chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, which had two vice-chairmen and forty-one members. The chairman and vice-chairmen were Chinese, and the members included four Moslems, two Uighurs, one Tibetan, one Mongol, and thirty-three Chinese. One of the Chinese was a woman.

b. expiation

In the regulations it was also stated that the Military and Administrative Councils were to be abolished as soon as the following conditions were fulfilled:

(1) when the military action was over;
(2) when land reform was completed;
(3) when the people of each region were well organized and a general election had been called. Then the People's Congresses of each administration region, elected by popular vote, were to elect

Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the Communist Central People's Government were the same men who had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-appointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the Northwest, but not in a basic change in the composition.

The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Communists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops, who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ninghsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and Sinkiang.

Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes: the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties, such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions. They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since 1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant, Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

N in curbing the hostility of segments of the population towards the
\#175 Communist regime. Sabotage as well as open rebellion continued
\#668 unabated, as the following items, culled from Communist papers,
669 show:
578 Item: November, 1951, arsonists set fire to the Urumchi Fur Factory causing a loss of two billion yuan (US $100,000).
175 Item: April to July, 1952. Revolt of Chinese Moslems in Kansu,
668 who killed over 3,000 Communist cadres and many government
669 officials and seized control of three districts.
578 Item: March to June, 1953. 1,380 "bandits" reported annihilated in southern Kansu.
Item: December, 1953, Suppression of "bandit" forces under Ma Liang in the Kansu-Chinghai-Szechwan border region.
Item: First half of 1954, 3,420 counter-revolutionary cases unearthed.

IV. United Front Work, 3. The Cadres

N
\#175 A. Recruitment of Cadres
\#668 The placement of non-Communist and non-Chinese leaders in the government and the organization of the people, while important, were but subsidiary tasks. The principal task was the reform of the old cadres and the recruitment of new cadres to serve as the work forces of the party and the state. The job, which was a part
N of the building of the "democratic United Front" since it concerned
[647] the integration of Communist with non-Communist employees, was handled by two agencies of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP: the Department of Organization, headed by Ma Wen-jui, which was responsible for party expansion, and the Department of United Front Work, headed by Wang Feng, which was responsible for recruiting and integrating non-Communists and non-Chinese functionaries in government and party work.

The shortage of trained cadres and the need for more were felt by the Communist authorities from the beginning of their rule over the Northwest. In November, 1949, barely a month after the Communists took over the vast territories of the Northwest and two and a half months before the formation of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, Ma Wen-jui, who had already set up his Department of Organization, declared that the main problem facing the Chinese Communist Party was the training and employment of new cadres (JMJP, January 4, 1950). The need was particularly urgent in view of the depletion of trained men due to the transfer of many of the veteran cadres of the old Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region to other parts of the country and the reluctance of the local youth to become cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün, secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that the number of men who had

*668 violate rules and regulations are stressed as they were in the
monarchal days.

[626] Social pressure is also great. With the whole population
organized under the Communists' tight control, the entire society can be mobilized to work against crime and political conspiracies. This has been well demonstrated by the various "anti" movements and the study groups.

174 B. Current Problems of Administration

Because of the tight governmental control of news and the dis-
*668 tance which separates northwest China from the outside world,
[656] very little information has been obtained about resistance activities in the area. However, judging by the meager information offered by the Communists themselves, their rule over the northwest has not been very smooth. The Communists seldom, if ever, reveal their troubles while they are current, but they do uncover some facts when the resistance has been suppressed. By careful screening, one may piece together the picture of subversive activities in the area. Sometimes they were on an alarming scale. To help clarify this general background, some excerpts from the Chinese Communists' own reports and a few indirect quotations are presented as examples.

*175 1. "During the past year, (i.e. 1950)...we have destroyed
more than 69,600 bandits in the northwest. Right now there are
579 still more than 5,400 active bandits. The largest group is the one
*668 under the leadership of Osman and Husein who are hiding in the
669 deep mountains along the border line between the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. There are about two to three thousand men in this group. The rest of the bandits are in small groups linked with various underground spies and the rural counter-revolutionary forces. The condition is still very complicated..." (Jen-min ch'u-pan-she: Cheng-fu kung-tso pao-jao, 1950, p. 418, Report on the book of the Government.)

*175 2. "...the misunderstanding...between the various nation-
alities has not yet been thoroughly dissolved. Consciously or un-
563 consciously,...the Pan-Chinese idea still exists in our Chinese
*668 cadres' mind. Besides, we still have some serious shortcomings
669 and mistakes in our nationality work. When the remnants of the bandits and spies fanned up the feelings of the people, it led to the disputes that occurred among the nationality groups in certain areas after the liberation. In the area of Lin-hsia (in Kansu), the military conflict between the Moslems and the Chinese caused more than one thousand deaths and the dislocation of more than 30,000 people who were forced to leave their homes. The loss in production was even more serious.

"In Ta-t'ung county of Chinghai, the T'ung-hsin-ch'eng of Ninghsia, in the area of P'ing-liang of Kansu, there have been

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*175 military riots on a large or small scale.... The Chinese at Tien-
*563 tzu-wa of Ku-yuan county (in Kansu) were unwilling to be annexed
*668 to Chang-hua-tien where the Moslems were the majority. They
669 repeatedly petitioned to the county government, but the county
magistrate insisted on upholding his own opinion.... This ended in the tragedy of the magistrate being beaten and numerous people murdered." (Ibid., p. 444).

3. "(NCNA Sian, December 10, 1950)"

S
"Bandit remnants remaining in Sinkiang, native bandits,
175 and special agents working for the US-Chiang elements, led by
579 Ulachibai, Stiga and Pulungchiafu who had been determinedly pur-
668 sued by the People's Liberation Army, were forced on December 1
669 to surrender their force of 127, bringing with them 70 rifles, 4,000
rounds of ammunition, and a number of horses.

"Ulachibai, a Kazak, was formerly the puppet (i.e. Nationalist) deputy magistrate of Chinghua hsien. Stiga, also a Kazak, was Commander of the Kou-mintang Self-Defense Corps at Nanshan. Pulungchiafu, a Mongol, was formerly puppet deputy magistrate of Ashan hsien, and a company commander of the forces of the bandit Osman.

"During the months of June and July, 1950, the aforementioned three bandits, in collusion with the US-Chiang agent, Osman, undertook to shelter special agents and army deserters, and proceeded with an orgy of rebellion, massacre, and robbery, in the Ching-hua, Nanshan, and Yenki areas.

"For the protection of the interest of the people, the People's Liberation Army, after the successful suppression of the bandit gangs led by Osman, Yollbars (Yolbar), and Janimkan (Janim Khan), since July has conducted operations against the bandit remnants of the three bandit chiefs.

"After overcoming many difficulties, the People's Liberation Army finally dealt annihilating blows to the remaining bandits."

An editorial in the Peking Jen-min jih-pao, (December 28, 1950) reported:

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4. "Liu Yung-nien, chief of the technical division of the
*175 Kuomingtang's 'Second Bureau' in Lanchow... is an arch criminal,
669 who, after liberation of Lanchow, planted 1,200 mines and destroyed
the Hsiang-t'ang bridge."

5. "In the spring of 1952, the anti-Communists guerrillas in the P'ing-liang area of eastern Kansu started two open rebellions on April 2nd and May 8th under the leadership of Ma Hsiao-tung and Ma Kuo-yuan. They attacked the counties of Hsi-chi, Hai-yuan and spread all over eastern Kansu and continued their activities, commented Lo Chun in "The Construction and Management of the Highway in Northwest China," in Chung-kung wen-t'i, No. 3, p. 120.

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*175 6. "(NCNA Sian, September 7, 1952)
*668 The Ang-la tribe is located 300 li southeast of Sining in the
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*175 Chien-cha district in Chinghai province. It is a place in the wooded
*668 mountains on the west bank of the upper stretch of the Yellow River,
• 669 where over 8,000 Tibetans dwell together. After the liberation of
579 Chinghai province, large numbers of the KMT remnant bandits under Ma Pu-fang fled to the Chien-cha district, and instigated Hsiang Ch'ien, chieftain of the tribe, to oppose the People's Government, obstructed the communication lines in the adjoining districts, successively assaulted with force the Tibetans and people of other nationalities in the border regions of Kweitch, Hwalung, Shunhwa, and Tungjen, and several times attacked the PLA.

"With a view to peacefully solving the problem of the Ang-la tribe, as early as October, 1950, the Chinghai Provincial People's Government appointed Hsiang Ch'ien as a member of the Consultative Conference. From September, 1951, to April, '952, the provincial people's government dispatched personnel 17 times to persuade and convince Hsiang Ch'ien. Chairman of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government Hsi-jao-chia-tso, Vice Chairman of the Consultative Committee Drashi, Deputy Secretary General Ku-chia-sai; Ta-erh-ssu-fa-t'ai-hsia-jung-to-pu, member; Yueh-sai-to-chieh, member of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs; Sang-je-shia-tso, deputy director of the Department of Culture and Education; Keng-teng, deputy magistrate of Kweitch hsien; Ch'ueh-chi, deputy magistrate of Hwalung hsien; T'ung-ch'u-hu, magistrate of Haiyen hsien; Pa-meng, Vice Manager of the Chinghai Trading Company, and other prominent figures of the Tibetan nationality went in person to persuade him...

"In February and March 1952, Hsiang Ch'ien thrice instigated more than 1,000 persons to invade the border region of Kweiteh and other hsien, and attacked the PLA forces at the locality. Furthermore, he dispatched personnel to infiltrate into Tungteh, Hsinghai, Tulan, and other hsien with the intent of instigating and expanding the rebellion...

"In early May, under the assistance and cooperation of the Tibetans and the people of various nationalities, the PLA of the Chinghai Military District carried out an annihilation campaign in the Chiencha district. Most of the reactionary armed forces surrendered at the locality, while Hsiang Ch'ien himself fled and hid in the mountains, bringing along a small number of persons and horses, ...Hsiang Ch'ien's family was protected by the PLA...

"Chou Jen-shan, director of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Chinghai Provincial Committee, Sang-je-chia-tso, deputy director of the Department of Culture and Education of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, Yueh-sai-to-chieh, member of the Committee of Nationalities Affairs, Yu-chia-sai, Secretary General of the Chinghai Provincial Consultative Committee, and Ch'ueh Chi, deputy magistrate of Hwalung hsien also went to comfort them...

"Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and arrived at Sining on July 31....

"The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:

"During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

"(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Administration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23, to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. Instead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"

The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances. Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to pacity the resisting minorities.

9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)

"According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

"The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research together with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sentences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the criminal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two special districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two municipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

"Judging from the events that have taken place in our province during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habitual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

who are recalcitrant in maintaining their reactionary standing and military and government officials of the former Chiang government still cling to the shameful and parasitical way of life without engaging themselves in proper employment but commit various practices of thieft and swindling. Some ruffians indulge in drinking and assaulting women. Some illegal prostitutes and professional gamblers convert their brothels and gambling houses into dens for robbers, thieves, and ruffians, and into hotbeds for nourishing crimes. Some unscrupulous second-hand goods dealers and hotel keepers collude with burglarious elements to dispose of spoils and even act as chief planner of crimes. More serious still, a batch of habitual thieves who sneakily move around various places even collaborate with one another to commit theft and robbery in an organized manner, using arms to threaten people and to carry out violence. Some culprits refuse to repent during reform through labor and even escape from jails to continue their crimes. Some burglarious elements who sneaked into our province from other provinces and who also belonged to the category of counter-revolutionaries carry out their counter-revolutionary sabotage activities in the form of criminal offense or impose themselves as military and government personnel to commit extortion and blackmailing. Some ruffians even intensified their activities to rob and rape women."

12. "An address delived by Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o, a deputy from Chinghai, at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National Congress:

"'Recently, in some nomadic areas (in Chinghai) we discovered rumors spread by the enemies, saying, "To start cooperatives in nomadic areas is just another form of confiscation of cattle and sheep." It definitely hurt the productive morale of the people....

"' Furthermore, there are numerous counter-revolutionary elements carrying on sabotage under the cover of religion. This is often discovered in the area of minority groups. For instance in some nomadic areas in Chinghai, people rumored that a Heavenly mandate had descended, saying that the world would be destroyed soon. The people would suffer in great calamities, etc. It was a disguise of the devil to disturb the common people... But a lot of those who had faith but were short of wisdom believed it.... They interrupted their productive activities and devoted their time wholly on chanting Buddhist scriptures every day, hoping that by doing so they may escape from the disasters....

"'The counter-revolutionists are so active that we cannot afford to neglect them. We must get rid of the idea that everything is in order.... We must suppress them.'" (Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 69.)

13. In the Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 197, there appeared

"An address delivered by Sun Tso-ping, a deputy from Chinghai,

at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National People's Congress on July 27, 1955:

"'Chinghai is an area where many nationalities live....There are hidden counter-revolutionists and reactionary landlords, rich farmers who are still trying in every way to sabotage the unity of the nationalities. The methods used by these enemies for sabotage are dangerous and shrewd, mainly along two lines, namely, under the cover of religion or by upsetting international relations. The counter-revolutionists also sabotage our productive activities through arson, robbery, spreading of rumor, etc. They even organize open military rebellions. The reactionary landlords and rich farmers also stir up trouble between the middle farmers and the poor farmers. They infiltrate into the mutual cooperative groups and cooperatives to sabotage the mutual cooperative movement.'"

14. The Sinkiang jih-pao, September 30, 1954, reported that

"In the first half of 1954 alone, we have discovered 3429 cases of counter-revolutionary plots in Sinkiang. According to incomplete statistics, we have made arrests in at least 15,000 cases of various criminal offenses during the past 5 years." (A Report on the Achievements of the Political Works in Sinkiang Province during the Past Five Years," by Vice-chairman Kao Chin-ch'un of Sinkiang Province.)

The above reports clearly indicate that there have been disturbances, resistance, sabotage and open rebellion besides ordinary crimes in every province of the Northwest from the very beginning of the Communist conquest until the present.

4. Conclusion

The regular police system under the Communists is huge, yet it is only a very small part of the whole police system, much like the part of an iceberg floating above the sea level. Strictly speaking, every branch of the Communist government, no matter whether it is legislative, administrative, judicial or economic, is a part of the police system and under the control of the Party. Moreover, every person in the country is organized and enlisted in the secret service. He is watching and being watched. Violators are subject to very heavy penalty. (See "The Regulations for Punishing the Counter-Revolutionaries" adopted by 11th meeting of the Central People's Government Council on February 20, 1951, in 1952 Jen-min shou-ts'e.)

SUBVERSIVE POTENTIALITIES

I. Introduction

The history of China's Northwest has been a great number of insurrections and revolts against the established order. Spontaneous outbreaks, however, occurred only as a result of desperation. The forces that ruled the people remained unchallenged until the misery and poverty which surrounded them became unbearable. Even then, the people would not strike out blindly against their oppressors, but would look to their own tribal chieftains and priests for leadership (see section Political Dynamics). In more recent times, intellectuals, army men and even bandits have taken the place of the old leaders, but it would be incorrect to say that the people themselves have the political consciousness which changes governments or overthrows regimes. On the other hand, the persistent nationalism combined with the strong religious tradition that exists among the Moslems of the Northwest, and the tribal and nomadic past of the peoples of Turkestan and Central Asia, could always be aroused by ambitious and popular leaders in opposition to alien penetration. Throughout the centuries, hostility has existed both against any foreign rulers and among the tribes and minority groups themselves. Three major sources of conflict will be mentioned here: 1) The traditional friction among the tribes of Northwest China due to religious and economic differences; 2) wide-spread resentment on the part of the native peoples toward Chinese rule; 3) dissatisfaction with the Communist regime.

II. Friction among Northwestern Peoples

In the first place, because of its geographical position, Northwest China stands at the crossroads of conflicting political ideologies and religious beliefs, originating from the Middle East, India, China and Russia. In an area like Sinkiang, there have lived in uneasy proximity Buddhists, Mohammedans, Greek Orthodox Russians, unorthodox Chinese and atheistic Russians, as well as believers in the most primitive religious practices. Economically also there has existed great contrast: the nomadic tradition of the Kazakhs and Mongols, the oasis economy of the peoples of Inner Asia, the methods of Chinese agriculture, the alpine economy of the Kirghiz of the Tienshan, the economy of the Arikolis who live on the high plateaus of the Pamirs, alongside of which a very young industrial and commercial economy is developing. Friction has always existed between the settled farmers of the oases and the nomadic herdsmen, while within the farming communities, conflicts over water rights, the use of forests and roads, were permanent features in rural life.

cance than the fact that the hardships and disasters previously caused by poor precipitation now seem to have been eliminated. Livestock has improved, as has the economy in general. There is a fairly good public health program to protect humans, and an even better one for the cattle. With patriotic fanfare both men and beasts now must undergo inoculation campaigns. In the cultural sphere, the Communists have increased the number of schools and have extended adult and higher education. Religious practices are not restricted. The native theater, music and dance, as well as the publication of books and magazines in the native languages, are officially encouraged, and lend color to what is generously called "cultural autonomy." Women have been given equal rights with men, a policy that has caused that segment to look favorably on the whole Communist regime. Even the enforcement of public safety and order has revealed a positive side. It has stopped the endless inter-tribal struggles over pasture lands and irrigation rights, and has insured a certain degree of internal peace - even if a rather artificial one. Mechanization in agriculture and industrialization in general has brought a great deal of pride to the tribal people. The superficial rights they have obtained have created a surprising amount of loyalty toward the regime.

As a result, the number of refugees leaving for Afghanistan, Iran, Tibet and Pakistan, has become smaller, and the organs of effective opposition within Sinkiang and Northwestern China have become considerably weaker, a condition not entirely attributable to the campaign of suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

B. "Counter-Revolutionary" Activities

While all this may be true to some degree, there are sufficient indications that the negative aspects of Communism often are greater than the technological gains and cultural freedoms that have made it acceptable to a substantial part of the population. The campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries revealed that large numbers of people are antagonistic toward the Communist policies. (For incidents of this kind see section on Public Order and Safety and Political Dynamics). If these statements seem to be mutually contradictory, it must be remembered that elements of truth are present in both contentions. Any categoric evaluation of the attitudes of the people toward the Communist regime would surely be unrealistic. It must also be noted that official sources tend to exaggerate the evil and intensity of the counter-revolutionary activities in order to carry on an effective suppression campaign. This policy itself will continue to increase the dissatisfaction and insecurity of the people. Another point to be remembered is that opposition to the Communist administration is not uniform throughout the Northwest. The provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, are inhabited by large numbers of Chinese,

collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Furthermore, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.). It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

4. Religious organizations

Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, especially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

C. Centers of Resistance Abroad

It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a centralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

countries bordering Soviet and Chinese Turkestan have given official recognition to this government-in-exile. It has its headquarters far from Central Asia - in Düsseldorf, West Germany. However, the National Turkestanian Unity Committee is supported unofficially by many of the Moslem countries of the Middle East and Central Asia, such as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. In each of these countries the Committee maintains a representative office staffed by two members from each Turkish clan from Eastern and Western Turkestan. Iraq is the exception where there is only one representative. In addition to giving financial aid to the exiled government, these countries render assistance in getting Turkestanian refugees temporarily settled. They also allow the establishment of National Turkestanian Unity Committee branches within their borders.

The Committee is composed of ten departments, each of which is under the combined direction of President Veli Khayum Khan and a secretary. These departments are: 1) Organizations and Social Institutions; 2) Science; 3)Information; 4) the Press; 5) Public Health; 6) the Clergy (Turkish: Ulema); 7) Military Affairs; 8) Education, directed cooperatively by all members; 9) Women's Activities; and 10) Foreign Relations, of which Veli Khayun Khan alone is the head.

The spiritual leader of the movement for an independent Turkestan is the famous turkologist Zeki Velidi Togan, who is now a member of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Istanbul. A native of Bashkiria, Zeki Veliki Togan studied and taught Arabic literature at the University of Kazan. In November, 1917, he became president of Bashkiria. In 1922 he led the Basmachi revolt against Soviet rule. With their suppression, he fled to Tashkent, and from there to Turkey.

During the Second World War, the National Committee gave Germany effective aid against Russia, but its aim always has been independence from any foreign power. "The Germans, as the enemy of our enemy, were temporarily our friends, but we envisaged this state of affairs only for as long as they were fighting against the Russians." (Milli Turkistan #79B, p. 5). The ultimate goal of the Turkestanian government-in-exile is to liberate all of Soviet Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan, a territory of about four million square miles with a population of over twenty million. The leaders of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee claim that they are able to maintain contact with the peoples of Central Asia and that messengers frequently cross unguarded mountain passes to take contraband literature to Communist-controlled countries, and return to the West with reliable information of conditions under Communist rule. Naturally, it is difficult to estimate the degree of influence which the National Turkestanian Unity

Committee holds over the people of Northwest China. Nor is it possible to predict to what extremes a fanatically nationalistic movement may go in order to establish a Greater Turkestan Empire, or the new sufferings which such a Turkic regime may mean to others.

2. Formosa

Since 1949, Formosa has been the natural center for anti-Communist activities. The Nationalists attempt to maintain contact with the border regions, but it is impossible to estimate the effectiveness of such an espionage or sabotage system. Refugees from the Northwest and elsewhere are given subsidies. Frequently they are employed in the anti-Communist propaganda and planning undertaken by Taipeh. The Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs sponsors radio broadcasts to the Northern, Northwestern and Western border regions, and has done most of the planning for the eventual overthrow of the Communist regime. These include, 1) a draft plan for the administration of the border regions during the counter-offensive, 2) a draft plan for anti-Communist work to be handled by the anti-Communist agencies in the border regions (although no details are given about them), and 3) plans for the training of administrative personnel from the border regions. The Commission has also been publishing books and pamphlets on the problems of these areas.

An anti-Communist branch of the China Islam Association also has its headquarters on Formosa. It serves as a center for Moslem refugees from the Northwest, as well as from Inner Mongolia and China Proper.

Aside from these organizations, there are also individuals who possibly may form a nucleus for future anti-Communist leadership. They include such people as General Pai Chung-hsi, who works closely with the China Islam Association on Formosa, Yolbas Khan, one of the Kazakh leaders who fought with Osman Batur, Ma Hung-k'ui, the former governor of Ninghsia who now lives in San Francisco, and Ma Pu-fang, the former governor of Ch'inghai, who escaped to Formosa and thence to Egypt in 1949. The latter two are devout Moslems and have fought actively against the Communists in the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang is remembered for his enlightened rule and is trusted by the Moslems in all parts of the Northwest. (See section Biographies for details on these men).

Thus, the potential organization and leadership for a non-Communist government in the Northwest exists. Their practical value must remain slight as long as the regime in power continues to be centralized and as long as it gives the people enough material benefits to take the place of political freedoms.

military commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang. He further hinted that he might be in a position to persuade Russian authorities to render help for developing Sinkiang under Chang's leadership. Thereupon Chang Chih-chung recommended Burkhan as a member of the State Council of the Nationalist Government in Nanking, and sent him to Nanking to negotiate with the Soviet ambassador. By December 2, 1948, a secret agreement was reached between Burkhan, as personal representative of Chang Chih-chung, and the Soviet ambassador. The prerequisite of the secret treaty was the removal of the Nationalist commander, Sung Hsi-lien. The important clauses included closer cooperation between Chang Chih-chung and the Chinese Communist Party for the purpose of liberating Sinkiang, and in return, the government of the Soviet Union would give assistance toward reconstruction of Sinkiang. Chang had no choice but to remove both General Sung Hsi-lien and Governor Maksud, and recommend Burkhan as governor of Sinkiang. On December 31, 1948, the Central Government formally appointed Burkhan.

On January 10, 1949, Burkhan officially took over the office. In his open letter to the peoples of Sinkiang, Burkhan stressed the pro-Russia attitude of General Chang Chih-chung. When Chang called a conference of the political and military chiefs in the Northwest, rumors spread that Sinkiang would be given to the Soviet Union or was preparing to surrender to the Communists. When Burkhan returned from the conference he denied all these rumors. By March 1949, the entire situation in the interior of China had made a drastic change. In Sinkiang, prices had become extremely high. Burkhan proclaimed his policy of economic self-sufficiency in Sinkiang by issuing silver dollars and silver dollar notes as the new currency and discontinuing use of National gold yüan notes. In May of the same year, Burkhan extended the Sino-Russian Aviation Pact for another five years. In the meantime Manchuria had been taken by the Communists, and the whole of north China was also put under the control of the Communists with the surrender of General Fu Tso-i, while in Central China, a Soviet regime was also formed. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek announced his retirement from his presidency, and General Li Tsung-jen, vice-president of the Nationalist Government, took over the power and began to negotiate peace with the Communists.

In July, 1949, the Communist troops had begun to move into Kansu Province. On September 23, 1949, the Communist general, Wang Chen, received the surrender of the Nationalist troops at Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu Province. On September 25, two days after the surrender, Burkhan, together with the commander of the Nationalist troops in Sinkiang, cabled to Peiping to announce their severance of relationship from the Nationalist

159 and the so-called Four Ma, all of Moslem religion. Ma Hung-
[614] k'ui is one of them. His father, Ma Fu-hsiang (literary name, Yun-t'ing), served in the early years of the Republic as the High Commissioner for Chinghai, commander of the Guards Division for Altai, and later in the second year of the Republic, 1913, the Commission of the Guards Division for Ninghsia.

When the Revolution of 1911 broke out, Ma Hung-k'uei was
[669] studying at the military school in Lanchou, Kansu. He played a small part in the revolution by mobilizing the students of the school and trying, unsuccessfully, to take over some strategic points in the city.

159 He started his military career when he followed his father to
701 Ninghsia as a batallion leader. In 1921, when his father was transferred to be the garrison commander of Suiyuan, he was promoted as commanding officer of the Fifth Mixed Brigade. During the war between Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria and Wu P'ei-fu of Chihli (Hopei) Province, he was appointed as the commander of the cavalry in Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces. After the war was over, he followed the victorious General Feng Yu-hsiang to Peking. In 1926, when the Northern Expedition started, he followed General Feng again, taking part in the expedition. At this time his troop was reorganized into the Fourth Army of the First Army Group, and he became the commander of the Fourth Army. In 1928, he fought the war in North China and his troops suffered a great loss. When the situation was settled, he regrouped his troops into the 17th Division, and was put in charge of suppressing the bandits in the western part
[669] of Shantung Province. In April, 1929, when General Feng Yu-hsiang revolted against the Nationalist Government headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Ma remained loyal to the Nationalist Government. His troops were again reorganized into the 11th Army. In 1930, his army was enlarged into the 15th Army Group and was in charge of patrolling the Lung-hai and Tientsin-Pukou Railway lines. In the winter of 1932 he was ordered to go to Ninghsia, and on January 1, 1933, he was appointed governor of Ninghsia.

When Ma Hung-k'ui took over the administration in 1933, the
159 province of Ninghsia was in a deplorable situation, suffering
185 from floods and the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. To restore
656 peace and prosperity to the people, Ma Hung-k'uei first mopped
[579] up the remnants of the bandits in his province. He introduced the Pao-chia system by which the people were organized to insure against the recurrence of banditry. Third, he adopted measures to put a gradual end to the planting and smoking of opium. Fourth, he stabilized the currency within Ninghsia and improved the taxation system. Simultaneously, he followed the policies of improving land administration, encouraging

159 the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest. When he was twenty-
701 one years old, Ma Hung-pin started his military career by
serving as commanding officer of the cavalry corps in charge
of the Sining mines in Chinghai Province, and at the same time
he was a member of the reclamation commission and mining
commission of that province. In 1911, he became commanding
officer of the cavalry batallion in charge of the patrol of the
western region of Kansu. His first military merit was achieved
when he pacified the disturbances of the two Mongol banners in
western Suiyuan who were stirred to revolt by the independence
achieved by Outer Mongolia in the first years of the Chinese Re-
public. In 1914, he was the commanding officer of the Seventh
Cavalry Batallion and stationed in western Suiyuan guarding the
Yellow River Bend and keeping a watchful eye against the Outer
Mongols. Because of his meritorious record in the pacification
of bandits in his area, he was awarded several medals and was
promoted to lieutenant general by President Li Yüan-hung of the
Peking Government. Later he also received a medal from the
[648] government of Belgium for his excellent work in protecting Bel-
gian missionaries. In 1920 he was appointed as Defense Com-
missioner for Ninghsia (not a province at that time) and was
charged with the duty of defending the frontier areas. In 1926
he was given the post of Pacification Commander of the Shensi-
Kansu border regions. In 1927, when the Northern Expedition
began, he was the commander of the 24th Division of the Sec-
ond Army Group of which General Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christ-
ian General) was the commander-in-chief. In 1928 he was trans-
ferred as the commander of the Seventh Division.

159 When the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking,
635 Ma Hung-pin was appointed the first governor of the newly or-
ganized province of Ninghsia. This was, so far, the first politi-
cal assignment for Ma. In 1930 he was also made acting gover-
nor of Kansu Province. His political life ended in 1933 when his
cousin, Ma Hung-k'uei, succeeded him as governor of Ninghsia.
159 From 1934-1936, his main task was to pacify the remaining
[579] bandits in the eastern region of Kansu. Because his policy in
suppressing bandits was to win them over rather than annihalate
them, he had won for himself the nickname of "Ma the Kind
[701] Man." In 1937, as commander of the 81st Division and, concur-
rently, defense commissioner for the western region of Suiyuan,
[648] he led his troops in fighting the Japanese invaders in that area.
In 1940 he became commander-in-chief for the defense of Eto-
kuchi, a Mongol Banner in western Suiyuan.

159 When the Communists started their campaign in the North-
• 669 west, Ma Hung-pin surrendered Ninghsia Province to the Peo-
* 668 ple's Liberation Army on September 16, 1949. Because of this
drastic move, the whole Northwest was soon lost to the Com-
munists.

under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i, was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the position of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks: First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

159 provincial capital of Chinghai, Sining, fell to the Communists.
669 He was asked by the Communist authorities to serve on their Military Control Board, but when the Nationalist Government mpved to Formosa, he managed to leave China. He now lives in Cairo, Egypt.

Ma Pu-ch'ing (1898-)

159 Born in 1898 in the district of Lin-hsia in Kansu Province, Ma Pu-ch'ing was the elder brother of Ma Pu-feng, governor of Chinghai Province from 1937 to 1949, and the oldest son of the late governor of Chinghai, Ma Lin. The youngest son, Ma Pu-ying, did not enter public life, but chose to be a farmer. After
159 he was graduated from the First Middle School of Kansu, Ma
701 Pu-ch'ing entered military life. In 1922 he was commander of the Fourth Regional Garrison. Next year he was promoted as commanding officer of the Cavalry Regiment of the Fifth Mixed Brigade of the Army. In 1928 he became commanding officer of the 77th Brigade of the 28th Division of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army. In 1929 he was transferred to commanding officer of the 65th Brigade of the 22nd Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Army Group of the Revolutionary Army. In 1930, he was given commandership of the Loyang Garrison. By next year he became commanding officer of the 26th Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Region of the Nationalist Army. In 1932 he was promoted as commanding officer of the First Cavalry Division of Kansu Province. In the same year, he was transferred as commanding officer of the Second Cavalry Division of the Nationalist Army. In 1936 he became commanding officer of the Fifth
159 Cavalry Division of the Army. When the Sino-Japanese War
701 broke out, he was appointed as the Commissioner of Highways in Kansu Province. Later he was given the position as Reclama-
631 tion Commissioner of Tsaidam region in Chinghai Province, and concurrently commanding officer of the Fifth Cavalry Division. In 1943 he became deputy commander-in-chief of the Fortieth Army Group.

159 His appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam
631 region in Chinghai Province by the Central Government came at the time his brother, Ma Pu-fang, was governor of that prov-
635 ince. Thus the two brothers were often mentioned together as administrative heads of Chinghai. At that time China was engaged in the war against the Japanese invaders, and the whole coastal region had been lost to the enemy. To deal with the urgent need to continue the war, the Central Government then adopted a policy of developing the border regions. Ma's appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam was therefore considered a very important step. Tsaidam region is situated in the northwestern part of Chinghai Province, between the

Ch'ilien and Chishih Mountains. In the Tsaidam River valley, comprised of six districts, there were nearly a hundred thousand Mongols, who were Buddhists by religion and nomads economically, and twenty-five thousand Kazakhs, with some Moslems and Chinese. When Ma Pu-ch'ing took over this region he directed his reclamation program along the following lines: to inspire patriotism among the border peoples, to promote education, to develop the uncultivated lands by settlements of people, and to increase production by encouraging industrial programs, to improve the transportation facilities to ship needed goods to the interior, and finally to open mines in that region for the needs of both the border area and the interior.

His public life, like that of his younger brother, was finally ended by the arrival of the Communists. When the Northwest was lost to the People's Liberation Army, he fled from Chinghai and followed the Nationalist Government to Formosa.

Ma T'eng-ai

Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954.

Ma Wen-jui: Communist Party member

A native of Shensi Province. He had served as secretary to the Communist Headquarters in eastern Kansu under the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government. When the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest was formed in 1950, he was appointed as a member of that council, in which he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and a member in the Political and Legal Commission, positions which he retained when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council in 1953. In the party, he has been since 1950, director of the Department of Organization and director of the Commission on Women's Work in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In 1955, he was transferred to Peking as Minister of Labor.

The main responsibility of Ma Wen-jui was to push the United Front work in the Northwest in 1950. His Department of Organization was active, months before the formation of the MAC and the People's Governments, in the induction of former Nationalist Government functionaries and students into the governments of the Communists. Later, he was responsible for pushing the ideological reforms of the cadres and the purges in 1952, and the job of Communist Party expansion in the Northwest.

position in 1954. Since 1953, appointed concurrently a member of the Administrative Council of the Northwest. In 1955 he was made a member of the National Defense Council. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

Teng is another example among the officers of the Nationalist Army who shifted their allegiance from one party to the other. As his defection from the Nationalist Government speeded the Communist cause in North China, he won a rather high place in the Communist Government.

Tso Tsung-t'ang (1812-1885); General, statesman

Born in 1812 in Hunan Province. His family was poor though both his grandfather and father held the degree of hsiu-ts'ai. He studied under his grandfather and later under his father, and in 1837 entered the Ch'eng-nan Shu-yuan (Southern City Academy) and studied under Ho Hsi-ling. Obtained the Chu-jen degree in 1838 but failed in three attempts to win Chin-shih degree. In 1852 when the Tai-ping troops entered Yunnan Province, he was asked by the governor of Hunan, Chang Liang-chi, to help in the defense of Ch'angsha, the capital city of Hunan. He fought against the Tai-ping troops for three months, until the invaders had to by-pass Hunan to go northward to Hupeh Province and down the Yangtze River. In 1853, when Chang Liang-chi was promoted to governor-general for Hunan-Hupeh-Kuangtung-Kwangsi, Tso went with him to Wuchang and defeated the Tai-ping rebels. When Chang was transferred, Tso resigned from his post and retired to his native home. In 1854, Lo Ping-chang was appointed governor of Hunan, and Tso was asked to serve under him, but did not accept the offer. In 1854 the Tai-ping troops invaded Hunan again. Tso was asked by the people of the province to resist the invasion, and he helped Lo for five years in the defense of Hunan. In 1860, Tso was asked by Tseng Kuo-fan to train five thousand troops in Hunan; in 1861 he was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of Chekiang Province, and in the same year he was appointed governor of Chekiang. In 1863 he was promoted to governor-general of Fukien and Chekiang Provinces, and concurrently governor of Chekiang. In 1864 the whole province of Chekiang was freed from the Tai-ping troops, and Tso was awarded an earldom of the first rank and the designation of k'o-ching. In 1866 he recovered both Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces and the Tai-ping regime came to an end.

In 1866, when the Mohammedan uprising started in the Northwest, Tso was made the governor-general of Shensi and Kansu. In 1868 he first engaged the Nien bandits in Chihli, and by the summer he annihilated the bandits in Shantung Province. He

arrived in Sian in November 1868. From 1867 to 1872, for six years, Tso fought with the Mohammedans, and finally in February, 1871, the headquarters of the Mohammedans, Chin-chi-pao, was taken by Tso's troops and their leader, Ma Hua-lung, was executed. In August 1872, Tso finally arrived in Lanchou, Kansu. By November 1873, the whole province of Kansu was liberated from the Mohammedans; and Tso was made the associate grand secretary. In 1874 he was promoted to full grand secretary. In 1875 the trouble in Sinkiang broke out, and Tso was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of that area. After all the preparations were made, Tso began moving his troops westward to Sinkiang, and by 1877, both the northern and southern regions of T'ien-shan were recovered. In 1878, the whole region of Sinkiang was restored and Tso was awarded by promotion to second class marquis (hou) and his lieutenant, Liu Chin-t'ang, was made a baron. In 1880, when Tseng Chi-tse was sent to Russia by the Manchu government for the second negotiation of the return of Ili which the Russians occupied during the Turkestan uprising, Tso was ordered to move his troops to stand by for any eventuality. But in August 1880, Tso was suddenly summoned back to Peking. He arrived at the capital in February 1881, and was appointed to serve in the Grand Council and the Tsungli yamen. In 1881 he was appointed governor-general of Kiangnan and Kiangsi. In 1883, he quelled a minor uprising in southern Shantung. By August 1884, the conflict with France began and the coast of Fukien became seriously involved, so Tso was once again appointed high commissioner of that province, and in December 1884 he arrived in Foochow. In the spring of 1885, negotiations with the French were resumed and by June 9, 1885, a treaty was signed by Li Hung-chang with the French representative. In September 1885, Tso died in Foochow. He was granted all posthumous honors and was canonized as Wen-hsiang.

The achievements of Tso Tsung-t'ang in the Northwest can be summarized briefly in the following points: First, his military achievements had consolidated the political control of the Manchu Dynasty in the north. The pacification of the Nien revolts in Chihli and Shantung, the suppression of the Moslem uprising in Shensi and Kansu and the defeat of the Sinkiang rebels, chiefly Pai Yen-hu and Yakub Beg, all contributed heavily to the restoration of Ching power in the Northwest.

Secondly, his diplomatic triumph in dealing with both Russians and British in Sinkiang had secured that territory under the Chinese administration. During the civil war in Sinkiang, the Russians occupied Ili and the British supported Yakub Beg in the south. At one time when the northern region of T'ien-shan was recovered by Tso's troops, British diplomats

*668 So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to
668 have operated in several provinces. In Hopei, the public security
669 organs uncovered several cases of "I-kuan-tao" sabotage. The
578 "I-kuan-tao" are supposed to be remnants of KMT officers and
several sects like the "Golden Line". These elements had operated in Kansu, Shensi, and Inner Mongolia. They usually recruited former prisoners who had been in Chinese Communist prisons. These elements were supposed to have wormed their way into economic enterprises, rural mutual aid, and co-ops to engage in sabotage. They are blamed for fabricating rumors, and during the unified purchase of grain, they are supposed to have instigated the peasants to put aside grain and not send their surplus to the State.

*668 Another major problem is the assessment of cotton output and
659 the fixing of cotton purchase quotas. What the state does with
433 commercial crops, as it does with nearly all rural produce now,
248 is to send teams out to each household and estimate what the
output, consumption, and surplus will be. The amount to be purchased is determined on the basis of these findings. Once this data is collected and examined, other items can be planned such as the amount of thread to be spun, the textile output that will result, and how much cotton cloth can be made available to the rural areas. It is very important, then, that the initial surveys to determine the available surplus that may be purchased by the State be correct in order to fulfill other portions of the plan. If incorrect estimates are made; i.e., lower estimates of output allowing peasants to retain excessive quantities of cotton, this would promote the growth of rural capitalist elements who might carry on speculative activities by selling their surplus cotton at a higher price than offered by the State. The Chinese Communists blamed two factors for incorrect assessments of cotton output; the incorrect ideological approach of cadres and their poor survey methods. In the latter case, some cadres, because they were unpopular among the peasants, thought it advisable to make slightly lower estimates of cotton output. In other villages, local cadres wished, by making lower estimates, to keep an extra supply of cotton for themselves or for their relatives and neighbors. In regard to defective working methods, the cadres did not carry out their estimation of output by first propagating Communist policy and mobilizing the masses; they made investigations without the assistance of the peasants and encountered difficulty in deriving the true output.

If inaccurate estimates of peasants' cotton production are made, it will also have a direct effect on peasants activity for mutual aid and cooperation and will hinder the unity between organized and individual peasants. It seems that the difficulties of estimating cotton output were widespread in Shensi and had given rise to peasant resistance of Communist agricultural

*668 In the Wu-chung Autonomous Chou, in Kansu, Hui and Han
563 groups live together. Today there are 277 agricultural producer
474 co-ops, eighty nine for the Hui and 124 for the Han. More than
476 3,200 mutual aid teams have been developedp 1,200 are perma-
nent. Future policy stresses increased agricultural production
185 by cooperativization. In a speech delivered by Ma Teng-ai to the National People's Congress however, key emphasis was placed on the correct implementation of solidifying the poor and middle class peasants and following the principle of allowing the peasants of various nationalities to enter the co-ops voluntarily. Such a desire to enter must result from the mutual benefit they feel they would receive. When agricultural producer co-ops are to be formed, namely, consolidating the various permanent mutual aid teams and pooling land, farm implements, etc. special attention is to be given the customs, habits, and religious beliefs of the different nationalities. For instance, if the Hui and Han members of the same cooperative do not want to use the same well, different wells are to be drilled, and used separately. If hogs are raised in a cooperative, they may be attended by the Han members themselves and they are not considered an auxiliary occupation of the cooperative. The Chinese Communists, in dealing with the nationality problem in the Northwest, so far have tread very lightly whenever they wished to promote cooperativization. They have proceeded very slowly, using subtle methods of persuasion to urge the various nationalities to enlist their labor power in the mutual aid and produce co-ops.

*668 Communist administrators complain bitterly of counter-
revolutionary activities in Kansu. In a speech by Su Chen-yung,
•669 Vice Director of Public Security Bureau, he states: "Counter-
578 revolutionaries have unceasingly wages destructive activities
474 against the Socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With a view to impeding the work of the peasants joining the cooperatives, and to sabotaging agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants, and Taoist leaders to cheat some backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings." (Union Research Service, Vol. 3, p. 43.)

Su Chen-yung then gives as examples the disruption of progress in establishing agricultural cooperatives, the killing of Communist cadres, the burning of supply and marketing cooperatives storehouses, etc. Such admission by Communist officials of overt violence indicates that the Chinese Communists still are encountering peasant resistance, although nearly seven years have passed since their occupation of the region.

*668 C. Conclusion
241 The Chinese Communists have attempted to control closely
474
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medanism, an equally alien religion, has become so firmly rooted in many parts of the country. The Chinese show more interest in the inscriptions relating to their classic works in the Pei Lin than in the famous Nestorian Tablet, and indeed the latter was only moved into that select enclosure recently because of an alleged attempt by a foreigner to remove the original stone under the pretext of having a copy made for a foreign museum.

We stayed in Hsian twice in the course of our journeys, an interval of two years elapsing between the two visits. On the first occasion, which was during Yuan Shih-k'ai's regime as President-Dictator, the city and province were in the hands of one of the Northern Generals supported by a Northern army; two years later the situation had completely changed, the province was enjoying a kind of home rule under native officials of its own choice, and was practically independent of Peking. In the interval Yuan Shih-k'ai had been dragged under in the collapse of his monarchical scheme, and with him had vanished, it would seem, all hope of a stable government in China. Many provincial capitals have had a rough time during the years which have elapsed since the Revolution of 1911, but few or none have suffered more than Hsian Fu. The history of events in Shensi during these years is interesting and not uninstructive for those concerned with the future of the Republic, and is here briefly related.

The Revolution of 1911 took a particularly violent form in Shensi, largely owing to the fact that it was engineered by the local members of the notorious secret society known as the Ko Lao Hui, and was ushered in by an outbreak at Hsian, in which the Manchu inhabitants of the Manchu city were massacred, and some missionaries murdered by the uncontrollable mob. For some months afterwards a state of chaos reigned everywhere, and to make matters worse the province was for a considerable time threatened by an invasion of Mahomedan troops from Kansu, under Sheng Yün, the ex-Viceroy of the North West, and Ma An-liang, the leader of the Kansu moslems, both of whom refused to acknowledge the Republic even after the abdication of the Emperor. These Mahomedan troops did in fact cross the border and sacked a few cities in Shensi, but were

stopped just in time by the explanations of Yuan Shih-k'ai; for it is unlikely that the revolutionary levies of Shensi would have been able to withstand them, and had it not been for Yuan Shih-k'ai's hand at the helm, the devastation of the whole North West by the Mahomedans, and possibly the establishment of an independent Mahomedan State in Kansu, might have been added to the general chaos of those days.

During 1913 things began to settle down under a loose home rule sort of government composed of natives of the province and strongly influenced by the Ko Lao Hui, but early in 1914 Shensi was once more thrown into a state of turmoil by the raid of the so-called "White Wolf" brigands. Hsian was saved by its walls, by no means for the first time in its history, and this terrible horde swept by, almost within sight of the city, westwards into Kansu, whence they straggled back again across Shensi into Honan laden with silver and opium before the close of the year. Yuan Shih-k'ai, however, had in the meantime taken advantage of the opportunity created by these disturbances to send a Northern army into the province on the pretext of fighting the White Wolf brigands, and having thus secured control of the situation, he proceeded to remove the local Tutu, or provincial Governor, and his native administration, and to replace them by one of his Northern generals as Governor with a staff of Northern officials. Shensi thus emerged from the White Wolf ordeal to see its home rule episode at an end and to find itself once again under the strong hand of Peking.

This action of Yuan Shih-k'ai's in Shensi was only a part of a far-sighted scheme which he was then carrying out for replacing the post-revolution Governors, mostly men of the extreme republican type, by his own nominees, stout soldiers from the North on whom he could rely, in preparation for the great day, the existence of which was totally unsuspected by the vast majority of Chinese and foreigners in the country, when he would ascend the Imperial Throne "at the will of the people." He carried out this policy with extraordinary success and tact in province after province, though in most cases it was a case of playing with fire, but for some reason or other he omitted to do so in the case of

Yunnan, an omission which was to cost him his throne and his life. When the crash came in 1916 many of these stalwarts put up a splendid fight in the interests of their Imperial master, notably the Governor at Canton (who was not, as it happened, a Northerner at all, but a Yunnanese of aboriginal stock); but one by one they gave way before the overwhelming wave of a really popular rebellion; and it is said that it was the receipt of a telegram from one of the most trusted of them all, the Governor of Szechuan, announcing his abandonment of the Imperial cause, which finally brought home to Yuan Shih-k'ai the hopelessness of the position, and caused him to renounce his throne and sink soon after into the grave.

Returning, however, to the history of events in Shensi; during 1915 Yuan Shih-k'ai's hold over the province continued to tighten, and at this time many of the former revolutionary leaders and Ko Lao Hui chiefs were compelled to go into exile abroad, or to join the bands of brigands, composed largely of ex-soldiers disbanded since the Revolution, who began at that time to infest the Northern districts, and who have practically controlled the North of the province ever since.

At the end of 1915 Yuan proclaimed himself Emperor under the dynastic title of Hung Hsien, and on Christmas Day his great antagonist, the late General Tsai Ao, perhaps after Yuan Shih-k'ai the greatest Chinese of modern times, raised the standard of revolt in Yunnan in the name of the Republic. Scarcely anyone, Chinese or foreigner, in Peking when they heard this news suspected that this movement in a far distant corner of the Empire would grow into a rebellion which would overturn Yuan Shih-k'ai within six months. But General Tsai had laid his plans well, and carried them out with a courage and energy not always found amongst the revolutionary leaders, and as the year wore on and the Northern armies failed to defeat him in the mountains of the south west, province after province threw in their lot with the rebellion. The power of Yuan's military governor in Shensi rested purely and simply on his few Northern troops, and it was not surprising that, when in the early summer of 1916 the anti-monarchical rebellion assumed serious proportions, the situation in so turbulent a

669 province soon became critical. The crisis was eventually precipitated by the action of a young military officer of high rank, a native of the province, who revolted with the troops under his command, and having collected a large force from amongst the brigands and secret society men in hiding in the north of the province, marched on Hsian Fu as a supporter of the Republic. The Governor, who was not as staunch an individual as many of Yuan Shih-k'ai's other Northern Generals, promptly threw up the sponge and surrendered the city to save his own life. Shortly afterwards Yuan Shih-k'ai died, and Shensi thus reverted to the state of independent home rule existing after the Revolution of 1911, under the leadership of the young General who had successfully headed the rebellion.

635 Shensi is in rather a peculiar position. Though geographically it is one of the Northern provinces like Chihli, Shantung, Honan, and Anhui, from which the Northern Military Party draw their power and their troops, it has yet of recent years always exhibited a strong revolutionary and republican spirit. The proximity of Szechuan, a Southern province, may have something to do with this. But the main reason is probably not so much a feeling of sympathy with the Southern republicans, as the independent and somewhat turbulent nature of the population, strongly infected with Ko Lao Hui influence, which renders them impatient of Central Government control and desirous of managing their own affairs[1]. This desire for provincial independence is natural and laudable, being perhaps a preliminary step towards a spirit of true patriotism in which the Chinese are as a people, with a few exceptions, so extraordinarily lacking. But the actual results of provincial home rule are altogether bad, and consist in increased brigandage, a corrupt and inefficient administration, an uncontrolled soldiery preying on the people, and other evils too numerous to mention. The problem now facing the country is how to unite a truly republican form of government with a strong central administration.

[1] Shensi has since nominally joined the North, remaining, however, to all intents and purposes independent.

pictures on the walls, in practically every district city 871 throughout China (of which there are nearly 2000) evidences the excellence of the principles governing the administration of the country. In the middle schools English, the official "foreign" language, is taught. Unfortunately in too many cases the local school does little more than represent the principle of education. The Chinese have a well-known saying *Yu Ming Wu Shih*, which means "theory without practice"; this saying holds good of most things in China, especially those connected with the Government of the country.

The magistrate of Shang Chou at the time of our visit 575 was rather a remarkable character, and a "Ta Ko" (lodge-master) in the notorious secret society called the Ko Lao 669 Hui. It is improbable that any foreigner knows much about the secrets, the history, doings, and aims of the Ko Lao Hui, but during and since the Revolution it has been the great power in Western China, particularly in Shensi and Szechuan. Originally anti-dynastic, it worked very much in the dark in the days of the Manchus, and for a magistrate then to have been a member would have been an unheard-of scandal. With the overthrow of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui came out more into the open. The revolution in the West was largely their work, and the bands of the T'ung Chih Hui who rose in Szechuan against Chao Erh-feng in August 1911, and whose rising brought about the military revolt at Hankow which ultimately swept away the Manchu Dynasty, were Ko Lao Hui partisans under another name. On the coast the revolution was to a large extent a matter of hoisting republican flags, and whole provinces joined the republican cause with their Generals and Governors at their heads. In the West, thanks to the Ko Lao Hui, the revolution was a real rising of the people, led by some of their least desirable representatives, against their rulers, and was accompanied by much more bloodshed, including the terrible massacre of the Manchus at Hsian Fu.

After the fall of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui reckoned 575 Yuan Shih-k'ai as their chief enemy, and perhaps this was 635 not the least of the latter's many admirable qualities. After his death their power and influence rose almost unchallenged, 579 and at present they are in many parts an absolute curse to

574 that on which we were engaged, must according to imm
morial custom be provided with food and accommodat
651 free of charge by the towns and villages through which th
pass, and not only they themselves, but the cloud of parasi
who accompany them, servants, soldiers, coolies, and anim
as well. The local magistrates of course try and reco
themselves from the people, but in a very poor post th
might almost be ruined by the passage of such a party.

634 There are patches of rice fields round Chenan, but m
of the district is composed of a maze of wild mountains, t
651 lower slopes of which are often dotted with the valual
wood oil tree, a pretty sight in blossom in April. The Chine
assert that the district is rich in minerals, copper, ir
asbestos, and antimony. It is a third class district and t
post of magistrate is of course a poor one, as the land t
receipts amount to less than a thousand taels per annu
But amongst our party was an official who had be
magistrate at Hsiaoyi, a day's journey further north in t
mountains, who affirmed that compared to the latter distri
Chenan was a garden; for Hsiaoyi, it seems, has no la
tax receipts, and practically no population. It should
explained that the land tax is usually collected in grain a
remitted to the provincial treasury in silver, the process
exchange from the one into the other not being effect
without a certain percentage remaining in the hands of t
local official; hence the amount of the land tax is usua
considered the standard by which the wealth of a post m
be measured.

487 A road runs due south from Hsian, the provinc
capital, through the Ch'inling Shan *via* Hsiaoyi and Chen
to Hsingan on the Han River, being the most direct ro
between these two important cities, but it is so rough as
be little used. It is bad enough in the dry season when
follows up and down the stream beds in the simple mann
of so many mountain trails in China, but when the wa
rises and the path has to take to the cliffs of the gorges it
very much worse and probably quite impassable for pa
animals and chairs. We found the stream bed still j
practicable in April.

669 The number of burnt-out ruins of hamlets, farmstea
and huts along the trail we had just traversed could not f

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to attract one's notice, and enquiries elicited the fact that these were the result of the passage of the terrible "White Wolf" rebels, who passed in and out of Shensi in scattered bands by these out of the way mountain trails in 1914. During our wanderings through Shensi and Kansu we often found ourselves travelling in the footsteps of this devastating horde, whose trail of desolation could be traced in the ruins of farms, villages and towns from the borders of Honan to the confines of the Kokonor. Their lootings, burnings, and killings recall the depredations of the T'aip'ing and Mahomedan rebels who devastated N.W. China, south and north of the Ch'inling Shan respectively, fifty years ago.

This terrible horde of bandits or rebels was an aftermath of the rebellion of 1913. It consisted of an organized and well-equipped nucleus of a few thousand fighting men, disbanded soldiery from the Yangtzu Valley and Secret Society men from Honan, together with many thousands of local adherents drawn from amongst the brigands, soldiers and bad characters of the provinces through which they passed. The four words "Pai Lang Chao Liang" (White Wolf is recruiting) passed secretly up and down the Han Valley, and recruits from all quarters flocked to join the band. After 30,000 of Yuan Shih-k'ai's best Northern troops had failed to crush these rebels in Honan, they burst through into the Han Valley *via* the rich mart of Laoho K'ou, where a foreign missionary was murdered in the sacking of the city, and early in 1914 worked through the mountains into Central Shensi. Hsian, with its mighty walls, withstood the raiders as it had withstood the Mahomedans fifty years earlier, and the horde drove on almost unopposed through Western Shensi into Southern Kansu, looting, burning and killing. The massacres of Chinese non-combatants were appalling, and the raiders, many of them mere youths, richly dressed in looted silks and jewellery and armed with modern rifles and Mauser pistols, rivalled in their cruelty and lust for indiscriminate slaughter the most terrible of Chinese rebels of days gone by. The object of the raid into the North West seems to have been the stocks of opium in Shensi and Kansu. The resistance they met with and the measures taken to deal with them reflect no credit on the Chinese Government of the time and it is a common

rumour that many high officials were privy to the raid and shared in the loot which was brought back to Honan. It was not until they reached the Mahomedan districts of Kansu near the Kokonor border that they suffered any serious loss, and that was mainly at the hands of the Mahomedan population of those parts, who are not accustomed to permit themselves to be looted and killed without showing fight, and from the hardships of the long forced marches through that wild region, rather than owing to the action of any Government troops. Eventually the survivors straggled back with their loot through Shensi to their homes in Honan and Anhui. The Chinese officials assert that White Wolf himself, who appears to have been an ex-military officer from the Yangtzu armies, was captured and executed.

The failure of the Shensi troops, mostly revolutionary levies of Ko Lao Hui men and ex-brigands, of much the same type as the raiders, to deal with the White Wolf rebels was to be expected; but the failure of the Northern Army opposed to them in Honan in the winter of 1913–14 seems at first sight difficult to account for. The rebels were of course much more mobile than the Government troops, as they lived on the country by taking what they wanted and impressed men and animals everywhere to carry their transport. Then again their lives being at stake, they could be depended on to fight when cornered, whereas it is difficult to induce the Chinese soldier to close with his enemy in a fight of this kind in which he has no interest. Where not an ex-brigand, the Chinese soldier is often a good fellow in most respects, but he is apt to be too sensible to be willing to run the risk of getting killed without adequate reason. Hence battles between rebels and Government troops in China usually consist in the discharge of large quantities of ammunition at a safe distance from one another. It is the civilian inhabitant of the raided towns and villages who gets killed if he does not manage to escape in time to his *chaitzu* in the mountains.

We left Chenan on April 19th for Hsingan, distant, we were told, five hard days' march over the worst possible roads. The first stage was 80 li to the village of Ch'ingt'ung Kuan. The trail lay all the way down the steep winding gorges of the Ch'ienyu River and was terribly rough and

the south, runs for two hours' march across the flat-topped hills, descending finally by precipitous zigzags to reach the city of Yich'uan lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east to join the Yellow River. The country crossed on this march is again pure loess, very sparsely populated, and with innumerable grass-grown terraces which have gone out of cultivation and render evident the depopulation of the region.

Yich'uan Hsien, lying at the junction of two narrow valleys in the loess, is the capital of a second class district, and was evidently a comparatively large and prosperous city in the past. At the time of our visit it was practically empty, and lying in the heart of that wild and little frequented region which contains the chief haunts of the brigand bands of Northern Shensi, it is at the present time uninhabitable by any but the poorest classes. Northern Shensi, depopulated by the Mahomedan rebellion fifty years ago, and now probably undergoing a process of desiccation, is losing its few remaining inhabitants of the better class through the devastations of the brigands, many having moved across the Yellow River into Shansi, where conditions are much better. Recently a large band of brigands, perhaps finding that Northern Shensi was getting rather bare, also moved across the river; but prompt military measures were taken by the Shansi authorities and they were soon driven back to their original haunts with great loss. The question naturally arises, why should these brigands be left apparently unmolested by the authorities of their own province?

The answer is provided by the history of events in Shensi during the years since the revolution of 1911, which is outlined in another chapter. The brigands of Northern Shensi are mostly ex-soldiers and Ko Lao Hui men, and are composed of the same material as the provincial troops, with whom they exchange rôles from time to time. It is therefore not possible to use the latter against them. Further, they constitute in a way the reserves of the provincial army, which are thus maintained without cost to the provincial Government. The Shensi soldier usually owns his own Mauser and as much ammunition as he can carry wound round and round his body in a cloth bandolier, acquired in the course of some previous rebellion or brigand raid,

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and thus equipped serves either as a soldier or a brigand according to his own tastes and the military requirements of the local Government. In either character he is about equally obnoxious to the people. Both rôles too have their respective advantages; the life of a Chinese brigand may be rather lean at times, but there is always the possibility of a good haul; the life of a soldier in Shensi may be dull, but he is fed and paid without being asked to do any work. This kind of soldier of fortune is known locally in the province as a *Tao K'o* (guest of the sword); most of the better-class brigands and soldiers are Tao K'o, which is considered a title to be proud of. The Shensi soldier differs widely from and compares unfavourably with his colleagues in the well-organized and disciplined armies of the North (Chihli, Shantung, Anhui, and Honan provide most of the sturdy men for those fine Northern armies on which the power of Peking rests); but it is not his fault, for he is the victim of circumstances and of the Ko Lao Hui. I have been in close contact for months with Shensi soldiers, who were, to use the Chinese euphemism, *Kuei hui pei shan* ("returned from the Northern hills"—a polite way of referring to an ex-brigand locally), and always found them excellent fellows as far as I was concerned, though behaving tyrannically towards the people.

The difficulties of suppressing brigandage in the wild and pathless mountains of Shensi are in any case very great. Measures for the satisfactory pacification of the region would include the complete reorganization of the provincial army, or the garrisoning of the province with three or four brigades of good Northern troops. But the latter is not at present practicable, as the people of the province not unnaturally are great believers in home rule and like to manage their own affairs. Another very necessary but difficult reform is the disarming of the people and the recovery of the large stocks of rifles at present in private hands. In modern China the brigand without a rifle is a negligible quantity. It is chiefly through the various rebellions that these arms have become scattered over the country with such disastrous results, and brigandage grows steadily worse with every such outbreak of civil war. A rebellion is engineered (in Shensi at any rate) by collecting funds and enlisting brigands and

secret society men as soldiers; after the rebellion is over, whether it succeeds or not, the soldiers are disbanded and scatter with their arms over the country, with the inevitable result of increased brigandage. The growth of brigandage in Shensi may easily be traced since 1911, the revolution of that year, the rebellion of 1913, the White Wolf rebellion in 1914, the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916, the troubles of 1917, and so on.

From Yich'uan Hsien to Hanch'eng Hsien is a distance of about 240 li, three hard days' march by a difficult track through the mountains which here hem in the Yellow River. All the way from Yench'ang south to the plains of Central Shensi, which are reached at Hanch'eng, the traveller is crossing a series of parallel ridges trending east and west across his path; but while between Yench'ang and Yich'uan the intervals between these ridges are filled by loess which provides comparatively easy slopes, the region between the latter place and Hanch'eng is covered by mountains which are practically free from loess and entail the crossing of a series of precipitous little passes. The trail slants across these mountains towards the Yümen K'ou, the point where the Yellow River emerges from its gorges on to the plains; the river itself is not touched, though glimpses are caught from the tops of the passes of its huge trough in the mountains.

From Yich'uan the trail runs up the valley to the S.W. for a few li and then turns up a gorge to the south, which leads after a couple of hours' march to the foot of the barrier range which bounds the Yich'uan valley on the south. A steep climb leads to the pass, the Lut'ou Ling (5100 feet). This range and the valleys and spurs leading up to it, though covered with loess on the northern side, are uncultivated and uninhabited. On the southern side there is practically no loess, and the latter is not met with in any quantity again till the path debouches on to the plains of the Yellow River above Hanch'eng three days later. The absence of loess in the low-lying valley bottoms of these mountains is rather curious, and one may speculate whether perhaps the Lut'ou Ling range, which before the existence of the Yellow River was probably joined to the mountains of Shansi, did not form a barrier keeping the floods which deposited the loess from reaching this region, which con-

Yakub Beg. In 1895 he had risen to be commander-in-chief of the Kansu forces and despatched troops to aid in the suppression of the Mahomedan rebellion near Sining in that year. In 1900 he commanded an army of Kansu braves in the attacks on the Legations, and subsequently arranged for the safety of the Imperial Court during its flight to Hsian Fu. Being proscribed by the Foreign Powers after the collapse of the Boxer movement he was cashiered and sent back to Kansu in disgrace, where he resided on his large estates in some state till his death about ten years ago. His rôle was loyalty to the Manchus through thick and thin, and his example in this respect has been followed more recently by the other Mahomedan leaders, who were ready to remain faithful to the cause of the fallen dynasty even after the abdication in 1912. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs then, and had T'ung Fu-hsiang still been alive, the Mahomedan North West would perhaps have refused to accept the Republic, with disastrous results to the neighbouring provinces.

From Wat'ing the road runs up a ravine to the west, reaching the foot of the Liupan Shan after 15 li, whence it ascends by a series of zigzags to the summit of the pass, a grassy ridge about 9000 feet high. There were many big carts making the ascent, a most arduous business effected by relays of animals. Here again, as often on our journeys, we had reason to congratulate ourselves on having a caravan of good pack mules instead of carts. The Liupan Shan is a prominent range of mountains rising far above the loess, which crosses Kansu from N.W. to S.E.; it is probably a continuation of the chief range of the Nan Shan, which is crossed by the main road west of Lanchou at the Wushao Ling (10,000 feet) and through which the Yellow River breaks its way in a series of precipitous gorges between Lanchou and Chungwei. From the pass there is a steep drop of about a thousand feet, and the road then descends through a dreary barren valley to Lungtê Hsien, a most miserable little city almost entirely in ruins, 50 li from Wat'ing. The loess country west of the Liupan Shan is much more barren and desiccated than on the P'ingliang side, and round Lungtê the poor-looking wheat crops were only just showing above ground towards the end of May.

inns of Shensi and Kansu, which we very seldom used, are also not bad, being large and roomy, and constructed mainly with a view to the accommodation of plenty of animals in the courtyard. I have a particular aversion to the Szechuan inn, usually considered, especially by the Chinese, as providing the height of luxury on the road; they are always crowded in between the other houses of a narrow street, and invariably have the defect of placing the *shang fang* (the chief guest room) next door to the *mao fang*, a revolting arrangement for a night's rest, which the Chinese do not seem to object to.

Ch'ingchia Yi was the first place where we struck brackish water, and from here on to within two days of Lanchou I found it scarcely potable. This is a very real trial in the dry season in Central Kansu, and though in the course of our journeys brackish water was of frequent occurrence, we never became accustomed to it, and found it a great hardship to be greeted with a cup of salted tea at the end of a hot day on the road. After the rains have fallen the water is said to sweeten. We were warned of this, of course, but were told that the Mahomedans collected sweet rainwater in specially prepared pits, called *chiao shui*; but owing to lack of rain most of these pits were dry, or contained only a little evil-looking liquid loess mud. I believe that water in pure loess is usually brackish, but in most parts streams or wells are available in the underlying rock; this portion of Central Shensi, however, is in the heart of the loess watershed between the Wei and Yellow rivers, lying mostly over 6000 feet above sea level, and it is the streams themselves which are the worst to drink. I thought I did not know what real thirst was till crossing Central Kansu at the driest season of the year, but later on, when traversing a portion of the Alashan desert further west in early August, we longed even for the salted tea of Huining.

From Ch'ingchia Yi the road continues to ascend the same defile for ten li, crosses a pass in the loess, and descends by a similar ravine leading west. Several hamlets mostly in ruins are passed, including the walled posting stage of Chaichia Tsui. These ruins, now more than fifty years old, which become increasingly frequent as one proceeds west, are part of the trail of desolation left by General Tso's

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victorious army all the way from Shensi to Turkestan, their method of dealing with the rebellion being to massacre the inhabitants and reduce to heaps of ruins every Mahomedan habitation they came across. As the male Mahomedans were mostly scouring the country in marauding bands, they met with little difficulty in doing so. Chinese rebellions have in the past of course always been suppressed in this manner, and indeed could probably not have been suppressed otherwise. Fifteen li from Huining the valley contracts into a gorge, and the road runs down the bed of the stream, a brackish trickle of water, for the rest of the way. Huining is a poor city lying in a region of arid valleys. Complaining of the hardships of life at his post, the magistrate informed us that in many parts of his district ordinary fuel was unobtainable, and the inhabitants were reduced to burning dried dung as in the deserts of Tibet and Mongolia. This arid region stretches away apparently to the north till it merges into the Ordos desert, a land of sand and camels. In addition to being such a miserably poor district, his post had the disadvantage of lying on this great road, and when an important personage, such as a Mongol prince or high Chinese functionary, passed by on his way to or from Turkestan, his passage would leave the unfortunate magistrate many hundreds of taels out of pocket, which he could ill afford. We were a very small party when travelling in Kansu and I hope we did not cost him anything; but I know that when we commenced our journeys in Shensi with a huge party we were a heavy burden on the people and officials of the districts through which we passed.

The next stage is a short one of 60 li to the walled posting stage of Hsikung Yi. The road runs down the Huining valley for 20 li, and then ascends a side ravine to the south-west for the rest of the way. The hamlets passed seemed more miserable and the country more desiccated than ever. All along this road, as on most of the bigger roads of Kansu, may be noticed groups of curious little towers every five to ten li. It was a long time before we could get a satisfactory explanation of what these towers were intended for; so far as I know they are only to be seen on the roads of Kansu. We now learned that they were beacon towers, another relic of the rebellion and its suppression, by means of which

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but the products are wretched. In any case all these enterprises suffer from the blight of Chinese official management. Lanchou is also at a great disadvantage in this respect owing to the immense difficulties involved in transporting foreign machinery and all kinds of foreign goods across the many hundreds of miles of intervening mountains from the coast. The foreign resident can import a case of beer, drink the contents, and then sell the bottles for more than the original cost of the beer; but this does not represent a new method of getting rich quick, as the cost of transport is likely to be greatly in excess of the value of either the beer or the bottles. There is, however, one really flourishing native industry in Lanchou, independent of foreign machinery, and that is the cultivation and manufacture of water pipe tobacco, which is exported to all parts of China.

The time of our visit to Lanchou coincided with the period of Yuan Shih-k'ai's power, and the Governor was one of the latter's Northern Generals. He was an excellent representative of the type of Northern soldier, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the best rulers Kansu has ever enjoyed. Owing to the geographical isolation of the province and the conservative nature of its Mahomedan population, the rebellion of 1916 had but little effect locally, and the Governor maintained his position after the fall and death of Yuan Shih-k'ai; and had we again visited Lanchou two years later we should have found him still ruling only under a different title. After the Revolution the Governors of provinces were styled Tutu[1]; Yuan Shih-k'ai abolished this name with its republican associations, and revived the old title of Chiangchün[2]; after the compromise which followed the rebellion and Yuan Shih-k'ai's death, the title of Governor was also compromised in true Chinese style into Tuchün[3]. The Governor was a native of Hofei Hsien in Anhui, and consequently not a few civil and military officials throughout the province at the time of our visit wrote Hofei on their cards. It is extraordinary what a number of prominent Chinese in recent years have been natives of this obscure little district in Anhui, ever since

[1] Literally "General Manager," i.e. Governor.
[2] Literally "Army Leader," i.e. Marshal.
[3] Literally "Army Manager," i.e. Military Governor.

missionaries holding these strange beliefs should be the only vehicle for the propagation of Christianity amongst the Kokonor tribesmen does not seem to be fair either to Christianity or to the tribesmen.

Having outlined the history of recent events in Shensi since the Revolution in a preceding chapter, with the Ko Lao Hui in the leading rôle, it may be of interest to recount the history of the same period in Kansu, assigning the principal part to the Mahomedans.

Kansu only played a small part in the Revolution of 1911, and, as was to be expected in so backward and isolated a province, there was little sympathy with the republican cause. The troops in the province at that time consisted still of the old style *Hsün Fang Tui* who were in the course of being modernised into the new regular army known as *Lu Chün*, and of Mahomedan soldiers peculiar to the province called *Hsi Chün*. After the Revolution the *Hsün Fang Tui* and the *Lu Chün* melted away together with the provincial government, and the attitude of the province towards things in general was governed by the action of the Mahomedan leaders and the Mahomedan troops, who, true to their recent traditions, remained loyal to the Manchu throne. Ma An-liang, the famous leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, who thus found himself at the head of the province, together with Sheng Yün, ex-Viceroy of the North West and one of the Manchu die-hards, despatched Moslem troops across the border into Shensi to fight the revolutionary forces of the Ko Lao Hui, but were eventually induced by the wise statesmanship of Yuan Shih-k'ai to withdraw them and accept the republic in name. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs at that time, and had the Manchus been able to rally themselves to the Mahomedans of the North West, the settlement of 1912 might have been much delayed.

The result of the Revolution was therefore to give the Mahomedans what they had failed to obtain by rebellion in the past, namely complete autonomy and control of the province under General Ma An-liang, who moved into Lanchou from his residence near Hochou. There was a republican Tutu at the same time, but he seems to have been a mere figure-head. General Ma's management of the

affairs of the province during those critical times appears 635 to have been admirable, and Kansu was spared many of the 563 troubles which were afflicting the rest of China during that period. Early in 1914, however, Yuan Shih-k'ai, who was then engaged in centralising his power by replacing the republican Tutus by his own nominees, sent one of his Northern Generals to Lanchou as Governor, accompanied by a bodyguard of a couple of thousand good Northern soldiers. To avoid friction the latter travelled up to Kansu as Commissioner for the Kokonor, his appointment as Governor only being announced by telegraph when he was within a few days of the capital. For some months there was a period of great tension between the Mahomedans and the new Governor, but the latter was a true Northern soldier, strong and reliable, and the Mahomedans, under wise leadership, eventually accepted the situation, and General Ma retired again to Hochou.

In the summer of 1914 the southern portion of the 669 province suffered greatly from the incursion made by the 563 so-called White Wolf rebels, who, after ravaging parts of Anhui, Honan and Shensi, made a sudden raid into Kansu by the Ch'inchou road, being attracted probably by the stocks of opium in those parts. A year after their passage we could trace their route by ruined towns and villages and burnt out yamens. After looting the rich cities of Ch'inchou and Fuchiang and other towns in that neighbourhood, they struck west through the mountains to Minchou and T'aochou on the Kokonor border. At Old T'aochou they encountered the Mahomedans for the first time and met with a fierce resistance from the Moslem population of that district. This so infuriated the rebels that when, by sheer weight of numbers, they eventually captured the city they massacred the inhabitants and literally razed the town to the ground. At the time of our visit a year later the four walls of the city enclosed a mass of ruins, not a single house being left intact. The destruction of T'aochou proved, however, the turning-point in the career of that terrible horde. So far they had ranged, pillaging, murdering, and burning, right across China practically unchecked. But here they had been severely handled by the Mahomedans, who were not accustomed to take that kind of thing lying

669 down; and in that wild and out of the way country there soon arose a shortage of supplies for so many thousands.
563 Northwards towards Lanchou the way was barred by the Moslem troops of Ma An-liang, and southwards towards the rich province of Szechuan the intervening country was wilder and even more desolate; and so the rebels started back the way they had come, through towns and villages already laid waste. The mountain tracks were bad, the stages long, and food and fodder scarce. The bridge across the T'ao at Minchou had been destroyed, and many were drowned in the fierce waters of this Tibetan torrent. At Fuchiang and other places on the road the local people wreaked a terrible revenge for what they had suffered, and many hundreds of rebels hiding in the cornfields and scrub were beaten to death with sticks and agricultural implements. Many straggled back through Shensi with their silver and opium to their homes in Honan, but this was really the end of the White Wolf rebels whom 30,000 picked troops of China's modern army had completely failed to destroy in the central provinces six months previously.

With the disappearance of the White Wolf rebels and the surrender of the nominal government by the Mahomedans to Yuan Shih-k'ai's Governor, peace returned to the province. During the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916 there was a renewal of unrest, especially after Shensi had joined the rebels, and influence was brought to bear on the Governor from various quarters, urging him to resign or secede from Peking. But a declaration of independence was successfully staved off until Yuan Shih-k'ai's death relieved the situation, perhaps largely owing to the attitude of Ma An-liang, who prepared his troops for action, and let the republicans know that if anyone was to succeed the Governor it would be himself, and that he and his Mahomedans would stick by Yuan to the last.

The shadow of another Mahomedan rebellion is always over the Chinese in Kansu, who stand in great fear of the Moslems and have passed through some anxious times during recent years. But the general opinion we heard expressed was that there was no need for alarm as long as the Mahomedans continue to be guided by the wise and statesmanlike leadership of their present chiefs.

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the Kokonor (in Chinese Ch'ing Hai, meaning, like the Mongol name, "Azure Lake"), who used to be known by the Tibetan or Mongol term of "Amban," but who at the time of our visit was styled in the republican manner *Ch'ing Hai Pan Shih Chang Kuan* ("Chief Authority in charge of the Affairs of the Kokonor Territory"). Soon afterwards the post and its occupant, an old Manchu, were abolished by Yuan Shih-k'ai's Government, and the control of the Kokonor territory handed over to the Mahomedan General of Hsining. This control is of the usual vague and shadowy nature, such as has been exercised for so long by China over her outlying dependencies. The Mongol inhabitants are ruled by their own princes under China's overlordship; the Tibetans wander pretty well at will over the territory, robbing one another, the Mongols, and the Chinese, and generally pay but little respect to their nominal Chinese masters. It is possible that the Mahomedans will now take measures to bring them more under control[1].

We remained some days at Hsining, but unfortunately had no leisure to visit either the Kokonor Lake or the famous monastery of T'a-erh Ssu. In the intervals of official business we were hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General, the Manchu Amban, the Taoyin, and other officials. The former, like most of the Mahomedan leaders we met, was a bluff, hearty soldier and a delightful companion; he had served under T'ung Fu-hsiang at Peking in 1900.

Tanko and Hsining are the headquarters of the great Kokonor wool trade, which has been going on for twenty years or more and has now reached very large dimensions. This wool is produced on the grass lands of the Kokonor border, and is carried by raft and boat down the Yellow River and by camel caravan across the desert to Tientsin, whence it is exported to America. The trade is largely in the hands of the foreign export firms in Tientsin who, through their compradores, maintain buying agencies at various collecting centres such as Hsining, Tanko, Kueitê, Hochow, Hsünhua, Tatung, Yungan, and Êpo on the

[1] Such measures have since been taken, with the result that the Tibetans and more especially the lamas, have on several occasions risen in arms against the Mahomedans, and the peace of the Kokonor border has been seriously disturbed.

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and Kansu, situated short marches of 50 li one from the other. The Chengtu plain, notoriously one of the most fertile and thickly populated regions in the world, was one vast rice field, the grain nearly ripe, and promising, as usual, an enormous harvest. The most lucrative posts in the whole territorial administrative system of China are said to be the district magistracies on the Chengtu plain in Szechuan and in parts of Kuangtung, which are alleged to be more desirable from a monetary point of view than a Taoyinship.

Having left Chengtu five or six years previously shortly after it had been looted and partly burned during the troubles following on the Revolution of 1911, we now returned to find it once more in ruins, with street after street of wealthy shops and residences burnt down to heaps of rubble as the result of recent street-fighting between the Szechuanese and the Yunnan and Kueichou troops. Chengtu is incomparably the finest, richest, and most populous native city I know of in China, but it has known but little peace since the Revolution. Szechuan, the most fertile and thickly populated province in the Republic, lies in an unfortunate position between the North and the South, and has frequently been the bone of contention between the respective protagonists, the Peking Government and the Yunnanese, during the long drawn out and indecisive struggle of recent years. The Szechuanese themselves incline naturally towards the South and their fair province is in every respect a portion of the South-West; but the Yangtzu waterway and the overland road from Shensi render them very liable to invasion by the Northerners. Further the abundance of labour, rice, and all kinds of supplies make the province a most suitable battle ground, where both Yunnanese and Northerners can practise the latest Japanese manœuvres and test their newest foreign machine guns at a minimum cost to themselves. The Szechuanese are not a warlike race, and have not in the past played an important part in these civil wars; though recently signs have not been wanting that they propose to make a change in this respect in the future. As regards numbers they are in a position to swamp all the rest, while they also have the great advantage of a modern arsenal at Chengtu.

The Yunnanese have played a very large part in the

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and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia. The Chinese consider those in the Southern area, who are of more recent Turki origin, to be the more dangerous and fanatical today. In a secluded valley near P'ingliang resides a sort of Mahomedan saint, who has great influence not only in Kansu but also in Yunnan, and who undoubtedly commands the services of thousands, or perhaps tens of thousands, of armed Mahomedans; he is not one of the regular Moslem leaders, who are referred to in later chapters; and there seems to be some sort of mystery about him, which it was not our business to enquire into.

The next stage from P'ingliang is one of 90 li to Wat'ing, a walled fort and posting stage at the foot of the Liupan pass. The road runs up the valley, which beyond a half-way village with inns contracts to a gorge, scrub-covered mountains of shale and sandstone taking the place of the cultivated loess hills. Pheasants were thick here, and so tame that one had to throw stones at them to make them fly. Wat'ing is rather an important point as the roads to Lanchou and Ninghsia here bifurcate (the latter *via* Kuyuan). We were met here by the magistrate of Kuyuan and also by a representative of the family of the late General T'ung Fu-hsiang, whose ancestral seat is in the neighbourhood. I have been told on more than one occasion by Chinese that T'ung Fu-hsiang was not a Mahomedan at all, but a Chinese General commanding Moslem troops; perhaps he was considered a Chinese because he fought against the Mahomedans in the great rebellion. The following is a sketch of the career of this celebrated individual, who came into contact with foreigners by leading his Mahomedan troops to the attacks on the Legations in Peking in 1900.

T'ung Fu-hsiang was a native of Kuyuan in Eastern Kansu. In the big rebellion of 1864–1873 he figured prominently as a military chief on the Chinese side under General Tso, and it was he who captured the rebel stronghold of Chinchi on the Yellow River near Ninghsia, an event which was the turning-point in the campaign. This was the foundation of his fortunes, as he was enriched with the confiscated estates of rebels, and from that time on counted as one of the most prominent and influential leaders in Kansu. Subsequently he fought in Central Asia against

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Chinch'i, where we were able to examine some of the wonderful irrigation works which render these huge plains, otherwise desert, so fertile. There are similar works on the other bank near the village of Tapa. Their destruction would turn one of the richest plains in North China into a desert. In the North West irrigation is the key to agricultural prosperity, and though the ancient Chinese have done so much in this region, modern engineers could probably accomplish wonders in turning immense areas of what is still desert into fertile lands. Especially lower down, where the river makes its great bend round the Ordos, there would seem to be great openings for modern irrigation works.

Chinch'i Hsien, formerly known as Chinch'i P'u or Ningling T'ing, is a Mahomedan centre, and was the chief rebel stronghold in the great rebellion. The Mahomedans are still very powerful in this region, where their settlements extend south through Haich'eng and Kuyuan to P'ingliang in Eastern Kansu. T'ung Fu-hsiang's family own large estates in the neighbourhood, which they appear to have acquired after the capture of Chinch'i in 1871 by the latter. This event was the beginning of the end of the rebellion in Kansu, which led to the eventual defeat of Yakub Beg and the recovery of Chinese Turkestan; had the Kansu Mahomedans held out, the reconquest of Central Asia would have been rendered impossible, and the fall of Chinch'i constitutes therefore an event of the first importance in Chinese history.

Shortly before reaching the neighbourhood of Chinch'i we noticed, much to our amazement, a small stern-wheel steamer tied up to the right bank. An examination through glasses showed her to be a mere rusty skeleton, and our boatmen said she had lain there for years. From subsequent enquiries in Ninghsia we learned that this vessel represented an attempt, made just before the revolution, by the Kansu Viceroy with the assistance of a Belgian gentleman to establish steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. A small river steamer was purchased, transported in sections at great expense overland and put together at Paot'ou. She seems to have made one trip up river, reaching with great difficulty the spot where she is now, and where she is likely

than the Mahomedan leaders of Kansu. But, unlike some of the Manchu irreconcilables, General Ma Fu-hsiang moves with the times, and was later on one of the staunchest supporters of Yuan Shih-k'ai and the Peking Government. He is looked upon in some quarters as a likely successor to General Ma An-liang as leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, a position which it is generally agreed he is well qualified to fill.

Ninghsia was one of the few places in Kansu which had a rough time during the Revolution of 1911 owing to the city being seized by the Ko Lao Hui, and matters seem to have been very bad until the arrival of Mahomedan troops under one of Ma An-liang's Generals, when many Ko Lao Hui heads rolled in the dust and order was speedily restored. It is only in the extreme north and south of Kansu, for instance at Ninghsia and Chieh Chou (Kai Chou), where there is a considerable extra-provincial element in the population, that the Ko Lao Hui are formidable, owing apparently to the counter-influence of the Mahomedans, who will never have any dealings with secret societies.

Immediately west of the Ninghsia plains rises the barrier range usually known to foreigners as the Alashan, and three days' distant in these mountains lies Tingyuan Ying, or Wangyeh Fu, the residence of the Mongol Prince of the State of Alashan. It was to this place that Prince Tuan, the Boxer leader and father of the then Heir Apparent, retired after the events of 1900, though he was supposed to have been exiled to Turkestan. After the Mahomedans had occupied Ninghsia during the Revolution of 1911, he came down and lived there for some time awaiting the issue, but on the abdication of the Manchus he appears to have retired west into Turkestan, together with the famous old Manchu die-hard, Sheng Yün.

At Ninghsia we received what then seemed the incredible news of Yuan Shih-k'ai's intention to make himself Emperor. Kansu and its Mahomedans probably welcomed the event, since they were never particularly enthusiastic about the Republic, but it was a terrible blow to the young men of the student class who believed in the *Min Kuo*[1]. I have heard Yuan Shih-k'ai's opponents allege that his ambition was always fixed on the Throne, and that in the days when

[1] "People's Country," i.e. Republic.

he was living in retirement in Honan after the death of the Empress Dowager he was in secret communication with many of the military chiefs of the new army of his own creation and plotting a *coup d'état*; then followed the revolution, and he was able to advance with consummate skill, under the pretence of trying to keep the Manchus on the Throne, to the positions of Provisional President, Dictator, and Emperor. Other Chinese assure one that he was a faithful servant of the Republic led astray by the ambitions of his family and entourage. Whatever the facts may have been, there is no doubt that Yuan Shih-k'ai would have made a splendid Emperor, and subsequent events have proved that he was then the only man capable of ruling China. The Kansu officials, like those of all the other provinces, were instructed to make preparations for the holding of popular elections for or against a monarchy, which were to follow a joint memorial from the provincial Military Governors, all with one or two important exceptions Yuan's own men, begging their master to ascend the Throne. These instructions were, however, accompanied by secret telegrams regarding the working of the elections, and so successful were these arrangements that Yuan Shih-k'ai was elected Emperor practically unanimously by all the provinces. Everyone throughout the length and breadth of China knew that these elections were a sham and a fraud from beginning to end; but the Chinese are a race of actors, and make-belief enters largely into most phases of their private and public lives, and the farce was solemnly completed. Yet when the standard of rebellion was raised by General Tsai Ao in Yunnan on Christmas Day, 1916, the fraud was soon apparent, and the whole monarchical scheme came tumbling to the ground as province after province, all of which had supposedly announced themselves as unanimously in its favour, deserted the Imperial cause. As an instance of Chinese make-belief (*yu ming wu shih*) the monarchical elections of the autumn of 1916 are hard to beat.

The officials of Ninghsia had kindly prepared two of the large wool boats for our accommodation and smaller craft for the ponies for the journey down river to Paot'ou. Our craft were broad flat-bottomed scows with high sides, and when roofed over with our tents made quite comfortable

N.W. China AF
Tu ren

down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored beads and cowrie shells and sticks out horizontally (Plate LIII). It is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves even more beautiful and colorful, the young peasant women paint a round red disk on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan pu is in point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival at Gum bum.

The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the sec Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have be frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the regio gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meado south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards, one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temp has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed du ing the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an ambush in front of Wei yüan pu and were killed to a man by the Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small woo tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of on of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it. He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were incense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan pu itself strikes the visitor as very worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings, the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of char-coal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is eaten throughout West China

671

671 LEGAL NORMS--extent of differentiation of social norms enforceable by some organ of politically constituted society from those enforced only by informal social control; conception of law (e.g., as precedent, as a body of absolute or relative principles); comparative prevalence of customary or common law and of "made" laws (e.g., edicts, decrees, ordinances, statutes, constitutions, binding judicial or administrative decisions, imposed taboos, divine revelations); lawgivers; law codes; legal categories (e.g., civil and criminal law); legal rules and administrative law; jurisprudence; uniform and multiple systems of law; etc. See also:

Justice 69
Innovation 176
Customary norms 183
Property law 421
Family law 593
Informal social control 626
Informal justice 627
Civil rights 641
Constitutional law 642
Government regulation 656
Martial law 722

sculpture by Arghun. Under Özbek Khan (1312-1340) and Jani Bek (1340-1357) Islam conquered the "realm (empire) of the Golden Horde" of southern Russia. Later there followed the Inner Asian Khanac Chaghatai which stuck longest to the Jassa Laws of Chingis Khan.

As far as Central Asia was concerned, the conversion of the masses occurred under Tughluq (1347-1363) and Chingis Khan's greatest successor, Timur (Tamerlan), who wanted to recreate the Great Mongolian Empire and who founded his empire completely on Islam. However, his plans for the invasion of China never materialized.

II. The Position of Islam in Northwest China

A. The Sources of Islàm

The original source from which all principles and ordinances of Islam are drawn is the Koran, the Holy Book which, according to Moslem belief, was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad by God through his Angel Gabriel. Although the Koran does not contain a systematic exposition of Moslem beliefs or rituals, yet taken as a whole, there emerges from it a consistent body of doctrine and of practical obligations. Through the ages these have remained the core and inspiration of Moslem religious life.

The Koran is not the only source of the Islamic religion. The sunna (custom) of the Prophet and the interpretation of his different ways of behavior also constitute an extremely important source for the religion. At first the sunna of the Prophet was handed down in the form of a short narrative, called a hadith (story), told by his Companions. The whole corps of sunna collected and handed down soon received the general name of hadith. The hadith was first transmitted orally. Later it was collected and written down. The tradition was invaded on a vast scale by forgeries. However, the serious students of the hadith became aware of the danger of incorporating many of these tales which contained elements foreign to Islam. They established different methods of control by which to attempt to sift out the genuine traditions from the mass of forgeries.

The Shari'a is the third important source of Islam. It embodies Islamic juristic studies and doctrines, which evolved into a rather coherent body of laws and regulations. The law contained in the Shari'a is not restricted to religious regulations, but envelops all phases of life. Yet it is considered a part of the religious doctrine, for one of the characteristics of Islam is that law is considered part of the religion, and there is no clear distinction between the two. In the Koran, both legal and religious aspects were interwoven. The connection between law and religion established by Muhammad and adopted by his followers

625 *668 detain, punish or evict them... ("The Provisional Regulations Governing Organization of Security Committees" proclaimed on August 10, 1952 by the Ministry of Public Safety of the CPG, NCNA, Peking, August 10, 1952.)

Besides these auxiliary police forces, there are People's Supervision Correspondents and People's Denunciation Reception Rooms. People's Supervision Correspondents are recruited from every branch of government organs, enterprises and people's popular bodies in towns and villages. The members are selected from among the activists. "The tasks of the People's Supervision Correspondents are to investigate all cases of violation of laws and discipline and damage to the state and people's interest such as graft, waste, bureaucracy and dereliction of duty by government organs, enterprises and their personnel, as well as to canvass the opinions of the masses on the implementation of government policies and laws, report them to supervisory organs of a superior level and to leading officials of their own departments and to assist them in the disposal of cases. The methods for studying and discovering problems are: (1) to observe and discover problems through their own activities; (2) to regularly go deep into the masses to discover problems and listen to the views of the masses; (3) to collect accusations and appeals from the masses through people's opinion boxes; (4) to maintain close contacts with the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms, and to cooperate with the latter in work." (NCNA, Peking, August 25, 1952.)

The same source adds "The principal task of the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms is to receive and dispose of accusations and appeals from the masses."

701 625 *668 These police forces are supported by the regular People's Liberation Army and the militias. The militias are local self-defense corps who, according to Peking, Jen-min jih-pao, August 10, 1952, p. 18, cannot be separated from production. They are those who must engage in productive work, such as farming or handicraft, to make a living. They provide a powerful auxiliary force for the army and regular police.

*668 [674] [873] Augmenting all these organizations is the persistent program of indoctrination. The Communists realize that every crime committed now is politically harmful to their regime, so they have instituted numerous programs in education and propaganda to fight against crime. Reading the "new" moral standards set up for high school students by the Communist Ministry of Education (The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China: Jen-min chiao-yu, or People's Education, monthly, July issue of 1955, p. 46. "The moral standard of the middle school students" promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.) is like reading something from the past. Absolute loyalty to the government, strict obedience to authorities, extreme care not to

361 over their shoulders, like the togas of an ancient Roman. Defiant-
631 looking Tibetan horsemen, their long guns with meter-long forked
supports on their backs, ride through the streets on strong ponies,
often bargaining haughtily from their saddles with the shop owners.
This outer city or suburb is also surrounded by an earth wall with
674 gates, for Kue de is not very safe. A small theft or robbery is the
432 order of the day, in spite of the fact that there are only about 400
families (2,000-3,000 inhabitants) living in the city. An incident
that happened while I was there best illustrates the conditions. A
Tibetan yeoman, son of a chief, of one of the Lutsang /265/ tribes
in the southern part of the city, had sold a horse to a Chinese
merchant. But hardly had the deal been closed when a rumor arose
that the Tibetan had stolen the horse from a neighboring tribe. Now
in order to pose, not as a common thief, but as a grandseigneur who
would not let such a fatal accusation rest upon himself, and also
to avoid conjuring up political difficulties for his entire tribe, our
Tibetan was forced to return the stolen horse to its former owner,
a Tibetan. For, just as was the case during the period of our robber barons, the Tibetans lay great stress on good manners and reputation. So the young man goes to the Chinese in order to buy back the horse. In his distress, he even offers slightly more than he got for it. But the Chinese is merciless. He will not under any circumstances cancel the bargain. Of course, the Tibetan cannot offer him so very much because he stole the horse in order to recoup his finances. What does a Tibetan do in such a dilemma? The next day as the Chinese is leading his horse out from its stable, the Tibetan knocks him down, swings himself onto the horse and disappears into the steppes, never to be seen again. His friends bring the animal to the owner from whom it was first stolen. Honor has been restored. A Chinaman does not count here.

631 On the morning after our arrival I went first to the ðr fu, the
ting, in the interior of the city. At the gate of his yamen I was received with a salute of guns, a great honor in China, for which I was indebted to the amban and which implied the wish that I should not go into the Ts'ao ti from here.

The yamen building was in a surprisingly dilapidated condition; the town is very unpopular among the officials. None of them stays more than a year and so no one has the offices and living quarters put into shape. When it rains only a few rooms are weather-proof. Even in the guest room large pieces of wall paper hang down from the ceiling. Through the holes one could see the

675

675 CONTRACTS--conception of contractual relations; agreements, bargains, promises, and their enforceability; consideration; rights, privileges, and powers of contracting parties; procedure in the conclusion of contracts (e.g., presence of witnesses); terms and stipulations; types of contracts (e.g., legal forms, oral agreements, covenants); etc. See also:

Builders and contractors	331	Social relationships	571
Loans	426	Marriage contracts	584
Leases	427	Treaties and alliances	648
Sales	432	Penalties for breaches of contract	686
Insurance contracts	456	Religious vows	782
Labor relations	466		

/The Tibetans/

*563 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door
574 After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a
576 wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter
The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.
[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal.
It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They
562 have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to par-
796 ticipate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the
monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

*563 d. Customs
527 On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-
881 age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do
[302] their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the
[292] households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts.
[574] After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social
[431] functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with
men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in tra-
584 ditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who
[787] are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the
horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the
[675] parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and
katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male
583 bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his
584 own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in
money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bride-
585 groom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who
bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

681

681 SANCTIONS--incidence and distribution of the major types of sanctions; capital punishment (e.g., hanging, decapitation, strangling, burning, dismembering); corporal punishment (e.g., flogging, mutilation, torture); property sanctions (e.g., damages, fines, confiscation); public humiliation (e.g., ridicule, pillory); deprivation of civil rights (e.g., enslavement, outlawry, imprisonment); theory of sanctions; systematization of sanctions (e.g., wergild, criminal codes); purpose of sanctions (e.g., compensation, punishment, prevention); penology; recipient of fines, damages, confiscated property (e.g., state, injured party); etc. See also:

Formal justice	69	Informal justice	627
Social control	626	Prisons and penal labor	697

779 of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to
[788] Mecca.
e. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations mentioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to "strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general terms in Sura ii, v. 186., between the regulations of the fast and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . . Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans, on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

779 "Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last
721 day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited
798 and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those
who have received the Book, until they humbly pay tribute out of hand." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not dead but living in the presence of their Lord their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura iii, vv. 163-4]

779 Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obliga-
tions, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical
teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gam-
[262] bling and usury are forbidden along with the making of images
or representations and a number of the practices of pagan
Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans,
[681] and inheritance are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid
down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder
[567] as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an
institution, but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of
owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined.
[681] Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely con-
demned, and rules of social behavior are laid down in several
[671] passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in
the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

779 has persisted to this day. The Koran and Hadith were the basic
671 foundations on which the Shari'a evolved. The law was developed by Moslem jurists who, by different rational devices (e.g. analogy, consensus), adapted the principles of the Koran to fit many new situations, and supplemented the law when the Koran could not suffice.

779 B. The Principles of Islam

The whole of the religion of Islam is briefly summed up in the shahada, or the profession of faith (which is considered the primary duty of every Moslem)—La illaha illallah, i.e., there is but one God; Muhammadun rasulu-llah, i.e., Muhammad is the Apostle of God. The shahada is not found in this composite form anywhere in the Koran, but its two halves occur separately and are its constant theme. "O you who believe, believe in God and His Apostle and the Book which He has sent down formerly. Whoever denies God and His Angels and His Books and His Apostle and the Last Day has strayed far from Truth." (Sura iv, v. 135).

779 One of the essential elements of Islam is an uncompromising
776 monotheism. The true belief demands ikhlas, the giving of one's whole and unmixed allegiance to God. Its opposite, which is considered the gravest sin that Moslems can commit, is shirk, the ascribing of partners to God and the worship of any other than him. Of the different forms of shirk, idolatry is denounced as the gravest.

Islam conceives of God as existing at all times and to eternity. "Call not any other God but Allah; there is no God but He. Everything shall perish except His Being. To Him belongs the rule and to Him you shall be brought back for judgment." (Sura XXVIII, v.88.) Along with the terrible and majestic aspects of God as Creator, Supreme Power, Judge and Avenger, the Koran also stresses His bounty and loving kindness.

The doctrine of angels also exists in the Koran. In the imagery of the Koran, the angels are represented generally as God's messengers. They are, like men, His creatures and servants and worship Him constantly; they bear up His Throne, descend with His decrees on the Night of Power, record men's actions, receive their souls when they die, and witness for or against them at the Last Judgment, and guard the gates of Hell.

With the doctrine of angels there is also the doctrine of devils although the devils are represented as rebellious Jinn rather than fallen angels. The Jinns, like men, are created out of fire instead of earth; there are believers and infidels among them, and the unbelievers will be judged with men and condemned to Hell. The rebellious Jinns are called shaitans; they lead men astray, oppose the Prophets and try to overhear what is dis-

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[788] Mecca.
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rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a,
the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

*668 631 666 [563] of the next lower level; deputies to the people's congresses of municipalities not divided into districts, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns are directly elected by the voters. The minority groups shall have guaranteed quotas in these congresses. Minority nationals in administrative areas shall have an appropriate number of deputies to the people's congresses of their administrative areas.

Thus, the people theoretically have political authority and the people's congresses are the organs for practicing this authority. These congresses on the lower levels are elected directly by the voters, while those on the higher levels are elected by the people's congresses of the next lowest level. For instance, the voters elect the people's congresses of the various towns. Then the People's Congresses of the towns elect deputies to the people's congresses of the counties, and so on. The provincial People's Congresses are elected for four years, while the other local congresses are elected for two years.

b. functions of congress

*668 631 671 As listed by law the functions of the people's congresses are numerous. In brief, the congresses are to defend the rights of the people and also to assure the support of the people. They approve local budgets and financial accounts; draw up plans for local economic and cultural development; elect and recall the people's councils at their own level; elect the deputies to the people's congresses at the next highest level; listen to and examine the working reports of the people's councils at their own level; and revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders issued by these people's councils.

These functions and powers could make the local people's congresses into real "watch dogs" for the people, but for several hidden handicaps. One of these is to be found in this same Organic Law, Article 6, which states that a people's congress can "revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the people's congresses at the next lower level." In this way power is retained by the upper level.

2. Role of people's councils

*668 631 The people's councils have a dual role: they are responsible to the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, and they are responsible to the governments above their own levels. Although they are supposed to be the people's instruments of self-government, they are also agencies of the central government and must obey the State Council. Theoretically, this double responsibility could put the local governments in an embarrassing dilemma, were the local congresses to differ with the central government on policy. In practice, however, it is not possible, because of the tight party control at every level and since the representatives are hand-picked by the party.

a. composition

In addition to the council members, a local People's Council

S 175 625 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later, S [177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

S N 184 577 B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups

Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation. S N [671] [674] But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali S N 681 184 674 in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before S N [565] the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties); of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the N 681 184 674 Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall: Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

673

673 WRONGS--general definitions of acts which violate legal norms; major categories of breaches (e.g., crimes, torts, violations of contract, sins); recognized gradations in the gravity of offenses (e.g., malum prohibitum and malum in se, misdemeanors and felonies, venial and deadly sins); etc. See also:

Specific offenses and their sanctions	68	Breaches of ethics	577
Sex perversions	83	Taboo	784
Breaches of etiquette	576		

625 *668 178 The above chart (chart II) is self-explanatory. However, in the past, the major work of the police station was the fight against crime. At present, the emphasis has been shifted to political defense. Thus, the political section becomes a major section in the internal organization of the police offices. To
673 *668 view the problem from another angle, even common crimes can be political in nature. A case of arson may be considered sabotage of state property. A case of theft may involve the stealing of state property. Murder may be viewed as a disruption of production. Therefore it is difficult to separate common crimes from political resistance. One of the major arguments of the Communists to defend their own criminal past (e.g. Chou En-lai has a record as murderer in Shanghai Police Department) is the political purpose of the crime.

625 *668 3. Committee of residents

In addition to the regular police, the Communists have also organized and used the common people to maintain public order and safety. In cities, there are Committees of Residents. These Committees are organized by districts, each one controlling from 100 to 600 families. Under the committee are "cells of residents." Each cell includes from 15 to 40 families. Each committee shall not control more than 17 such cells. The main function of these cells and committees is to maintain public order. ("The Regulations of the Urban Committee of Residents," adopted by the 4th meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on December 31, 1954, articles 2 and 3 in Peking Kuang-ming jih-pao, January 1, 1955.)

The rural areas have Security Committees, the administrative village being the unit with 3 to 11 members participating. Under these committees, security teams of 3 to 5 activitsts are established. These people police the countryside for the Communist government. The functions and power of these security committees are:

1)...Arresting and running over to the government and public security organs of counter-revolutionaries caught flagrant, derelicts and criminals wanted by law, but... have no power to try to imprison or dispose of such criminals.

2)...Investigating, supervising, prosecuting and denouncing counter-revolutionaries other than those caught in the act, but...have no power to arrest, detain, search or restrict them.

3)...Educating the masses to preserve the revolutionary order and supervising the persons subject to control in labor and production, forbidding them to speak and act indiscriminately and reporting in time to the public security organs on their behavior, but...have no power to

674

674 CRIME--prevalence and incidence of crime; common and rare offenses; crime statistics (e.g., number of reported violations, arrests, and convictions for various offenses); types of offenders (e.g., juvenile delinquents, criminal castes; narcotic addicts, professional criminals); motives in crime (e.g., greed, frustration, sexual jealousy); contributory social factors (e.g., poverty, oppression); criminology; etc. See also:

Socialization	86	Crime prevention	625
Neuroses and psychoses	158	Sanctions	681
Organized vice	548	Litigation of civil cases	691
Ingroup antagonisms	578	Juvenile delinquency	738
Banditry and piracy	579	Suicide	762

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

423 and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's attitude toward land must have been different from that of the people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood.
[556] Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might mean nothing.

*563 578 Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This complication influenced not only political and social affairs but also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in the province of Chinghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from China Proper, chung-yüan. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrimination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political, economic, and military positions and they were the predominant group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese toward the Moslems.

*563 181 183 829 [674] About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou, Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communities stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or
*563 181 526 robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

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B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups

Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation. But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties); of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall: Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

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184 matter; and robbery of some great living Buddha would mean al-
• 674 most certain death," states Ekvall, op. cit., p. 70. In the past, these problems of differences were somewhat minimized by leaving the various ethnic groups to their own leaders. For instance, as late as in the 1930's, among the Tibetans on the Kansu-Tibetan border, Ekvall reports that the village was the basic unit of administration:

621 "The village organization is generally an informal one. Among
184 the farmers there is a tendency to have a properly chosen head-man; but among the nomads, although there is usually one person in the encampment who is known as the head-man by right of his influence, it is seldom that he has been chosen formally. The real power and final court of appeal is found in the group of substantial middle-aged and elderly men known as the elders (rgan-po), and their word is final in village affairs. Villages - whether villages in the restricted sense, like those of the sedentary districts, or in the larger sense which includes the encampments of the nomads - are associated in groups that have common territorial interests"(op. cit., p. 68).

II. Communist Administration

*668 A. The System in General

625 In order to suppress widespread resistance, the Communists have organized the largest and most complicated police system in Chinese history. This system includes regular police as well as secret police. To make sure that the police force will not rebel, there are numerous branches in the system to check on each other. The final control, however, is in the hands of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. To understand this complicated system, it is necessary to draw a skeleton diagram of the whole system instead of just the part in northwest China.

they were to forward orders from above to the lower level governments; to make decisions or suggestions concerning the personnel, laws, and financial arrangements of the province; and to coordinate and supervise work in the area. There were, however, some new points. They were required "to execute the decisions of the provincial people's congresses."

a. limitations on authority

The significance of this requirement was lessened by the qualification: "provided that these decisions have been approved by the Government Administrative Council or the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions." Thus, nothing could be done on the provincial level that was not acceptable to the officials of higher levels. Second, the provincial councils were to "annul or revise the decisions and orders of the municipal and county people's government councils, or the municipal and county people's congresses under its jurisdiction, whenever these decisions and orders are contradictory to those of the higher level people's government." The higher government officials could over-ride the local interests.

b. increased authority

Under this system, the provincial governments of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang actually were branch offices of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, until the power of the latter was weakened in 1952. With the abolition of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council in June, 1954, the traditional importance and position of the provincial governments was fully restored. However, primarily they still are instruments of the central government.

B. People's Congress and People's Councils

The day after the First National People's Congress passed the new Chinese Communist Constitution, on September 21, 1954, the same congress passed the organic law for local governments. Taken at face value, this law gives more power to the local governments as well as to the people. From the town level up to the province, each is supposed to have a people's congress and a people's council, the congress representing the people, and the council acting as the executive body. Their position and interrelation can be seen in the following excerpts from the law:

1. Role of peoples' congress

Local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of government authority in their respective localities. (The Organic Law of People's Congresses and People's Councils at all Local levels in Chinese Peoples' Republic, p. 1, Article 3.)

a. election of deputies

Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central authority, counties, and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses

#175 rather low, their conception about the party is not clear, and they
#668 are not qualified, or completely qualified, as party members.
578 They take little interest in party work, consider the exemplary behavior of other party members in leading the masses as a 'dis-advantage,' take no heed of the phenomena detrimental to the interest of the people."

Ma went on to state that bad elements had infiltrated into the party: "Some of the veteran party members in the face of the nationwide victory, display laxity, are arrogant and think of them-selves as heroes. They are steadily losing or have already lost the sense of responsibility and positiveness that qualified Com-munists should have. They pay little attention to study and im-provement, take little interest in politics, lack a serious attitude towards their work, do not seek to develop the work but simply carry out routine, and some of them are not prepared to continue with the revolutionary struggle, reject any difficult tasks assigned them by the party, and even degrade themselves to corruption, moral disintegration and estrangement from the masses, and are against party discipline." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, October 8, 1951).

Two months later, at another conference of cadres, Hsi Chung-hsün also deplored the deterioration of party discipline. "Diverse

places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later, when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

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"and some of the elements whose class standpoint is not firm and whose political consciousness is not very high cannot stand the test and become degenerated." (NCNA December 2, 1951). In May, 1952, Chang Chia-fu, director of the Department of Propaganda of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, declared: "Since they entered the cities, the Northwest Literary and Art Workers, owing to corrosion by bourgeois thought, have wavered more or less in carrying out Chairman Mao's literary and artistic policy." (NCNA May 25, 1952).

2. Poor Quality of the New Cadres: The large numbers of students and former government employees who were incorporated into the ranks of the cadres were not men of high caliber and they quickly followed the examples set by the old party cadres. At a speech at a conference of cadres at Sian in May, 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün charged that there were glaring shortcomings in the United Front Work because the new cadres, who make up 90 per cent of the total number of cadres, following the practices of the old cadres. They were arrogant, they entertained non-proletarian thoughts, and, because of their behavior, there were flagrant cases of bureaucratism (which he defined as estrangement from reality and isolation from the masses) and commandism (just going through the motions of carrying out orders). He pointed out that in the muni-
[681] cipality of Sian, for example, eleven hundred residents were
[651] arrested and punished for the mere crime of possessing bicycles, and that in the countryside, the cadres resorted to threats, arrests, and tortures in the collection of taxes.

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184 matter; and robbery of some great living Buddha would mean al-
674 most certain death," states Ekvall, op. cit., p. 70. In the past, these problems of differences were somewhat minimized by leaving the various ethnic groups to their own leaders. For instance, as late as in the 1930's, among the Tibetans on the Kansu-Tibetan border, Ekvall reports that the village was the basic unit of administration:

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axles, since the gauge required for the desert is a foot 485
wider than that used in the provinces of North China. 326
The first night was spent in a very cold, damp, north room of a noisy, dirty and crowded inn. The next day, 681
however, we secured the use of a small private court, containing an apartment with a tiny kitchen, where our servant was able to prepare the meals. This small court had been built by a Kashgar merchant, whose business necessitated frequent journeys to Suchow, Hankow and Peking. A few years previously, a deal in business involved him in a transaction through which he incurred the displeasure of a high official, the result being that he was placed under arrest, and forced to reside in that portion of a Chinese prison corresponding to the old English 'Debtors' Gaol.' No trial had taken place, and consequently no judgment had ever been passed on him. Any representations that he might make had been bandied from court to court, as each successive official refused either to investigate the case, or to take any action which might bring upon himself the wrath of some other notable, from whom depended the tenure of his own office. When we reached Suchow, Mr. Li's imprisonment, now ancient history, was merely nominal, and he was free to come and go at pleasure, provided he did not leave the precincts of the town. He was one of our first visitors, and we found him to be a man of alert mentality, and of great knowledge of the world. His morals and general outlook were those of Islam, to which he had added under the stress of trouble the Chinese vice of opium-smoking. He seemed, however, much pleased that we should be occupying his premises, and urged us not to hesitate to report to him if the manager failed to make us as comfortable as possible.

The news of our arrival spread rapidly through the 100

682

682 OFFENSES AGAINST LIFE--definitions of and sanctions for homicide (e.g., murder, manslaughter); punishments for attempted homicide and attempted suicide; penalties for abortion and infanticide; etc. See also:

Euthanasia	73	Headhunting	721, 727
Accidents	164, 165	Suicide	762
Cannibalism	266	Abortion and infanticide	847
Blood feuds	627, 628	Killing the aged	888
Liability in instances of accident or self defense	672		

583 and without a word he took me by the arm and led me along behind the farmer, to a house a few doors away. There the farmer threw the silver he had got for the mules on a table and roughly seized a middle-aged woman who protested in vain and who had evidently been sitting in front of the door, quite unsuspecting. He quickly lifted the woman onto his horse and hurried off with her toward the nearest city gate. Twilight had already descended. He escaped just before the gates were barred. The Chinese who witnessed the drama laughed aloud while the woman covered her face with her hands and sobbed loudly and bitterly. My guide explained to me, laughingly: "For your two mules the man has got himself this faded woman, a widow." It is not considered respectable to marry widows, and so no wedding is celebrated, nor guests invited. The new husband pays a certain price to the family of the deceased or to whomever the woman belongs, and departs with her from her old home, if possible in the dark and without causing much stir. If the widow is self-respecting and well brought up, she leaves her old home with tears streaming, even though she may be heartily glad to get away from it.

426 Around the same time there occurred another incident which is typical of the sense of justice of the Hsining people. The secretary
682 of a yamen owed a certain bank five tael and left this small debt unpaid in spite of repeated admonishment. The owner of the bank thereupon sent one of his employees who demanded payment. But since the man either could not or would not pay, there was a lively altercation and the debtor suddenly took a knife and cut off a finger of his left hand, threw it to the young man and said "There's your money!" I was told that the blood balanced the debt. However, both parties were now so aroused that the quarrel continued and the employee was thoroughly thrashed by the secretary and members of his family. In his distress the employee kicked the secretary in such a way that the latter collapsed unconscious and died two days later. The wife of the secretary then went to the hsien and accused the bank employee of the murder of her husband. The hsien had the young man seized and would probably have beheaded him if his family had not demanded payment of 2,000 tael by the bank for the loss of their son. Finally the hsien (the father-mother-mandarin) decided that the bank should pay the secretary's widow 600 taels and thus redeem the young employee. Inasmuch as the "bank" had to pay the hsien for court expenses besides, the owner of the bank was on the point of bankruptcy when I left Hsining fu - all for 5 taels.

685

685 PROPERTY OFFENSES--definitions of and penalties for stealing (e.g., theft, poaching, robbery, burglary, fraud, embezzlement); definitions of and punishment for property damage (e.g., trespass, arson, malicious mischief); etc. See also:

Property	42	Banditry	579

624 se of the so-called Tu jen (2) living in the city. Every day he places

2. A Chinese word, literally: "earth-people," meaning oldest inhabitants.

the insignia of his power in front of the door of his house, like a
685 petty Chinese official or a police officer. Everyone who passes the houses sees two kang (3) and a stick for administering bastinadoes

3. The kang. Chinese kia (popularly known as dia-dia in Kansu) is the rectangular piece of wood, weighing 20 pounds and about 60 centimeters in length, through which the head of a convict is stuck. The Chinese fear it less as a punishment than as a mark of shame, and it is used primarily in cases of petty thievery. The conviction lasts from one to two months, and this collar often may not be taken off at night. But the convicted person may go walking with it if he feels like it and if he has been granted bail or is a property owner.

which are used as punishment or to extract confessions. This represents the power which the li tu se still exercise over their subjects,
346 the Tu jen. The yamen of these tu se is very small. But close be-
178 side it under a three-tiered roof (Plate L) sits a colossal clay Buddha in the midst of a rambling group of buildings which have long since crumbled except for the foundation walls. In any case this structure stems from ancient times (perhaps Ming?) and was the temple of the Tu jen. A large part of the property around the temple still belongs to the Tu jen. There are many inhabitants of Hsining who maintain that the building containing the giant Buddha was not built as a temple but as a palace of the li tu se when they were still independent, around the time of the Sung Dynasty (11th
624 century). A rather large part of the city belongs to the Tu jen who
651 pay taxes to their kings and not to the Chinese officials.

The holder of the position of li tu se in Hsining was a young man in his early twenties who, in complete contrast with his father, enjoyed very little esteem. And rightly so! For, within a few years /171/ he had spent his father's entire fortune in drinking and gambling, and was now heavily in debt. Even his father had little power left over his subjects; the Chinese mandarins have now become even more the rulers. They now gather a tenth of the produce

691

691 LITIGATION--incidence of civil actions; statistics of civil cases; causes and types of litigation; abuses (e.g., barratry, ambulance chasing); etc. See also:

Ingroup aggression 578
Informal justice 627
Torts 673
Incidence of criminal actions and criminal behavior 674

the edge of a precipitous cañon, which has engulfed the 487
road during recent years, and [illegible]ntinue again on the further
side, while the track now in [illegible] winds round the head of /133
the ra[illegible]ne. All through the loess country of Shensi and Kansu it is the [illegible]e story, the track winding about to avoid the rifts, which are ever widening and working backwards by the collapse of their vertical walls. We were met on the provincial border by some Kansu officials and a couple of dozen Mahomedan braves, picturesque looking warriors mounted on handsome Kansu ponies, from whose appearance it was evident we were entering a new country. All [492]
Chinese in the North can ride after a fashion; but a Kansu Mahomedan, a Mongol, or a Tibetan sits his pony as though born to the saddle. Thus escorted we dropped by a long descent of ten li through a gully in the loess to Ching Chou (now Chingch'uan Hsien), and found ourselves once more in the valley of the Ching Ho.

From Ching Chou to P'ingliang Fu is a distance of 130 li, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the village of Paishui Yi, 75 li out. The road, a broad tree-lined highway, runs up the valley of the Ching Ho, which is well cultivated and populated. The trees along this road, which extend on and off all the way from Hsian to Lanchou, are said to have been planted by the order of the great General Tso, the conqueror of the Mahomedans, and if so, all travellers in summer time have reason to be thankful to
him for the welcome shade they afford. At Paishui Yi we 634
were met by the P'ingliang magistrate, one of the very best
district officers we came across in all our journeys, who [691]
proceeded that same evening to take advantage of his presence in the village to try a case in the courtyard of the rest-house in which we were stopping; no red tape or ceremony of any kind, but a quick, straightforward hearing. Kansu is an old-fashioned and conservative province, and at the time of our visit was jogging along in much the same way as under the Manchus, without having adopted many of the new methods of the Republic. This magistrate was a regular territorial official *de carrière*, the son of an official, and, though still quite young, had served for some years as a magistrate under the previous regime. Consequently he was thoroughly conversant with his work, and compared

692

692 JUDICIAL AUTHORITY--extent to which the settlement of disputes, redress of injuries, and application of sanctions is withdrawn from the parties concerned and vested in some constituted authority; degree of identification or separation of judicial and executive authority; specialized judges and courts; judicial system (e.g., courts of original and appellate jurisdiction, courts of law and equity, civil and criminal courts); jurisdiction of each type of court; judicial powers and prerogatives; etc. See also:

Judicial authority of executive and administrative officials. 63, 64
Concept of justice 577
Informal justice within the community 627
Constitution 642
Legal norms 671
Special courts 698

798 in the secret hope that the ever-shifting sands of the political hour-glass would produce new conditions, capable of manipulation, if needs be, to cover over such an insignificant incident as that of the execution of a Christian leader. They were strengthened in this expectation by reports of successful demonstrations by the anti-Christian organisations in large cities.

To us the reply from Lanchow seemed to hand over the situation to our enemies ; nevertheless, prayer was constantly made by the whole Christian community to God for Dr. Kao, and we waited for the answer to come.

798 By the law of China, it is the Civil Magistrate who pronounces the sentence upon the prisoner ; never-
692 theless, it cannot be carried into execution without the additional authority of the District Judge ; therefore, when this Official was approached and asked to ratify the sentence upon Dr. Kao, he very indignantly replied : ' I refuse to condemn a man whom we all know to be innocent. Every child in the Suchow streets knows that the prison door has never been forced, nor has any prisoner there been unofficially released.' And from this position no persuasion moved him, although he was perfectly aware that such opposition might ruin his magisterial career. We, on our side, at Dr. Kao's request, refrained from any kind of interference or interposition, with the exception that we duly informed our Lanchow friends of all the facts, urging them, if possible, to use their influence to secure an impartial enquiry, which must necessarily be held by officials other than the local authorities. As a result of this appeal, a telegram was presently received from Lanchow, ordering the case to stand over until the arrival of a Special Commissioner appointed for the examination. T[illegible] natural effect of this communication, following on the action taken by the District Judge, caused some degree

of trepidation in official circles, one result of which being 798
that it immediately secured for Dr. Kao the privilege of
receiving visitors, ourselves among the number. We 692
always found him cheery and serene, although the sanitary conditions were so bad that they told seriously on his health, so much so, that when at last he emerged into the open day, he fell to the ground overpowered by the effect of the light. Many a time did we remind each other that although he had not broken open the city gaol and released its prisoners, we were yet all at that very hour seeking to preach liberty to the captives held in the strongholds of the Power of Evil.

It was with a peculiar sense of triumph that we brought the news to the prison, one Sunday afternoon, of the first baptismal service in Suchow having taken place that day.

The turnkey was increasingly friendly to his genial, though intractable prisoner, and when the doors were closed for the night, allowed him to leave his cell and preach to the other captives. The accusation was hanging on the evidence of one witness, namely that of the Governor of the gaol, and owner of the little slave-girl mentioned in a previous chapter. He was a man of weak and shallow nature, to whom cruelty of any kind partook of the nature of an amusement. He had bought over several witnesses, but when they heard the rumour of an investigation by a Commissioner appointed from Lanchow, they backed out and declared that only fear of torture had led them to give evidence. He began to realise, when it was too late, that each of the other officials had left himself a possible loophole of escape, which, if acted upon, would leave the whole burden of the responsibility upon his own head. Surreptitiously, therefore, he began to make preparations for a hasty exit into Turkestan ; but this being prevented by his

798 superior, it soon became the city talk, that whereas formerly he looked like a man, now his face resembled
692 that of a terrified ghost.

Meanwhile the Commissioner from Lanchow arrived, and only made himself known after spending several days *incognito* in an inn, under the guise of a merchant. He easily satisfied himself that the accusation brought against Dr. Kao was without any foundation, and he collected witness from every tradesman in the vicinity of the prison, to the effect that the gaol had never been
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692 notice stating that : 'This room is to be called a House
697 of Detention.' This was a ruse by the Civil Magistrate, to justify himself for having placed an untried prisoner in a condemned cell.

Before returning to Lanchow, the Commissioner insisted upon immediate removal to the real 'House of Detention,' where was a sunny courtyard, surrounded by decent rooms, each containing only one occupant. Here, Dr. Kao soon resumed his normal appearance; he was allowed to shave and keep his hair cut ; visitors came freely, and things in general were decidedly better. All the same, it was still a prison, and many of his neighbours had lived there for years, awaiting a trial that never came ; fed from their homes by little slave-girls sent in with their meals, and who slipped their slender bodies between the thick wooden bars of the locked entrance gate, with basins of rice for their masters' dinner. Some of these men had settled to a dull apathetic endurance of a wrong that could not be righted, many found a solace in the deadening fumes of opium, but there were a few who abandoned themselves to such a frenzy of despair that within a few months they were released by death from the hands of their enemies.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

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694

694 INITIATION OF JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS--complaints and accusations; methods of detection; bringing suit; indictments (e.g., by grand jury); warrants and summonses; arrests and detention; bail; writs (e.g., of habeas corpus); pleas and demurrers; etc. See also:

Police . . . . 625 Litigation 691

"Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and arrived at Sining on July 31....

"The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:

"During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

"(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Administration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23, to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. Instead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"

The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances. Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to paciły the resisting minorities.

9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)

"According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

"The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research together with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sentences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the criminal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two special districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two municipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

"Judging from the events that have taken place in our province during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habitual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

701 public works set on foot for the unemployed. Suchow
635 was transformed! But still Dr. Kao's imprisonment
dragged on.

798 Finally, on June 1st, the trial of our patience came to
194 an end. A student arrived in our court at dawn, saying
that Dr. Kao was under orders to leave that morning for
635 Lanchow, there to stand his trial. In spite of final
701 delays and procrastinations, that same afternoon he left
on foot for the eighteen days' tramp to the provincial capital. Here he spent some months, during the greater part of which he was able to live with his own friends. When the trial finally took place, he was declared innocent, and acquitted on all charges.

Many had been the orders and counter-orders, the subterfuge, and the conflicting motives at work, under the shifty régime of Chinese officialdom. On his release General Feng appointed him to the position of Medical Officer in charge of Red Cross work at his own Military Hospital, and his return to the far North-West has been temporarily delayed.

697

697 PRISONS AND JAILS--places of imprisonmert and detention; precautions against escape; personnel (e.g., jailers, wardens, chaplains, guards); differential treatment of inmates (e.g., women, trusties); organization of penal institutions; prison rules and routines; rewards and punishments for behavior; terms; paroles and pardons; prison labor; penal labor camps; special prisons (e.g., prisons for political offenders, military prisons); etc.
See also:

Prison buildings	344	Prisoners of war	727
Forced labor	466	Reformatories	738
Penology	681	Insane asylums	743

people. I expect you agree with me ; I had better go ; and so I just came in to say good-bye. Our life and death are in God's hands, as also the reputation of His Church. He will vindicate His Name.'

Commending each other to the care of God we parted, and he proceeded in company with Mr. Chang to the Yamen. As the two men left the house and walked down the streets, knots of Yamen runners, who had been placed at various points from which they watched the doors of the compound, closed in behind them, so that, as they reached the Yamen gate, they were completely surrounded by soldiers. As they entered the courtyard, the Civil Magistrate appeared, who shouted angrily: 'Seize that fellow Kao!' Immediately a dozen hands took hold of him, and thrust him into the Black Hole of the inner prison, reserved only for condemned criminals.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE STORM

Dr. Kao's arrest took place on February 17th, 1926, and it was June 1st of the same year before he left Suchow for Lanchow, to be present at the enquiry into his case. For forty-two days he was incarcerated in the Black Hole, which is an inner apartment of the prison, without any window ; it contains, however, a small aperture in the roof to admit a little air and light. The cell was so unspeakably filthy that the Doctor's first request was for some quicklime to scatter on the floor and under the boards of the *kang*, on account of the numerous rats, and other even worse vermin. The only door was the one by which the gaoler entered,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

and in it was a small grating through which the food could be passed. Next to this was the gaoler's own room, and beyond that again was another cell, in which twenty prisoners were incarcerated, most of them heavily ironed ; this room, too, was in almost total darkness. None of all those wretched prisoners were permitted to leave their cells except for a few minutes once in twenty-four hours, and all were entirely dependent upon their relatives or friends for their food ; consequently death from starvation was all too frequent, while, according to Dr. Kao's own account, the nights were made hideous by the agonised cries and groans of these most miserable of men.

For some days after the arrest we suffered intense anxiety from the fact that no message whatever could reach us direct from the Doctor ; moreover, persistent rumours were afloat that he was to be shot. Of course he was regularly supplied with food from the Mission Compound, but we had no certain means of knowing whether he really did receive it or not. Those first days of suspense were, indeed, terrible. The Civil Magistrate, it must be explained, had secured to the accusation brought by him against the Doctor the signatures of the two other most important officials of the city, each one thereby declaring himself personally cognisant of the offence. Consequently, when the answer ultimately came from the provincial capital of Lanchow, it was couched in these terms : 'Since you affirm Kao to be guilty of breaking open the prison of Suchow with an armed mob, you may inflict the extreme penalty of the law ; but if later investigations should prove him to be innocent, you will personally be held responsible for your action.' The three officials then pronounced themselves prepared to take this responsibility ; but did so as a means of currying favour with the local garrison,

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under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i, was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the position of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks: First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

159 provincial capital of Chinghai, Sining, fell to the Communists.
669 He was asked by the Communist authorities to serve on their
Military Control Board, but when the Nationalist Government
moved to Formosa, he managed to leave China. He now lives
in Cairo, Egypt.

Ma Pu-ch'ing (1898-)

159 Born in 1898 in the district of Lin-hsia in Kansu Province,
Ma Pu-ch'ing was the elder brother of Ma Pu-feng, governor of
Chinghai Province from 1937 to 1949, and the oldest son of the
late governor of Chinghai, Ma Lin. The youngest son, Ma Pu-
ying, did not enter public life, but chose to be a farmer. After
159 he was graduated from the First Middle School of Kansu, Ma
Pu-ch'ing entered military life. In 1922 he was commander of
701 the Fourth Regional Garrison. Next year he was promoted as
commanding officer of the Cavalry Regiment of the Fifth Mixed
Brigade of the Army. In 1928 he became commanding officer of
the 77th Brigade of the 28th Division of the Nationalist Revolu-
tionary Army. In 1929 he was transferred to commanding officer
of the 65th Brigade of the 22nd Division of the 4th Route of the
2nd Army Group of the Revolutionary Army. In 1930, he was
given commandership of the Loyang Garrison. By next year he
became commanding officer of the 26th Division of the 4th Route
of the 2nd Region of the Nationalist Army. In 1932 he was pro-
moted as commanding officer of the First Cavalry Division of
Kansu Province. In the same year, he was transferred as com-
manding officer of the Second Cavalry Division of the National-
ist Army. In 1936 he became commanding officer of the Fifth
159 Cavalry Division of the Army. When the Sino-Japanese War
701 broke out, he was appointed as the Commissioner of Highways
in Kansu Province. Later he was given the position as Reclama-
631 tion Commissioner of Tsaidam region in Chinghai Province, and
concurrently commanding officer of the Fifth Cavalry Division.
In 1943 he became deputy commander-in-chief of the Fortieth
Army Group.

159 His appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam
631 region in Chinghai Province by the Central Government came at
the time his brother, Ma Pu-fang, was governor of that prov-
635 ince. Thus the two brothers were often mentioned together as
administrative heads of Chinghai. At that time China was en-
gaged in the war against the Japanese invaders, and the whole
coastal region had been lost to the enemy. To deal with the
urgent need to continue the war, the Central Government then
adopted a policy of developing the border regions. Ma's ap-
pointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam was there-
fore considered a very important step. Tsaidam region is situ-
ated in the northwestern part of Chinghai Province, between the

701

701 MILITARY ORGANIZATION--purpose of military organization (e.g., defense, internal police, prestige); composition of the armed forces in peace and war; standing army and navy (e.g., size, disposition, state of preparedness); eligibility and liability for military service (e.g., age and sex qualifications); status of warriors (e.g., prerogatives, disabilities); military leaders (e.g., qualifications, mode of selection, authority, functions); extent of differentiation of military from political organization; coordination of armed forces (e.g., of a war party, an army, a complex military establishment); hierarchical organization (e.g., gradations in rank, chain of command); system of payment, promotion, and retirement; furloughs and leave; special organizations (e.g., military societies); etc. See also:

Prestige and mobility . . . . 56 Military technology and equipment 71
Political organization . . . . 62, 63, 64 Leadership traits 157

000 kitchens."

N . For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the
*563 same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family
M provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the
601 latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption
59 of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed
*563 among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and
M commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan
565 name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when
582 the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior
614 to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that,
*563 under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner
M of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Indiv-
421 idual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N
*563 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

361 Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with
N a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older
[171] than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are
[241] the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether
N Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial charac-
*563 teristics but as to their function in the social organization. The
621 counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or
[631] "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance
[622] of law and order and for the observance of government regulations.
N The larger villages have their own "family protective associations"
[701] and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions
*563 as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organ-
621 izations. It seems probable, however, since the National Govern-
631 ment has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

792 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic
monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more
871 complete systems of education and organization than are to be
found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage.
[778] Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's
birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang
from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries
[423] own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in
the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious.
[651] Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on
their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries,
these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

792 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the mon-
asteries perform many functions for their subjects and believ-
701 ers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and
Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies
[669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem re-
bellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely
795 in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long
line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which
was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place,
and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow.
An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where
life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers
marched in and out, and much official business was done, for
this was an important military center and the officer in command
held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the
place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly
resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to
be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to
walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert
stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where,
twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[525] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[276] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a
fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves
in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of bliz-
zard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were
dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by
[574] the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the
three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed them-
selves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the
properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their
belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating
stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sun-
rise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling
by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of know-
ledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her
712 wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they
[432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the
512 large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things,
[701] and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up
[352] the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover-lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into
[276] the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed:
443 "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the
[186] elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other
181 towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative.
436 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained.
441 Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. The Government of Administrative Regions

*175 *668 669

A. Basis of Regions

The turning point of the Chinese Communists' military campaign in northwest China was on April 22, 1948, when they retook Yenan. With the deteriorating general military situation, the Nationalists rapidly lost the Northwest. In December, 1949, the Communist conquest of the area was basically complete. Just as in other areas, the army was their main strength, essential in maintaining peace and order. Thus the local political structures which they set up were closely knit to the military forces, an inheritance from the civil war. Recognizing this faet, the central

*175 *668 631 government of the People's Republic decided to divide the nation into several large regions, roughly corresponding to the assigned areas of each field army. It appointed the commanders of the various field armies to manage the civil administrations of the corresponding regions. The Northwest Region included the municipality of Sian, directly under the central authority, and five provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang.

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B. Organizational Regulations

1. Military and administrative council

On December 16, 1949, the Government Administrative Council passed the organizational regulations of the People's Government Committee on Administrative Regions. According to these regulations, a Military and Administrative Committee was to be appointed by the Central Government in each administrative region to maintain peace and order during the first stage of the Communist conquest.

a. composition

P'eng Te-huai, the commander of the First Field Army, was appointed Chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, which had two vice-chairmen and forty-one members. The chairman and vice-chairmen were Chinese, and the members included four Moslems, two Uighurs, one Tibetan, one Mongol, and thirty-three Chinese. One of the Chinese was a woman.

b. expiation

In the regulations it was also stated that the Military and Administrative Councils were to be abolished as soon as the following conditions were fulfilled:

(1) when the military action was over;
(2) when land reform was completed;
(3) when the people of each region were well organized and a general election had been called. Then the People's Congresses of [666] each administration region, elected by popular vote, were to elect

*175 *668 631 • 701 [666]

a People's Government Council of the administrative region to take the place of the Military and Administrative Council.

2. Northwest administrative council

a. composition

Apparently this anticipated election never took place in Northwest China under the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. Since November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government ordered the reorganization of the Council into the Northwest Administrative Council, it has been known as the Northwest People's Government Council.

b. functions

*175 *668 631 Article 3 of the same regulations indicated that the People's Government Council of the administrative region (the Military and Administrative Council) was to be a part of the regular local government system, ranking between the Central Government and the provinces. It represented the Government Administration Council in guiding the provincial and county governments in administrative work.

This was well defined in Article 4, which gave the detailed functions of the Council. The Council was to be the organ for transferring the orders of the central government to the provincial and other lower local governments. It made suggestions to the central government concerning personnel, law, and financial arrangements for the region. It also coordinated and supervised administrative work for the central government.

These regulations indicated that the Communist Government meant to make the administrative regions and their administrative structures a part of their regular, permanent government system. This was quite a change from the former system, which emphasized the position of the provinces.

c. structure

*175 *668 631 647 After the Communists organized the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions into offices with real power, their structure became large, and even bulky. In 1952, at the peak of its power, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council included the following offices:

Administrative Office;
Committee on Political and Legal Affairs;
Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs;
Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs;
Committee on People's Control
Committee on Land Reform;
Commission of Nationalities Affairs;
Department of Personnel;
Department of Civil Administration;
Department of Public Safety;
Department of Justice;

625 *668 detain, punish or evict them... ("The Provisional Regulations Governing Organization of Security Committees" proclaimed on August 10, 1952 by the Ministry of Public Safety of the CPG, NCNA, Peking, August 10, 1952.)

Besides these auxiliary police forces, there are People's Supervision Correspondents and People's Denunciation Reception Rooms. People's Supervision Correspondents are recruited from every branch of government organs, enterprises and people's popular bodies in towns and villages. The members are selected from among the activists. "The tasks of the People's Supervision Correspondents are to investigate all cases of violation of laws and discipline and damage to the state and people's interest such as graft, waste, bureaucracy and dereliction of duty by government organs, enterprises and their personnel, as well as to canvass the opinions of the masses on the implementation of government policies and laws, report them to supervisory organs of a superior level and to leading officials of their own departments and to assist them in the disposal of cases. The methods for studying and discovering problems are: (1) to observe and discover problems through their own activities; (2) to regularly go deep into the masses to discover problems and listen to the views of the masses; (3) to collect accusations and appeals from the masses through people's opinion boxes; (4) to maintain close contacts with the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms, and to cooperate with the latter in work." (NCNA, Peking, August 25, 1952.)

The same source adds "The principal task of the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms is to receive and dispose of accusations and appeals from the masses."

• 701 625 *668 These police forces are supported by the regular People's Liberation Army and the militias. The militias are local self-defense corps who, according to Peking, Jen-min jih-pao, August 10, 1952, p. 18, cannot be separated from production. They are those who must engage in productive work, such as farming or handicraft, to make a living. They provide a powerful auxiliary force for the army and regular police.

*668 [674] [873] Augmenting all these organizations is the persistent program of indoctrination. The Communists realize that every crime committed now is politically harmful to their regime, so they have instituted numerous programs in education and propaganda to fight against crime. Reading the "new" moral standards set up for high school students by the Communist Ministry of Education (The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China: Jen-min chiao-yu, or People's Education, monthly, July issue of 1955, p. 46. "The moral standard of the middle school students" promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.) is like reading something from the past. Absolute loyalty to the government, strict obedience to authorities, extreme care not to

*668 is evident that loopholes are open everywhere for sudden changes in tactics and policy. Overnight, a most loyal attitude may change into subversion.

*668 The Communists themselves admit that tensions exist even
578 within the ranks of the cadres. Not only do Chinese and non-Chinese cadres confront each other with antagonism, but friction also exists between the old veteran cadres and the newly graduated younger men, as well as between party cadres and non-party cadres. Personal jealousy and ambition, mixed with the fear of sudden purges, have hardly diminished over the last few years and will probably continue to hamper the efficiency of the Communist administration. (See Political Dynamics.)

2. Effect of the campaigns

*668 Nation-wide drives and campaigns are felt as strongly in the
661 border regions as in China Proper. The effects of the Three-
578 Anti and the Five-Anti movements were especially violent when they hit the people of the Northwest in 1952. Countless cadres, officials, and ordinary citizens of the merchant class were charged with graft, waste, bureaucraticism, tax evasion, bribery, cheating in government contracts, theft of economic intelligence, and stealing of national property. Many were imprisoned, sent to corrective labor camps, or sentenced to death. It is difficult to gauge, however, to what degree the Communist charges were true, or, on the other hand, how much the policy of terror increased resentment against Communist rule. But it goes without saying that the result of such spiritual and physical control makes for continual intimidation and fear. While it makes concerted opposition impossible, it foments the bitterness and unrest upon which eventual open resistance is based.

*668 Undoubtedly, the role of the army in carrying out government
578 policies causes much tenseness. It heightens the intensity of
[701] terror involved in the implementation of such campaigns as land reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. (Union Research Service, September 27, 1955.) To compensate for the lack of man-power in agriculture and industry, the Communist government has sent large numbers of "reform workers" to the Northwest. According to one source, a subversive potential has been created as "reform workers and minority peoples whose interests are identical, have banded together to oppose Communist rule," and that "cases of resistance have been more numerous than has been imagined." (Ibid.)

3. Effect of economic measures

*668 The Chinese Communist government hopes that the Northwest
179 will eventually play an important part in the industrial growth of the entire country. For the moment they are still concentrating on increasing the agricultural output and developing animal husbandry. The initial pressure on Northwestern farmers to

159 Democratic League and has served as director of its branch in
#668 Sian. After the Communists took over, he was selected as one
631 of the two deputy mayors of the city of Sian. He is an alternate
member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League.

Chang, Pang-ying: Communist Party official

Up to 1950, Chang was secretary of the South Shensi Regional Committee of the CCP. After 1950 he rose to be director of the Bureau of Public Security and vice-chairman of the Shensi People's Government. He was a member of the Northwest MAC and also third secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau (later the Sinkiang Committee) up to the present. In 1955 he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Chang Te-sheng: Government official

Chang is a native of Shensi Province. His birth date is unknown. Under the Nationalist Administration he served as a member of the Commission of Overseas Affairs of the Central Kuomintang. Later he supported the Communist revolution and served as Vice-Commissar of the Political Department of the North China Military Area. When the Northwest Administrative Council was formed in 1953, he was given the post as a member of that council and concurrently one of the vice-chairmanships of the People's Government of Kansu Province. In 1955 he was elected chairman of the Shensi PPCC Committee.

Chang, Tsung-sun: Communist Party official

Background unknown. 1937, commander of the 358th Brigade
[701] in the 133rd Division in the 18th Group Army and later commander of the 2nd Military District in Northern Shensi. 1945, elected as alternate member of the Central Committee of the CCP; 1948, deputy commander of the First Field Army under P'eng Te-huai; 1950, deputy commander of the Northwest Military District. Member of the Northwest MAC, and procurator-general of the Northwest Office of the Supreme Procuratorate. Since 1952, deputy chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army and since 1954, member of the National Defense Council.

Chang, Tzu-fang (Woman): Communist mass organization leader

Prior to the Communist triumph in 1949, Chang Tzu-fang was chairman of the Federation of Democratic Women in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. In 1950 she became a member of the executive committee of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. In the NW MAC, and subsequently the Administrative Council, she was a member of the council, the Political and Legal Commission, the People's Supervisory

159 Commission, and the Land Reform Commission.

*668

631 Ch'ang, Li-fu: Member of the Communist Party

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. When the Military and Political Council for the Northwest was established in the Northwest, he was appointed Secretary-General in 1950; in 1953, when that council was re-organized into the Northwest Administrative Council, Ch'ang was appointed a member of that council and also served as its secretary-general. In the Central People's Government, he was made deputy secretary-general and director of the secretariat in the State Council in 1955.

Chao, Chan-k'uei: Labor model and official

Native of Ting-yuan in Shensi; a servant at age twelve; at thirty-eight worked as a metal worker on a railroad; at forty-two, went to Yenan, organized workers into labor unions and labor corps, set production record in iron foundry. In 1947 when the Nationalist forces captured Yenan, Chao first defended the iron works and then hid the machinery.1949, delegate to CPPCC, Peking. 1950, was deputy head of the Department of Labor in the NW MAC.

Chao, Po-p'ing: Communist Party and government official

Personal data not available. 1950, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, deputy secretary in the Sian Municipal Committee of the CCP. 1952, director of the Department of Propaganda in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. Elected as vice-governor of Shensi in 1954.

159 Chao, Shou-shan: Army officer

Born in 1895 in Shensi Province in farm family; graduated
*668 from a surveying school; joined the army and became a com-
• 701 manding officer of a brigade in General Yang Hu-ch'eng's army
631 in Shensi; Garrison Commander of Hanchung, Shensi; after the December 12, 1936, incident when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was detained by the Young Marshall, General Chang Hsueh-liang, and General Yang Hu-ch'eng, Chao became Garrison Commander of Sian. In 1937 he became commanding officer of the 38th Army; later, the commander of the 4th Army Group; 1947, relieved from his command and given a choice of becoming a member of the Military Advisory Council or going to U.S.A. on an investigating tour. Toured U.S.A., joined the Communists later that year. In 1949 his troops re-entered Sian. 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1950, became chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai; 1952, appointed chairman of Shensi People's Government; 1953, member of the Northwest

N
159 Administrative Council. Reelected Governor of Shensi in 1954.
*668 Chao's career as an army officer was highlighted at three
• 701 different occasions: First he took part in the coup d'etat against
631 Chiang Kai-shek during the Sian incident; then he became a war hero in the Sino-Japanese War for his campaign in the Chung t'iao Mountains along the Shensi border, and finally when he shifted his allegiance to the Communists in 1947, he was instrumental in appealing to the Northwestern troops to revolt against Chiang's regime. His appointment as Governor of Chinghai and then Shensi by the Communist regime was a recognition of his service to the Communist cause.

N
159 Chia T'o-fu: Communist, government official
*668 Background unknown, dates unknown. During the Sino-Japanese War he served as the secretary-general to the Northwest
631 Office of the Central Political Bureau of the Communist Party; 1948, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the North China People's Government; later secretary to the Municipal Committee of Sian. 1950, mayor of Sian; 1950-52, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administration Council in the Central People's Government, and vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest; since 1952, vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administrative Council, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Northwest Administrative Council. Chairman of the Northwest Headquarters of the Federation of Trade Unions, and vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Also a member of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP.

In 1955 he was promoted to director of the Fourth General Office (Light Industries, Fuel) and concurrently Minister of Light Industries in the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Chia is one of the principal officials responsible for the economic development and industrialization of the Northwest.

S
159 Ch'ü, Wu: Government official
668 Head of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Sinkiang Provincial Government under the Nationalists; 1949, mayor of Urumchi,
631 member of the Sinkiang People's Government Council; 1950, deputy secretary general in the Government Administration Council; 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council; 1955, deputy secretary-general of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Member of the Executive Committee of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

Hsi Chung-hsun: Communist
159 Born 1912 in Shensi Province. In 1926 he joined the Commun-
*668 ist Youth League. 1927, was in prison. 1932, staged "soldier
631 rebellion of the Liang-tang Mountain" and conducted guerilla warfare in northern Shansi Province; 1937-45, in charge of the defense of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Area. 1949-52, alternate member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military Administrative Council and concurrently chairman of the Land Reform Committee for the Northwest MAC. Since 1953, in the Central People's Government, member of the Central People's Government, vice-chairman of the Commission on Culture and Education in the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee, member of the National Planning Committee, member of the Constitution Drafting Committee and member of the Central Election Committee; in the local government, vice-chairman of the Northwest Administrative Council; in the Communist Party, he is an alternate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In the army, he holds the post as political commissar of the Northwest Military District, and in the mass organizations, he has been, since 1951, president of the Northwest headquarters of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and member of the Board of Directors of the SSFA. In 1955 he was promoted to be vice-premier of the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Hsi has been virtually the boss of the Northwest region, especially after the transfer of P'eng Te-huai to be commander in chief of the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea in 1951. It was Hsi who instituted the ideological reforms and the purges of the cadres in 1952, and it was he who instituted the "study" program for the general line of the state for the transition to socialism in the Northwest region.

Hsi has been a life-long Communist. The fact that he holds so many memberships in the Central Government indicates the important role he plays in the Communist regime. His position in the local administration is equally high for he is the second political boss in the Northwest, next to General P'eng Te-huai.

159 Hsing Chao-t'ang: Army officer
Native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. 1923, commanding
*668 officer of a division in the Second Army of the Kuo-min-chun
*701 under the command of Hu Ching-i of Shensi. 1937, deputy com-
631 mander of the Hopei-Chahar Guerrilla Forces; 1941, deputy speaker of the Hopei-Shansi-Shangtung-Honan Border Council; 1948, member of the North China People's Government of

159 Ninghsia Province; 1952-54, chairman of the People's Govern-
*668 ment of Ninghsia. His name, however, disappeared from the
•701 lime light after the Ninghsia People's Government was abol-
[631] ished and Ninghsia merged into Kansu in 1954.

Hsing was a career soldier. His long years of fighting a guerilla war against the Japanese had made him a man of distinction. His association with the Communists, however, did not begin until he broke away from Sun Tien-ying, under whom he had fought as a guerrilla leader for many years. When Sun's guerrilla forces were re-organized into the Nationalist Fifth Army, Hsing began to shift his political leaning toward the Communists. Hsing's red star began to shine when he was first selected as deputy speaker of the Border Assembly for Hopei-Charhar area. He was responsible for the training of a large number of cadres in Ninghsia.

159
*668 Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o: Buddhist, government official

Born in 1884 in Chinghai Province. At age of twelve entered
[792] one of the colleges in Drepung Temple in Tibet to study Buddhism; 1916, given the degree Geshe (after completing the five classics in Buddhism, namely, Sutras and Commentaries, Prajnparamita or book on philosophical matters, Madhyama or book on the Middle Doctrine, Vinaya or book on moral discipline and Vasubhandu's work); since then edited and commented on the Kanjur for twelve years. In 1937, he went to Nanking by way of India and gave lectures on Tibetan culture at the National Central University, Tsinghua University, Sun Yat-sen University, Peking University and Wu-han University. 1939, sent to Tibet by the Nationalist Government on a good-will mission.
159 Since 1946 has been a reserve member of the Kuomintang Cen-
*668 tral Supervisory Committee and from 1947 to 1949, vice-chair-
631 man of the Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs in the National Government. In January 1950, appointed member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently deputy-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai. Since January 1953, member of the Administrative Council of the Northwest, member of the Political and Legal Commission, vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai, director of the Cultural and Educational Commission in the provincial government, and acting chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association.

159 The fact that he achieved his degree of Ke-hsi had made Hsi-
*668 jao-chia-ts'o a man of high esteem. He devoted twelve years to
792 editing and commentating the Kanjur, the complete works of
554 Tibetan Buddhism, and his bold approach in editing the textual errors in the scriptures has made him an authority on Buddhism, although he did incur the displeasure of the Dalai Lama.

159 Before the Communists took over Tibet in 1951, his effort in
*668 bringing about a peaceful "liberation" of Tibet had won him a
554 tribute from Communist authorities.

159 Huang Cheng-ch'ing: Tibetan army officer
*668 A Tibetan of Sik'ang Province, born 1903 and graduated from
*701 the Kansu Political Training Institute; teacher of the Five
631 Tribes College in Lanchou; member of the Supervisory Committee of the Lanchou Branch of the Kuomintang; 1927-1928, commander of the tribal troops of the 7th Field Army of the Second Army Group of the People's Revolutionary Army; 1934, garrison commander of Labrang, Kansu; 1944, leader of the Labrang Delegation to Chungking; 1950. member of the Military and Political Council of the Northwest and concurrently vice director of the Department of Animal Husbandry in that council; 1953, one of the vice-chairmen of the Northwest Administrative Council. In 1955, he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of Kansu.

159 Huang is the oldest of three brothers. His second brother,
*668 Huang Cheng-pen, was the Grand Assistant of the Labrang Temple, one of the six famous Lamaist temples in the country, and was in charge of all the affairs of that temple and others under its jurisdiction. His third brother, Huang Cheng-ming, is the Living Buddha of Ah-mang-ts'ang, Chia-mu-yang the Fifth. The three brothers were the actual rulers of Labrang in charge of the military, political and religious affairs within that region. Thus Huang's high position in the Northwest under the Communist administration is understandable, another example of the Communist policy in that area of using local minorities leaders.

Ho Wei-te

(631) Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu Province, a position he retained in the election of 1953-54.

159 Kan, Ssu-ch'i: Army officer and government official
*668 Native of Hunan, graduate of Hunan Middle School, political
701 commissar in the 18th Division of the Sixth Army under Hsiao
631 K'e; 1934, deputy political commissar in the Second Front Army under Ho Lung; chief of staff and political director in the 120th Division under Ho Lung; political commissar in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Defense Forces; 1945, elected alternate member in the Central Committee of the CCP; 1950, member of the NW MAC, member of the Land Reform Commission and director of the Department of Public Security in the NW MAC. 1951, political commissar in the Chinese Volunteer

Forces in Korea; 1955, deputy director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

Kao Chin-shun: Communist Party member

Background unknown. When the Communists took over Sinkiang in late 1949, he was chosen as one of the two vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Sinkiang. He is now vice-chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and second secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP.

Li Ching-lin

Background and dates unknown. 1949-53, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia; 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia.

Liao Han-sheng: Communist Party member

A native of Hupeh Province, dates unknown. A political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; in 1949 he was appointed a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Chinghai Province until the election of 1954. When the council was reorganized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative Council, he continued as a member.

Lo I: Communist official and mass organization leader

Background unknown; member of the commission on political and legal affairs, land reform and people's supervision in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, and member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Member of the All-China Democratic Youth Association. In charge of youth work for the CCP in the Northwest.

Ma, Hsi-wu

Background unknown. In 1952 he was president of the Northwest court of the Supreme People's Court, and member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Land Reform Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1955, vice-president of the Supreme Court in Peking.

Ma Hung-k'uei (1893-)

In the study of the modern history of Northwest China under the Nationalist administration, particularly the history of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, special attention must be directed to the history and background of the Ma clan,

159 and the so-called Four Ma, all of Moslem religion. Ma Hung-
[614] k'ui is one of them. His father, Ma Fu-hsiang (literary name,
Yun-t'ing), served in the early years of the Republic as the
High Commissioner for Chinghai, commander of the Guards
Division for Altai, and later in the second year of the Republic,
1913, the Commission of the Guards Division for Ninghsia.

When the Revolution of 1911 broke out, Ma Hung-k'uei was
[669] studying at the military school in Lanchou, Kansu. He played a
small part in the revolution by mobilizing the students of the
school and trying, unsuccessfully, to take over some strategic
points in the city.

159 He started his military career when he followed his father to
701 Ninghsia as a batallion leader. In 1921, when his father was
transferred to be the garrison commander of Suiyuan, he was
promoted as commanding officer of the Fifth Mixed Brigade.
During the war between Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria and Wu
P'ei-fu of Chihli (Hopei) Province, he was appointed as the
commander of the cavalry in Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan Prov-
inces. After the war was over, he followed the victorious Gen-
eral Feng Yu-hsiang to Peking. In 1926, when the Northern Ex-
pedition started, he followed General Feng again, taking part in
the expedition. At this time his troop was reorganized into the
Fourth Army of the First Army Group, and he became the com-
mander of the Fourth Army. In 1928, he fought the war in North
China and his troops suffered a great loss. When the situation
was settled, he regrouped his troops into the 17th Division, and
was put in charge of suppressing the bandits in the western part
of Shantung Province. In April, 1929, when General Feng Yu-
[669] hsiang revolted against the Nationalist Government headed by
Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Ma remained loyal to the Na-
tionalist Government. His troops were again reorganized into
the 11th Army. In 1930, his army was enlarged into the 15th Ar-
my Group and was in charge of patrolling the Lung-hai and
Tientsin-Pukou Railway lines. In the winter of 1932 he was or-
dered to go to Ninghsia, and on January 1, 1933, he was ap-
pointed governor of Ninghsia.

When Ma Hung-k'ui took over the administration in 1933, the
159 province of Ninghsia was in a deplorable situation, suffering
185 from floods and the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. To restore
656 peace and prosperity to the people, Ma Hung-k'uei first mopped
[579] up the remnants of the bandits in his province. He introduced
the Pao-chia system by which the people were organized to
insure against the recurrence of banditry. Third, he adopted
measures to put a gradual end to the planting and smoking of
opium. Fourth, he stabilized the currency within Ninghsia and
improved the taxation system. Simultaneously, he followed the
policies of improving land administration, encouraging

159 the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest. When he was twenty-
701 one years old, Ma Hung-pin started his military career by serving as commanding officer of the cavalry corps in charge of the Sining mines in Chinghai Province, and at the same time he was a member of the reclamation commission and mining commission of that province. In 1911, he became commanding officer of the cavalry batallion in charge of the patrol of the western region of Kansu. His first military merit was achieved when he pacified the disturbances of the two Mongol banners in western Suiyuan who were stirred to revolt by the independence achieved by Outer Mongolia in the first years of the Chinese Republic. In 1914, he was the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry Batallion and stationed in western Suiyuan guarding the Yellow River Bend and keeping a watchful eye against the Outer Mongols. Because of his meritorious record in the pacification of bandits in his area, he was awarded several medals and was promoted to lieutenant general by President Li Yüan-hung of the
[648] Peking Government. Later he also received a medal from the government of Belgium for his excellent work in protecting Belgian missionaries. In 1920 he was appointed as Defense Commissioner for Ninghsia (not a province at that time) and was charged with the duty of defending the frontier areas. In 1926 he was given the post of Pacification Commander of the Shensi-Kansu border regions. In 1927, when the Northern Expedition began, he was the commander of the 24th Division of the Second Army Group of which General Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) was the commander-in-chief. In 1928 he was transferred as the commander of the Seventh Division.

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635 When the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking, Ma Hung-pin was appointed the first governor of the newly organized province of Ninghsia. This was, so far, the first political assignment for Ma. In 1930 he was also made acting governor of Kansu Province. His political life ended in 1933 when his cousin, Ma Hung-k'uei, succeeded him as governor of Ninghsia.
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[579] From 1934-1936, his main task was to pacify the remaining bandits in the eastern region of Kansu. Because his policy in suppressing bandits was to win them over rather than annihalate them, he had won for himself the nickname of "Ma the Kind
[701]
[648] Man." In 1937, as commander of the 81st Division and, concurrently, defense commissioner for the western region of Suiyuan, he led his troops in fighting the Japanese invaders in that area. In 1940 he became commander-in-chief for the defense of Etokuchi, a Mongol Banner in western Suiyuan.

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*668 When the Communists started their campaign in the Northwest, Ma Hung-pin surrendered Ninghsia Province to the People's Liberation Army on September 16, 1949. Because of this drastic move, the whole Northwest was soon lost to the Communists.

authorities. Moreover, Osman was not given a post in the government of the East Turkestan Republic, but only a regional post, despite the fact that he had helped in the establishment of the republic, and his Kazakhs were discriminated against. When he joined the Chinese Nationalist Army and repulsed the Outer Mongolian invasion, he was hailed throughout China as a hero. Later, he was the rallying point of the resistance of the Kazakhs and other anti-Communist forces in Sinkiang.

Pai Hai-feng: Mongol, army officer

A native of Jehol Province and a member of the Kharchin Banner of the Mongol tribe in Inner Mongolia. Dates unknown. Graduated from the first class of the Central Military Academy; went to Russia and studied in the Oriental University. 1931-1932, served in the Peiping Branch of the National Military Council; later succeeded Yun Chi-hsien as commander of the Mongolian Police of Pai-ling-miao, Suiyuan. During the war period, 1937-1945, when the police were reorganized into a brigade of the regular army, he served as commanding officer of the brigade and was eventually promoted to commander of a division. In the meantime, also served as a special representative of the Kuomintang to the Mongol Banners in Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces as well as the representative of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps for that region. 1943, resigned from his duties with the Kuomintang Party.

When the Communists took over North China in 1949, he served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, and as vice-director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. 1953, a member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and vice-dean of the Northwest Nationalities College.

Pai Ju-ping: Communist

A native of Shensi Province; dates unknown. During the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government, served as the director of financial affairs in the Administrative Commissioner's Office in western Shensi, and later as finance commissioner in the border government. 1950, when the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest was formed, he served as a member of the council and as director of the Department of Finance. In January 1953, the Northwest Administrative Council was established to replace the Military and Political Council of the Northwest. He serves as a member of that council and concurrently as vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Commission in the council. 1955, director of the Central Handicraft Administrative Bureau in the State Council.

one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

T'ao Ch'ih-yueh: Army officer

A native of Hunan, dates unknown. Graduate of Whampao Military Academy; 1936, commanding officer of the Eighth Division, Nationalist Army; 1945-49, commander of the Sinkiang Garrison; 1949-, deputy commander of the Communist forces in the Sinkiang Military Area, and commanding officer of the 22nd Army Group; 1949-, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and member of the Government Council of the People's Government of Sinkiang; 1951-, member of the National Committee, People's Political Consultative Conference; 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council.

During the Nationalist administration, T'ao was never in a very important position in the army. His rise to fame began when General Chang Chih-chung, representing the Nationalist Government, conducted peace talks with the local leaders of Sinkiang from 1946-1949. At this time T'ao, succeeding General Sung Hsi-lien, became the commander of the garrison forces in Sinkiang. When the defense of the Northwest by the Nationalist troops was broken down by the victorious Communist army, T'ao took the lead of all military and political leaders of Sinkiang to switch his allegiance and support to the Communist regime in Peking. On September 26, 1949, he made his public announcement in which he separated Sinkiang's relationship from the Nationalist regime and gave his whole support to the Peking regime. And on October 1, 1949, he went to Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu, to welcome the commanding officer of the People's Liberation Army, General Wang Chen, to Sinkiang. His troops were then reorganized into the 22nd Army Group, which he still commands, but which was later disarmed and transformed into "production corps." T'ao was elected to the CPPCC in 1951. He was a member of the NW MAC (later the Northwest Administrative Council) and in 1955, a member of the National Defense Council.

Teng Pao-san: Army officer

A native of Kansu Province; dates unknown. 1927, deputy commander-in-chief of the Preparatory Army for National Construction under the command of General Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian General. 1930, deputy commissioner in the Pacification Headquarters of Shensi Province. 1937, deputy commander of Suiyuan War Area under General Fu Tso-i, stationed in Paotou, Suiyuan; 1948, 1949, during the Communist advance in 1949 he gave up his city and fled. Later he defected from the Nationalists. Delegate to the CPPCC; appointed chairman in the People's Government of Kansu Province and re-elected to the same

000 by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

*668 Manpower on railway construction is another interesting point.
499 According to Dr. Ling Hung-hsün's (veteran engineer of Free
464 China) personal survey of the present Lanchou Alma Ata line in
466 1943, population along the whole line within the border of Sinkiang did not exceed 600,000; the part in Kansu was also thinly populated.
*175 In view of the shortage of laborers, especially skilled workers, among the local population, it would be necessary for the Chinese Communists to use forced labor from other areas to work in this remote region. Although no exact information concerning this is available, as reported, out of a total of 23.25 million, about 250,000 persons were forced to work in transportation projects as a whole in 1955. (Wu, Yuan-li. An Economic Survey of Communist China, p. 323.) The armed forces were also employed
[701] for this purpose. For example, a unit of the First Field Army contracted with the Communist Government in the spring of 1950 for the construction of the entire T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. According to the news reporter, Robert Guillain, the manpower resources in building the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway consisted of the Northwest Chinese troops (as well as others) who had first "volunteered" to fight in Korea, and after being demobilized in Lanchou had again "volunteered" to remain as civilian workers. ("I Saw Communist China" The Saturday Evening Post, June 2,
[648] 1956, p. 114.) Russian experts, of course, were invited to supervise the railway construction.

B. Highways

491 In addition to the railway construction which is carried out at
499 full speed in the Northwest, highway building and renovating were
*668 greatly developed. There is not much information available con-
*175 cerning new highway construction in Shensi province. The only report available said that during 1954 over 210 kilometers of highway were repaired and 115 kilometers of new highways added, in addition to the renovation of the Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway.

In Kansu, highways radiate from Lanchou towards Chinghai, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Shensi and Szechwan. The most important highways built in 1953 were the Lanchou-Hsia-ho-A-pa (in Szechwan), Hsia-ho-Min-hsien and T'ien-shui-Chang-chia-chuan lines with a total of 630 kilometers. In 1955, over 1000 kilometers of highways were either constructed or repaired in Kansu. One from Lanchou led to the Ching-tai coal field, one ran from Lanchou to the Liu-chia Gorge where the gigantic hydro-electric resources along the Yellow River are located, and another ran from Shan-tan to the Shantan coal area. The 426 kilometer section between Tun-huang of Kansu to Shuerhkuli in Sinkiang was being renovated.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

immediately above the rock on which the loess rests. The regularity of level and depth of the loess over wide areas, the invariable slope of the loess uplands in the same direction as the rivers and streams, i.e. all draining S.E. and the meeting-line of the light sandy loess and the heavier reddish loess, which can often be traced for miles at the same level, may also be noted in support of a water origin; while lastly there is the fact that the loess has nowhere, except in the extreme west, crossed the Ch'inling Shan, a continuous range, whereas it is piled high on either side of other ranges which are not continuous. These lines are written without access to books of reference of any kind, and it should be understood that they represent merely the impressions of a traveller with no scientific training, who has not the least intention of starting a controversy on the subject of a problem which has probably long been settled by competent scientists. But in spite of the fact that we have often seen loess at a height of 6000 feet or more, it is difficult to believe that it was not deposited there by water.

Yao Chou, now a second class Hsien, is quite a large city for Northern Shensi, and about the most prosperous, or rather least miserable, place we came across in that region. It lies, surrounded by indigo fields, in a narrow valley below the level of the loess uplands. We were here joined by a *Lien* (company) of infantry, since the north of Shensi is, at the time of writing, so overrun with brigands, well armed and organized in bands many hundreds strong, that it would have been impossible for a party of Chinese officials to tour those districts with a smaller escort. Curiously enough, owing to the extraordinary change which has occurred in the position of the foreigner in the interior of China since the Revolution of 1911, while no Chinese but brigands, soldiers, or the poorest of coolies can travel on the roads of Northern Shensi without great danger to property and life, a missionary or other foreigner can circulate where he pleases with comparatively little danger of being attacked. We had so far been accompanied by a small mounted escort of a dozen men or so; for though the mountainous districts of Southern and Central Shensi through which we had passed harbour plenty of brigands, these are mostly local robbers who plunder isolated travellers

the south, runs for two hours' march across the flat-topped hills, descending finally by precipitous zigzags to reach the city of Yich'uan lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east to join the Yellow River. The country crossed on this march is again pure loess, very sparsely populated, and with innumerable grass-grown terraces which have gone out of cultivation and render evident the depopulation of the region.

Yich'uan Hsien, lying at the junction of two narrow valleys in the loess, is the capital of a second class district, and was evidently a comparatively large and prosperous city in the past. At the time of our visit it was practically empty, and lying in the heart of that wild and little frequented region which contains the chief haunts of the brigand bands of Northern Shensi, it is at the present time uninhabitable by any but the poorest classes. Northern Shensi, depopulated by the Mahomedan rebellion fifty years ago, and now probably undergoing a process of desiccation, is losing its few remaining inhabitants of the better class through the devastations of the brigands, many having moved across the Yellow River into Shansi, where conditions are much better. Recently a large band of brigands, perhaps finding that Northern Shensi was getting rather bare, also moved across the river; but prompt military measures were taken by the Shansi authorities and they were soon driven back to their original haunts with great loss. The question naturally arises, why should these brigands be left apparently unmolested by the authorities of their own province?

The answer is provided by the history of events in Shensi during the years since the revolution of 1911, which is outlined in another chapter. The brigands of Northern Shensi are mostly ex-soldiers and Ko Lao Hui men, and are composed of the same material as the provincial troops, with whom they exchange rôles from time to time. It is therefore not possible to use the latter against them. Further, they constitute in a way the reserves of the provincial army, which are thus maintained without cost to the provincial Government. The Shensi soldier usually owns his own Mauser and as much ammunition as he can carry wound round and round his body in a cloth bandolier, acquired in the course of some previous rebellion or brigand raid,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

and thus equipped serves either as a soldier or a brigand according to his own tastes and the military requirements of the local Government. In either character he is about equally obnoxious to the people. Both rôles too have their respective advantages; the life of a Chinese brigand may be rather lean at times, but there is always the possibility of a good haul; the life of a soldier in Shensi may be dull, but he is fed and paid without being asked to do any work. This kind of soldier of fortune is known locally in the province as a *Tao K'o* (guest of the sword); most of the better-class brigands and soldiers are Tao K'o, which is considered a title to be proud of. The Shensi soldier differs widely from and compares unfavourably with his colleagues in the well-organized and disciplined armies of the North (Chihli, Shantung, Anhui, and Honan provide most of the sturdy men for those fine Northern armies on which the power of Peking rests); but it is not his fault, for he is the victim of circumstances and of the Ko Lao Hui. I have been in close contact for months with Shensi soldiers, who were, to use the Chinese euphemism, *Kuei hui pei shan* ("returned from the Northern hills"—a polite way of referring to an ex-brigand locally), and always found them excellent fellows as far as I was concerned, though behaving tyrannically towards the people.

The difficulties of suppressing brigandage in the wild and pathless mountains of Shensi are in any case very great. Measures for the satisfactory pacification of the region would include the complete reorganization of the provincial army, or the garrisoning of the province with three or four brigades of good Northern troops. But the latter is not at present practicable, as the people of the province not unnaturally are great believers in home rule and like to manage their own affairs. Another very necessary but difficult reform is the disarming of the people and the recovery of the large stocks of rifles at present in private hands. In modern China the brigand without a rifle is a negligible quantity. It is chiefly through the various rebellions that these arms have become scattered over the country with such disastrous results, and brigandage grows steadily worse with every such outbreak of civil war. A rebellion is engineered (in Shensi at any rate) by collecting funds and enlisting brigands and

669 secret society men as soldiers; after the rebellion is over, whether it succeeds or not, the soldiers are disbanded and 579 scatter with their arms over the country, with the inevitable result of increased brigandage. The growth of brigandage in 701 Shensi may easily be traced since 1911, the revolution of that year, the rebellion of 1913, the White Wolf rebellion in 1914, the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916, the troubles of 1917, and so on.

From Yich'uan Hsien to Hanch'eng Hsien is a distance 133 of about 240 li, three hard days' march by a difficult track 487 through the mountains which here hem in the Yellow River. All the way from Yench'ang south to the plains of Central Shensi, which are reached at Hanch'eng, the traveller is crossing a series of parallel ridges trending east and west across his path; but while between Yench'ang and Yich'uan the intervals between these ridges are filled by loess which provides comparatively easy slopes, the region between the latter place and Hanch'eng is covered by mountains which are practically free from loess and entail the crossing of a series of precipitous little passes. The trail slants across these mountains towards the Yümen K'ou, the point where the Yellow River emerges from its gorges on to the plains; the river itself is not touched, though glimpses are caught from the tops of the passes of its huge trough in the mountains.

From Yich'uan the trail runs up the valley to the S.W. for a few li and then turns up a gorge to the south, which leads after a couple of hours' march to the foot of the barrier range which bounds the Yich'uan valley on the south. A steep climb leads to the pass, the Lut'ou Ling (5100 feet). This range and the valleys and spurs leading up to it, though covered with loess on the northern side, are uncultivated and uninhabited. On the southern side there is practically no loess, and the latter is not met with in any quantity again till the path debouches on to the plains of the Yellow River above Hanch'eng three days later. The absence of loess in the low-lying valley bottoms of these mountains is rather curious, and one may speculate whether perhaps the Lut'ou Ling range, which before the existence of the Yellow River was probably joined to the mountains of Shansi, did not form a barrier keeping the floods which deposited the loess from reaching this region, which con-

being refused all opportunity for clearing themselves, 798
although the whole populace declared them to be 624
innocent. Dr. Kao was actually with us at distant Suchow when the incident occurred. Subsequently, 798
however, he made an open enemy of the Kanchow Official by peremptorily refusing to consider the case on a suggested compromise basis, *i.e.* that as a life had been sacrificed on either side, and honour was satisfied, it only remained for the parties concerned to seal their agreement by feasting!

The circle of those bound together to wreak vengeance on the Christians and their leader was growing, and they were now joined by an influential man of whom Dr. Kao had made an enemy by refusing his donation of several hundred dollars towards the hospital work, a gift which had been offered on the tacit understanding that having accepted it the doctor would cease his open denunciation of the opium traffic.

During the winter months of 1925 the Provinces of 635
the North-West Frontier were placed under the juris- 701
diction of Marshal Feng, and the city walls were covered with excellent proclamations, forbidding soldiers to oppress the people, and promising adequate protection to farmers bringing in their produce, it being the custom of the local battalions to ill-treat persons and seize goods at their pleasure. These proclamations were received with acclamation by the people, but were obviously *not* liked by the officials or the soldiers.

One day in January 1926, Dr. Kao, walking along the street, met a crowd running towards a back alley, where on following them, he found five men beating a young villager so severely as to endanger his life. Several of the assailants were soldiers, and one, armed with a hammer, was proceeding to break the youth's skull when, without a moment's hesitation, the Doctor

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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635 flung himself on the victim so as to receive the blows on
701 his own body. This so startled the assailants that they desisted; he then took possession of a young soldier's cap, for purposes of identification, saying, 'This is a matter for judicial investigation. If this boy has done anything wrong, take him to the Mandarin.' This the soldiers refused to consider, and followed the Doctor to the Mission House, finally begging him to drop the matter, and not to report them to their officers. To this he consented. A few days later our own carter was sent out to a village near by to bring in grain for the mules. A band of soldiers, acting in accordance with their irregular custom, commandeered the cart and animals for their own use. The carter questioned their right, whereupon he was beaten, and filth of the worst description was rubbed into the wound. The soldiers then moved away, leaving him semi-conscious by the roadside, to which place our small scouts soon fetched some of the students, as well as Dr. Kao, who indignantly called attention to General Feng's placard above his head. This happened close to the residence of the Minister of Defence, who, hearing what had occurred, came out himself and saw the man still lying wounded near his own gate. He ordered the offender to be brought before him, whereupon one of his own soldiers was produced, and by his order was stripped of his uniform and handed over to the civil authorities for punishment. The Commanding Officer was likewise degraded, and the Minister himself called at the Mission Compound to apologise for the insult offered, expressing himself as exceedingly angry that we, who were his friends, should have been exposed to a public insult. Meanwhile, the carter developed a severe form of blood-poisoning, and his life was despaired of; and in the civil prison lay the soldier, whose life was to be taken

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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the same hour as the carter died—a life for a life, while 635
the local garrison was most indignant at the suggestion 701
that one of their number should be executed on such a trivial charge as the death of a common carter, and swore vengeance. However, after forty-eight hours of extreme anxiety, our relief knew no bounds when a slight improvement, following on a severe operation, showed itself in the patient, and he eventually recovered, the two lives being saved, as the soldier was released.

The New Year festivities were at this juncture in
full swing, and the friendliness on all sides was such that 798
we greatly hoped the ill-feeling produced by this incident had passed over. Our guest-rooms were daily crowded with visitors, and the tent would barely hold the congregation which gathered each evening.

It came like a bolt from the blue when one day Dr. Kao walked into our sitting-room with the startling announcement:

'The compound is surrounded by men sent to arrest me!'

'To arrest you!' we exclaimed. 'Impossible! On what plea?'

'I am accused,' he quietly said, 'of leading an armed mob to break open the city gaol in order to release a certain Moslem prisoner. The man, as we all know, has been living in his own home for months, nor have I been inside their prison. The accusation is futile, but the power of the accusers is tremendous; and chief among them is the Governor of the prison himself, *the master of the little slave whose foot I amputated.*" Then, showing a visiting-card, he added: 'This card has just reached me from the Judge, who is a patient of mine, and who asks for a visit from me. I know he never sent it, and it is but a trap to get me quietly into the Yamen and arrest me there, for they fear a hubbub among the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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798 people. I expect you agree with me; I had better go;
635 and so I just came in to say good-bye. Our life and death are in God's hands, as also the reputation of His
701 Church. He will vindicate His Name.'

Commending each other to the care of God we parted, and he proceeded in company with Mr. Chang to the Yamen. As the two men left the house and walked down the streets, knots of Yamen runners, who had been placed at various points from which they watched the doors of the compound, closed in behind them, so that, as they reached the Yamen gate, they were completely surrounded by soldiers. As they entered the courtyard, the Civil Magistrate appeared, who shouted angrily: 'Seize that fellow Kao!' Immediately a dozen hands took hold of him, and thrust him into the Black Hole of the inner prison, reserved only for condemned criminals.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE STORM

798 Dr. Kao's arrest took place on February 17th, 1926, and it was June 1st of the same year before he left
697 Suchow for Lanchow, to be present at the enquiry into his case. For forty-two days he was incarcerated in the Black Hole, which is an inner apartment of the prison, without any window; it contains, however, a small aperture in the roof to admit a little air and light. The cell was so unspeakably filthy that the Doctor's first request was for some quicklime to scatter on the floor and under the boards of the *kang*, on account of the numerous rats, and other even worse vermin. The only door was the one by which the gaoler entered,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

One or two there were who vowed to know no rest until 692
this system of bribery and corruption should be over- 697
turned, which made it possible to incarcerate innocent 798
men, sometimes for life, without trial and without appeal.

Kansu was at this time in a political ferment. Some 701
months previously General Feng's troops had assumed 635
authority in Lanchow, and were gradually making their power felt throughout the province. His appointment of his own men to positions of importance caused the greatest excitement and apprehension among the local authorities, and the city walls were posted with the announcement that anyone spreading reports on political or military matters would be shot.

The first we saw of Marshal Feng's officers was one Sunday morning at the early Communion Service, when two finely-grown, well-set-up soldiers, in spotless uniform, walked in, taking their place among the little group of believers, thus openly associating themselves with Christianity. They only stayed a few days, however, but were soon followed by recruiting officers, and lecturers, who addressed themselves to the populace and preached equality and the rights of the proletariat, and when the city walls were covered with anti-British posters. It was all very chaotic. But the recruiting fell off, because the people said, 'Under Feng you *must* fight, so what's the use of his good pay if you die?' Then the posters quietly disappeared, but the authorities left ours up intact—one did not know what to expect! At last an officer appeared, sent by Feng, under whose superintendence the city was entirely transformed in only a few weeks. The main streets were widened and levelled; a market-place was erected where the peasants might sell their goods unmolested; industrial institutions were opened for the poor children, and other

Today the city of Ho (1) tschou itself consists mainly of the

1. Pronounced like H'e with a very sharp guttural sound.

southern suburb of Nan kwan. That is where the mosques and the large Mohammedan shops are. The actual city of Ho tschou, on the other hand, is pure Chinese. The Mohammedans are forbidden, under penalty of death, to live inside the city. There are always many hundreds of soldiers garrisoned on the city wall (Plate XXXVI), and one finds there stables for the horses of officers and men. The wall is kept in excellent repair. But since not very many Chinese live here, there are large areas inside the walls that are deserted. All the life goes on outside. There we find closely built-up streets, for the most part with two-story houses as in Di dao, surrounded by a wall which today is destroyed. I estimate that Ho tschou proper and its suburb has a population of 30,000 and of these over two-thirds are Mohammedans. (2) There is not another city within the 18

2. The entire district is said to have had 85,526 families, according to the census of 1831.

provinces of the Chinese empire that has a similarly strong Mohammedan aspect. And yet there are many things that are entirely different here from other genuinely Mohammedan countries. In Ho tschou and environs I never saw a Hui hui who spread out his prayer rug in a courtyard or out in the open to pray when the muezzins (3)

3. The muezzins like the mullahs are always called ah'un in Kansu. The word comes from East Turkish where ähon means the scholar. Even these Ahun are not always circumcized. Most Chinese Mohammedans do not know anything about circumcision.

called out. The Ho tschou Mohammedans, like the ones that have become still more Chinese, are very superficial in their religion and can scarcely execute the prescribed ablutions without making a mistake. It seldom happens that one of them makes a pilgrimage to Mecca. Only a few of them even know the name of the city. Most of them only know about "Kerbe" (4) and that this is a place

4. Kaaba, the cubiform holy of holies in the mosque at Mecca.

-4° temperature they were too warm, they went about half naked so that their torsos were dark brown. /163/

In a wood near a small monastery south, that is to say, this side of the pass, I came through a decayed wooden lattice that led me to a low wall of earth and field stones. A small, damp watchman's hut lay behind it and inside ten soldiers and a sergeant with a few rifles, lances and swords were keeping watch. This was the border of China! Beyond it was Tibetan territory, from an administrative standpoint also. For the country beyond, there was to be no governmental protection on the part of the Chinese!

Inasmuch as I had only two servants and, as I said, my entire supply of silver for years to come, and since the pass was supposed to be very dangerous from the point of view of robbers, I gave the commanding officer a small present and for that I was given half the frontier guard as an escort. I would have been given the entire watch, but unfortunately the other half was not present. It had been - as the sergeant repeatedly assured me - "eaten" by some superior officer, that is, the wages for the soldiers had got stuck in the pockets of the higher officers. Only one salary, as I heard later, the sergeant had saved for himself. And since the powder which the superiors delivered would not burn, my protectors immediately borrowed powder and lead from me. We loaded our guns and under the protection of a fluttering red flag, we set out a half hour later. But only a small strip of land is Tibetan here. On the same evening, after we had left the Dar dia La Pass and traveled for many hours down the broad Tschi tai gu Valley which has been reproduced on Plate XXXV as it is seen from the pass, after we had passed four smaller Tibetan monasteries, we again reached a Mohammedan village. The valley contains a Salar gun and is under the control of a Schu be (captain) in the walled village of Tschi tai bu. In the year 1895 a large battle was fought in this Tschi tai Valley at the town of Be tschuan tang, in which many hundreds of people were killed - my soldiers even spoke of thousands. The Mohammedans, chiefly Salar, who had taken part in the great rebellion were hard-pressed here by Chinese and Tibetans under the command of Tung fu hsiang, assisted by the generals Hsining fu and Ho tschou, and finally, after desperate resistance, yielded to the superior forces. Since that time many villages in the Tschi tai gu Valley lie in ruins, others were being built up at the time of my visit. Thus there are now supposed to be only 4,000-5,000 Salar altogether. Many of them were killed,

from the tu se fields into their barns. I shall come back to the subject of the Tu jen later when my journey takes me through their country. In and around the city of Hsining there are only a few Tu jen living today.

The city of Hsining fu is now almost entirely Chinese. Even in the erstwhile very important eastern suburb, the Tung kwan which was destroyed by the Chinese in 1895, Mohammedans are no longer permitted to live with their families; they may only conduct their businesses there. Since 1896 specific sections and valleys in the mountains have been assigned to Mohammedan families. The only thing that is waived today is the decree that was for years carried out very strictly, namely, that Mohammedans wishing to visit the inner part of the city were obliged to have a stamp put on their cheeks as they entered the city gate.

The inhabitants still vividly recalled the horrible battles with the Mohammedans. Hsining was therefore also a military city. There were five ying (battalions) stationed here and the largest and most beautiful yamen was that of the general (tschen tai) who had a rather large arsenal. In it incense was lit on the first and fifteenth of every month to the deliverer of the city, an old ko lu pu pau (a Krupp cannon), and officers and soldiers fell to the ground in a kowtow before the rusty cannon. This weapon was the soul of the defense in the year 1895. Human blood was officially smeared around the mouth of the cannon in order to make it voracious and thirst after Mohammedan blood. The natives said: "It has a soul just like a human being," and they undoubtedly had a much more definite image than our native recruits do when we teach them to speak of the "soul" of the axis of a gun or cannon.

The tsch'eng schu ying, the military governor of the city who is also the keeper of the keys to the city gates and commander of the so-called middle battalion, (1) as well as the hsien, the prefect,

1. The Chinese provincial army consisted only of the green banners, the lü ying. In peace time one seldom heard of the larger associations, the tschen piao (brigades), the hsie (regiments), because the Chinese provincial army (I am not speaking of the troops on the coast) was used as a police troop and was garrisoned in various places. The primary important military unit is the ying camp or battalion that is under the command of a major (yu tschi) or a captain (du se or schu be).

In Haining fu there was a "middle," "left," "right," "front," and "rear" ying, each of which was under a du se, or more often under schu be. They were very poorly armed. The troops almost never drilled. Each month the soldiers were given a goodly ration of wheat and four marks pay. By far the majority of them were married.

Outside the city there was a fortified encampment of so-called bu tui (allegedly modern drilled infantrymen) which was under the direct command of the general, and these men had better uniforms and were armed with muzzle-loaders. As long as I was in Hsining fu the officers did not hand out modern guns from the arsenals, partly for reasons of economy, partly for safety's sake, for often the soldiers deserted taking their guns with them and then selling them to the secret societies or to the Mohammedans.

the dao tai and also the highest official in the city, the ts'ing tsch'ai da-tsch'en, that is the imperial minister in residence /172/ or, in short, the amban to whom North Tibet is subject (1), - all of these

1. The official title of this official is: tsung li tsch'ing hai sche wu da tsch'en, that is, minister and military attaché of the entire Koko Nor district. He was always a Manchu and had a position equal in rank with that of the viceroy of Lanchow. He is always given the title of amban or Seling amban, i.e., Hsining minister, by the Tibetans and Mongols. The office was created in 1723 for the Mongolian banners. The Tibetans call Hsining "Seling" or "Siling mkar."

have a separate arsenal in connection with their yamen, so that in the siege of 1895 each of them could arm his own men and send them up on the city walls. Besides that, there are a considerable number of other official buildings in the city. A great deal of room is taken up by large guild houses, especially those of the Shensi merchants, and by the ordinary state temples and the schools. Since large areas within the city are not built up and consist of fields which are so extensive that several times I was able to shoot wild pheasants on them for my dinner, it will be understandable that most travelers have overrated the population of the city. Even though the Chinese live close together, they nevertheless always

The crumbled loam walls and the old roofless yamen and temple buildings lay bleak and desolate when we passed through. We were still merely crawling along at a snail's pace. In the interior of the city, in a corner of an old ruin, we brewed our tea once more before we traveled on into the night. In spite of our weariness, none of us wanted to spend the night here. The cold which set in anew after sundown was too intense. We preferred to fumble along across the barren steppes. Even though we were now going along a well-traveled caravan road, we had difficulty in finding our way in the dark to Schara khoto. We did not reach it until morning. We had covered 140 kilometers on our flight. All of us had sore feet from the solidly frozen riding boots, and the three rescued ponies were also near exhaustion because they were too heavily loaded.

Schara khoto (1) is today the farthest Chinese military outpost

1. A Mongolian name meaning "yellow city." The Chinese call the town Scha la ku to and say that this means "city of the green meadow."

from Kansu. The Chinese government had stationed here a schu be (first lieutenant), a lieutenant and a few sergeants with 30-40 men (belonging to the green banner). They were armed with swords and matchlocks and a few old German drums and French horns. Thus, the detachment does not play a very important role. The soldiers even have difficulty defending themselves against the attacks of marauding Tibetans. There is an old wall but it is so large that it would take at least a regiment to defend it. There is also a large old parade ground. Between this and the city which is empty today there live about thirty Chinese families who cultivate a few small acres in the vicinity, raising barley and wild oats. Nothing else grows here. It is an unspeakably miserable spot.

One of the Chinese immediately received us very hospitably in his mud hut, and turned over his large warm kang to us. Without wasting any words he immediately prepared a few opium pipes for us, for the Chinese say this is the best restorative if one is over-tired. I was the only one who did not smoke and I did not wake up until the next night, whereas my companions, all of whom had smoked, walked about vigorously early in the day.

Two days later I traveled back to Dankar. On this stretch I was accompanied by fifteen armed men and half way to the city I was

159 position in 1954. Since 1953, appointed concurrently a member
*668 of the Administrative Council of the Northwest. In 1955 he was
701 made a member of the National Defense Council. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

Teng is another example among the officers of the Nationalist Army who shifted their allegiance from one party to the other. As his defection from the Nationalist Government speeded the Communist cause in North China, he won a rather high place in the Communist Government.

159 Tso Tsung-t'ang (1812-1885); General, statesman

Born in 1812 in Hunan Province. His family was poor though both his grandfather and father held the degree of hsiu-ts'ai. He studied under his grandfather and later under his father, and in 1837 entered the Ch'eng-nan Shu-yuan (Southern City Academy) and studied under Ho Hsi-ling. Obtained the Chu-jen degree in 1838 but failed in three attempts to win Chin-shih degree. In 1852 when the Tai-ping troops entered Yunnan Province, he was asked by the governor of Hunan, Chang Liang-chi, to help in the defense of Ch'angsha, the capital city of Hunan. He fought against the Tai-ping troops for three months, until the invaders had to by-pass Hunan to go northward to Hupeh Province and down the Yangtze River. In 1853, when Chang Liang-chi was promoted to governor-general for Hunan-Hupeh-Kuangtung-Kwangsi, Tso went with him to Wuchang and defeated the Tai-ping rebels. When Chang was transferred, Tso resigned from his post and retired to his native home. In 1854, Lo Ping-chang was appointed governor of Hunan, and Tso was asked to serve under him, but did not accept the offer. In 1854 the Tai-ping troops invaded Hunan again. Tso was asked by the people of the province to resist the invasion, and he helped Lo for five years in the defense of Hunan. In 1860, Tso was asked by Tseng Kuo-fan to train five thousand troops in Hunan; in 1861 he was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of Chekiang Province, and in the same year he was appointed governor of Chekiang. In 1863 he was promoted to governor-general of Fukien and Chekiang Provinces, and concurrently governor of Chekiang. In 1864 the whole province of Chekiang was freed from the Tai-ping troops, and Tso was awarded an earldom of the first rank and the designation of k'o-ching. In 1866 he recovered both Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces and the Tai-ping regime came to an end.

159 In 1866, when the Mohammedan uprising started in the North-
669 west, Tso was made the governor-general of Shensi and Kansu. In 1868 he first engaged the Nien bandits in Chihli, and by the summer he annihilated the bandits in Shantung Province. He

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

701 public works set on foot for the unemployed. Suchow
635 was transformed! But still Dr. Kao's imprisonment
dragged on.

798 Finally, on June 1st, the trial of our patience came to
694 an end. A student arrived in our court at dawn, saying
that Dr. Kao was under orders to leave that morning for
635 Lanchow, there to stand his trial. In spite of final
701 delays and procrastinations, that same afternoon he left
on foot for the eighteen days' tramp to the provincial capital. Here he spent some months, during the greater part of which he was able to live with his own friends. When the trial finally took place, he was declared innocent, and acquitted on all charges.

Many had been the orders and counter-orders, the subterfuge, and the conflicting motives at work, under the shifty régime of Chinese officialdom. On his release General Feng appointed him to the position of Medical Officer in charge of Red Cross work at his own Military Hospital, and his return to the far North-West has been temporarily delayed.

T

792 346 The houses are not old; they were built after the great Mohammedan revolution in the 1860s during which time the monastery burned to the ground.

C 361 701 On the evening of the second day of the journey beyond Wei yüan bu, I had already reached Da tung hsien. I had again come to a purely Chinese city, after having passed only Dungan and Tibetan villages on my way. Da tung hsien is one of the extreme outposts of Chinese colonization, the seat of a district head - the hsien was established only in 1762 - and has a very large garrison. Besides the Chinese soldiers and officials there is also a Tibetan prince stationed here with a band of militia, and not far from the walls Mongols pasture their herds.

C 361 The city is usually called Mo bai tschen by the people, which refers to the old market that belonged to the nomads here. The town is small because only Chinese are permitted to live in it. Adjoining it on the west, however, is an attractive and busy suburb where many Mohammedans do business. In the year 1895 it fell upon evil days. The Mohammedans made every effort to capture the city by undermining the miserable walls and making assaults upon them. It is amazing that the city nevertheless held for four months.

C 563 361 The following day brought me through uninhabited high mountain country and through snow a foot deep farther west, as far as the Mohammedan town of Bamba. I found there only a few miserable huts instead of the thousands of families that once lived here. But it was possible to recognize all the old streets because of the countless ruins, almost level with the ground, which testified only too eloquently of the unspeakable misery, of the destruction of a talented people which, heedlessly, in a state of blind religious fervor, entered into hopeless battle with the Chinese giants. Bamba and the extremely fertile valley 25 miles long of Schang wu tschuan as far as Do ba where it joins the Hsining Valley was one of the centers of the last Mohammedan insurrection. With the capture of Do ba the revolt was quelled. The entire valley now has only 800 families of Hui hui all told. Once (until 1895) Bamba was a great rival of Dankar, today it is dead. Its caravan road which follows the narrow valley northwest up into the Koko Nor steppes is deserted because all trade from here is forbidden by the government. The Mohammedans whose families /256/ were forced to settle here after the Chinese victory (1) must carry on their trade in Dankar and

1. In Bamba there are about 100 families of the old sect

[text continues on p. 439]

out of the question. During the second watch we were visited by 700
wolves and their constant howling made sleep impossible. My dogs were mad at this disturbance and answered with angry barking, and the surrounding rocky mountains intensified this concert of the steppes with endless echoes. On the third day[1] we again came across traces of 361
human beings, finally discovered a distinct path and soon saw people. [563]
We found a few dozen tents of the Tscham ri Tibetans, and around noon we pitched our tents on the small grassy plain in front of the Schara khoto walls (Plate LVII).

The extremely jovial Schu be Tsch'en, the captain of Schara khoto, with whom I was well acquainted from my previous visit, arrived accompanied by his non-commissioned officers and official interpreters and was friendliness personified, although he must have cursed me inwardly for once again disturbing his peace and meditation. After the initial formal greeting, we embraced like old friends and exchanged presents. He asked me above all for European gunpowder because he could not get any at all or none that was good, from his superiors. His thick accent, his many "f" and "pf" sounds instead of the North Chinese "sch" and "tsch" respectively, betrayed the fact that he was a man of the people from "Lan dpfu" (Lanchow fu). He was an officer who had risen from the ranks. This schu be did me a great favor by sending a messenger the very first evening to the amban of Hsining fu to inquire after the promised /280/ escort. I had notified the amban of my change of plans and the reasons as soon as I got to Kue de and had reminded the old gentleman of his promise. But up to now I had received no answer.

At Captain Tsch'en's orders, a uniformed soldier with a loaded gun 701
always had to help my men tend the animals during my five-day stay at Schara khoto. However, none of the soldiers inspired me with confidence. They were 15 and 16-year old boys, and yet the Chinese mature more slowly than Westerners. Besides, the entire garrison in- [276]
dulged in opium and were, without exception, obsessed with gambling. [525]
And indeed, what else should these people do with their time in this godforsaken place? Once a month there is drill, otherwise, except for carrying messages, there is no official duty for the men. Throughout the rest of China the soldiers can carry on a little trade or agriculture on the side. But in Schara khoto there is nothing to sell, the caravans pass heedlessly by and on the few fields only wild oats grows and even that ripens only every few years. It is easy to see how little profit there is in animal husbandry, considering how much is stolen, for Tibetans passing by take all the animals that are not carefully

[1] [after leaving Ts'ien hu tsch'eng — Analyst]

C 701 watched. It is the duty of the garrison to safeguard the road, but they cannot even afford to stock herd animals, although the garrison numbers 40 men, and nominally 100.

T 792 346 If one travels down the valley from Schara khoto, that is, in the direction of Dankar, one comes to a monastery on the left of the road about an hour's distance from Schara khoto. It is Dunkur gomba which gives its name to the whole district. The city of Dankar which lies about 20 kilometers farther to the north is also called Dunkur by the Mongols. But in order to distinguish the city from the monastery the former is called Dunkur khoto or Gä sching (Chinese: Gai schang), meaning bazaar and city (Tibetan: Kar). The monastery was founded very early by the Mongols, in Gushi Khan's time. In the course of the years it has had its own sacred incarnations which are called Dunkur-buddha by the Chinese. It consists of a collection of one-story priests' houses which enclose two temples with their accompanying prayer houses and administrative buildings, and it has a very peaceful atmos-
T 792 phere. It does not need a wall. People say that it is not easy to harm the devout monks in their home which belongs to the yellow sect. Many Tibetans are convinced that the priests can cause the wrath of God to descend on their adversaries, and the fear of divine punishment is the best protection. But outside the portals, on the pastures round about the houses, as everywhere else, not a tail is safe from theft. For this reason the monks have their own guards for the animals. They
T 792 426 themselves do not personally have anything to do with animal husbandry. In their many leisure hours, all they do is carry on financial enterprises. The entire valley, down as far as Dankar, is in their debt. But in such worldly activities the monks of the Dunkur monastery do
T [669] not assume a unique place. The monks of the Gum bum monastery also have their debtors up and down the land. Many people say that the Mohammedan rebellions of 1896 were hatched primarily because far too many Mohammedans had, as a result of /281/ poor harvests, fallen into the hands of usurious monks and were on the brink of ruin. It was the leaders of the movement, primarily, who owed the monks enormous sums, according to Central Asiatic conceptions of fortunes. Through the rebellion they hoped to get rid of their tormentors, or at least be granted indulgence.

T 346 351 The monks of Dunkur are little experts in the art of living. Their shrine is located in a truly idyllic spot. On the slope opposite the temple buildings there is a small pine forest. The monastery is 3,100 meters above sea level, and far and wide there are to be found only willow shrubs that grow only a little more than a meter above

000 over with hoar frost. The valley of Schara khoto was enveloped in thick white clouds of fog. Only the low pass in the southwest, which separated us from the open Tibetan steppes, from Kou wei, from "outside the gates of the kingdom," it alone lay open and free. From there a stiff, cold wind blew down upon us and made the morning even more uncomfortable. Snow lay round about. It crunched under our steps. Only stones and a few grass tips rose above the white covering, for trees are entirely absent in the valley of Schara khoto and only a few bushes remained on isolated, steep northerly slopes. Even here at Schara khoto I was already surrounded by the barren, wild and magnificent spectacle of the high plateau which again and again entices me with its elemental power (Plate LVIII).

In order to spare my caravan as much as possible I had rented four additional Tibetans and forty yak oxen from the vicinity of Schara khoto for the first few days, four strong, tall chaps who leapt about with their restive, sharp-horned cattle. It was a pleasure to watch them. In a jiffy the animals were loaded. One of the men began humming some insignificant, meaningless words of four syllables and in the rapid rhythm of these syllables the packs were tied to the saddles. During their work the chaps had let their fur coats slip down over their shoulders, their tanned bodies were exposed to the icy wind and weather. They were Fan tse true of the Ts'ao ti.

701 276 Shortly after seven o'clock we set out in five large groups. Behind each group rode a few drivers with reserve horses and a few mules. The ten men belonging to the captain of Schara khoto kept to themselves. They alone went on foot and wore sandals. They carried a large red flag as well as two small donkeys shivering with cold, which were carrying their huge but ragged tent, cooking pots, a few fork guns and swords. The group of soldiers looked pitifully miserable and more like marauders than like an imperial escort just leaving its garrison. Each one of these heroes, of course, carried his opium, and all of them were so dependent on this elixir of life that they had to stop every two hours en route and lie down on the steppes in order to smoke a few puffs, otherwise their legs would have given way. Surely, all that can be expected of a troop in good fighting trim! In Kansu it was difficult to find people who did not smoke opium. A great deal of it was grown in this province and the price was extraordinarily low, so that everyone here could afford this luxury. In selecting my servants and the people accompanying my actual caravan I had the greatest difficulty finding non-smokers.

The greatest object of interest in Hsingan fu is an ancient museum, the Be ling, the forest of inscription stones, a small cypress wood with pavilions and temple-like buildings in which for many years already hundreds of stone slabs bearing inscriptions and classical paintings were gathered together for official reasons into a gold-mine for Sinology. A few months before my arrival the famous Nestorian tablet had been hastily brought there from its former place in the western part of the city by 50 coolies because it was in danger of being taken along by an American collector. It tells of the great dissemination of Nestorian Christianity in China during the eighth century. Besides that, every stranger is supposed to look at the old governor's yamen in which Emperor Kuang sü and Empress Tse hi had lived during the Boxer Rebellion. After the court left, this yamen remained unoccupied because no one else was considered worthy of dwelling in the imperial rooms. The rooms were very simply furnished. On the walls hung kakemonos, flowers and luck-bearing Chinese pictograms, many of which the Empress Dowager was said to have designed and painted herself. In the courtyard of the one-time imperial palace I was shown a walled cistern that was many meters deep. In it - my cicerone said - the unfortunate emperor attempted to commit suicide in order to escape the torments of his aunt. Much more entertaining, were two festivals which were celebrated in the city while I was waiting there. One of them was a large parade of the Manchu garrison which at that time with 3,900 families (about 15,000 souls) occupied the entire northeastern part of the city; the second festival was a pupil and student celebration that took place on the old Chinese parade ground in the northwest corner of the city. On the one hand, the class which was at that time still in control and the banner people, the mainstays of the ruling dynasty; on the other hand, Chinese youth who were celebrating the end of their annual examinations, those new educational methods which were supposed to lead the kingdom of the middle, the Chinese common people, into new paths, to new bloom. In place of the old state competitions in which calligraphy and poetry and essays, interlarded as much as possible with quotations from the classics, were the dominating factors and determined the maturity and dignity of the candidate for the highest posts in the state, /329/ and for which one prepared privately, the Manchu had set up schools in which mathematics, natural sciences, foreign languages and political science were taught and examined. Now a general sport festival ended the school year of the elementary schools, of the preparatory schools, and of the

technical and cadet institutions, all of which together represented tremendous progress on the road toward modernization. Whereas, for reasons of state, an effort was being made to modernize Chinese youth and make it conform to Western ideas, whereas outside the west gate of Hsingan fu two permanent camps of two Chinese infantry regiments drilled in uniforms resembling those of the Japanese army, in leather boots with side-arms and modern repeater guns, the troops of the ruling Manchu group stood before their chief commander carrying the oldest kind of muzzle loader, the cannonaders brought medieval muzzle loader canons to the parade, which looked like playthings, and in the cavalry division which was scantily mounted, every other man, at least, carried a flag that covered him up completely and a quiver with a dozen bows. Besides, scarcely 1,000 men appeared for the parade. We are not surprised, therefore, that the Manchu who pursue such a short-sighted policy and equip their own people so poorly, should have meanwhile been overthrown from their privileged position and succumbed almost without a struggle. When in 1912 the news reached Europe that the entire banner garrison of Hsingan fu was overcome and massacred by the Chinese in one night, one could, strictly speaking, only marvel at the fact that this had not happened before; it only showed that the Manchu as such were not so very much hated by the Chinese people and that they were impediments only for a few ambitious young Chinese and officials. In the 260 years of their rule the Manchu had become too completely Chinese in their entire thinking and feeling. The small Manchu group - in 1912 it did not even number one and one-half million souls including women and children and the banner men - had forgotten its own language almost completely and had cultivated Chinese literature more than any national dynasty before it.

The greatest change in China has been brought about by the introduction of the postal system and, in connection with that, the Chinese press which became possible only through the postal system. Whereas in Lanchow fu a Chinese seldom took a letter to the post and there were no newspapers either in Tibet or in all of Kansu and wherever I had stayed during my journey, in Hsingan fu whole cart-loads of magazines and pamphlets arrived from Shanghai, Hankow and Tientsin. The people of the city pounced on new reading matter and all at once it had become a necessity for them. It was the post, the regular couriers introduced by the Europeans, who spread the new ideas and the changes throughout the country.

702

702 RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING--induction into the armed forces (e.g., voluntary enlistment, conscription); screening (e.g., tests of fitness, medical examinations); training (e.g., instruction, drill, practice with weapons, tactical maneuvers); special elaborations (e.g., recruiting stations, manuals of arms); etc. See also:

Athletics 526
Military reviews 541
Citizenship 641
Training camps 712
Military schools and colleges 874

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
[redacted]

CHAPTER XXIX

THE ONWARD TREK

On previous expeditions our young cook, 'Welcome Home,' had driven our cart, but this time the difficulties and fatigues which lay ahead required our selecting an older man, and one inured to every form of hardship. Knowing that he must quit our service when we left for furlough, the young *chef*, however, had allowed his imagination to be captured by visions of the martial glory to be afterwards won under the banner of General Feng's Christian Army.

The walls of Suchow were then posted with notices to the effect that young men of steady character and able to produce suitable guarantees of good conduct, would be given the opportunity of a military career combined with educational advantages, besides liberal pay, on joining the forces of Marshal Feng. Recruiting officers took up their residence in an inn of the east suburb, where the following scene was described to us by a looker-on. Dressed in a clean white cotton suit, his face flushed with excitement, young 'Welcome Home' presented himself, and stood at attention before the recruiting sergeant:

'I hear that you want recruits. Is this a Christian corps?'

'It is,' was the immediate answer.

'You speak of general education, but do you allow time for Bible study?'

'We do,' said the sergeant.

'Then write down my name, sir,' said 'Welcome Home'; which was forthwith done.

'If your references are good we shall accept you in ten days' time. During that period you may withdraw if you wish, but if you present yourself then, you are enrolled

702 as a soldier, and afterwards, leaving will be desertion.'

'I am in the employ of the Lady Missionaries. They are quitting the country soon, but I must stay with them as long as they need me.'

'That is quite right,' said the sergeant. 'Go back and talk it over with them, and,' he added, 'if there are any more young Christian men in the Church who want to enlist, tell them to come along, they are the kind of men we want.'

'Welcome Home,' who had sallied forth with the bearing of a simple young farmer, returned to us an hour later with the deportment, gestures and style of an accomplished orderly. He greeted us from the back of the breakfast table with a military salute, and clicked his heels whenever we spoke to him. The joy of realising he was to be one of Feng's men endued him with an enthusiasm that transformed him. At the appointed time we released him to fulfil his engagement, and three days later, as we were driving to a farewell luncheon party, we passed the drill-ground where recruits were learning the goose-step. 'Welcome Home' caught sight of us, turned his head and smiled rapturously, whereupon the corporal's iron hand smote him on the shoulder, and he stood once more at attention. The next day he called in company with a 'centurion,' who informed us that there was every prospect of our late cook quickly securing a commission. 'In this army,' he said, 'we are like one big family, and we look to Marshal Feng as children to a father.'

351 The last few days were busy with meeting social claims. Various members of the Christian circle begged us to take one more meal with them before we left. The ladies of our landlord's family entertained us in the summer-house of a flower-garden. It was the season when the fragrant tree-peony is in bloom, and

the hour at which the midday meal is served. In place of the customary fresco of the tiger endeavouring 634 to seize the sun in its jaws, which symbolises the covetousness of the man who seeks to devour his neighbour's goods, the wall was frescoed with the 'Map of China's Shame,' showing China and her dependencies, with prominent scarlet patches indicating those portions which have been seized by foreign powers, and a similar map was exhibited in all the towns we visited in North-West China.

The business men, with whom we were friendly, 702 seeing the group of students with us, at once seriously warned us of the trouble we might certainly expect in 167 attempting to cross the Turkestan border with them. We learnt that young men were constantly impressed at that point, and afterwards were neither allowed to continue their journey nor to turn back, as the Governor of Sinkiang was raising an army of defence, and was conscripting every man who passed that way. They consequently earnestly begged us not to risk such complications as might ensue on the attempt to take our fellow-workers with us into Turkestan. Needless to say, the students themselves, keen, enthusiastic, and ready as they were to face every emergency, felt quite confident that all would turn out well, but our wider experience caused us to spend many anxious moments as we faced this new contingency. Our attention was also drawn to the fact that the Turki merchants, who usually travelled in large numbers up and down the road, were no longer to be seen, since, by the Governor's regulation, no man from Sinkiang could enter China, neither could one from Kansu pass into Sinkiang.

For many years the atmosphere of China had been so 600 constantly disturbed by rumours, that if we had paid much attention to them our work must have come to a

703

703 DISCIPLINE AND MORALE--military virtues (e.g., courage, obedience); punitive and summary judicial powers of military leaders; military rewards (e.g., medals, badges, special privileges); level of morale in the armed forces; integrating and demoralizing factors; special techniques of instilling morale; etc. See also:

Symbolic tokens of prestige	554	Military offenses and sanctions	687
Ethical ideals	577	Courts-martial	696
Ingroup antagonisms	578	Prerogatives of veterans	729

T 122 I did not wish to be at the mercy of arbitrary Chinese governmental bodies, and from the beginning I counted on having to carry out my plans by means of my own efforts. For I had been told all too plainly, that anyone traveling in Tibet is completely unprotected and free as a bird. So I could not shrink from any expense for firearms and when we set out, my arsenal consisted of three Henry Martini guns, a Winchester carbine, a German military gun, model 1871, a German military gun with a magazine dating from 1884, and a modern German military rifle from the year 1889, a Japanese infantry gun, two Mauser- and one Bergmann-pistols, a heavy German three-barrelled gun, an old English musket, a Tibetan /287/ fork gun and two revolvers. Besides that, we also had two long lances and half a dozen swords. Each gun had several hundred cartridges.

It was, of course, a serious matter to have so many different types of guns and ammunition, but it never caused any unpleasant results because my men were used to it. The provincial troops of Kansu also have the most different types of weapons. The only serious matter was the loading difficulty of the old Henry-Martini guns. The guns were perfectly adequate for our purpose but the accompanying cartridges were made before the time when the cases were stamped out of one piece of metal, and were rolled into shape out of a thin metal strip. The bullets were extremely soft and so full of dents after a few days that they would no longer fit into the barrel. More than once one of us aimed at a bear or a wild yak and after the first shot had to bend the cartridge case which had become dented in the heat of the chase, in shape with his teeth in order to be able to push it into the barrel. The most exciting thing I saw in Tibet was to watch a hunter in such a predicament!

C 713 703 My Japanese military gun was a very good weapon, although it had gone through a lot before it fell into my hands. I bought it in the Gum bum monastery from a Mongol who said he had "found" it on a battlefield in Manchuria. My German military guns I had also bought in the interior. They, too, had surely had an eventful life history. Besides their German factory and regimental stamps they also bore Chinese symbols and I have a strong suspicion that they were sold by deserters. At the end of the 1890s large lots of discarded military guns, especially from South Germany, were sold by brokers to the Chinese provinces whose troops were armed according to the preferences of whoever happened to be governor. There were thousands of old Mauser guns stored in the arsenals of Lanchow and Hsining.

713 703

From these stores there were always some that got into the trade each year. For, although every Chinese soldier who deserted and sold his gun was beheaded, this capital offense is so widespread, especially on the borders, that the mandarins did not dare place these repeater guns into the hands of their troops except in special cases, and preferred to equip their regiments with old muzzle-loaders. According to their superiors, there are very few soldiers who can withstand the temptation of running away and taking their guns along when the first favorable opportunity presents itself. They could always easily get 80-100 taels for their guns, in other words, a fortune with which they could rent a small field in some remote corner and realize their ideal, namely, raise a family. This was also the reason why in the exposed garrison of Schara khoto there was not a single repeater gun to be seen.

But let us return after this digression to my departure from the Schara khoto Valley, from the yellow city, the city of the green meadow. 000

An easy climb brought me and my yak herds up the afore-mentioned saddle of the mountain, to the water shed between the Hwang Ho, or the 238 sea, and the Asiatic plateau which is without an outlet. The altitude measured 3,420 meters. It is only 6 kilometers from Schara khoto to this pass which is not more than 300 meters higher. 133

Suddenly I could see far into the distance. China with its loess dust, its oppressively narrow valleys, its torrential brooks and streams lay behind me, had been overcome. I am at the top! A blissful feeling spreads through my whole body and with a joyful heart I see the caravan slowly cross the pass, group by group. I feel that I have reached the climax of my life. With this band I would surely succeed in getting an insight into Tibet's most hidden secrets. I could not control my emotions. I was forced to let my shouts of joy ring out into the magnificent sunny morning, so that my Tibetans looked at me in amazement and believed I was trying to invoke the god of the pass. 000

I stood on the roof of the world, which extended from the snows of Pamir up to my flat watershed. The first yung - as the Tibetans say - lay before me, a huge wide and flat valley basin, high above the timber line, without bush or tree, with only a few rounded dunes in the middle. In a yung valley the water course is not the essential thing. These are valleys which originated in other ages, which have been produced by other forces than those in action today. Nor was it possible to say whether this yung below me sloped toward the ... to Lake Koko Nor or to the southeast. I was standing in a ... of 133

[text continues on p. 489]

704

704 GROUND COMBAT FORCES--specific organization of the army; high command; specialized combat branches (e.g., infantry, cavalry, artillery, tank corps); combat units (e.g., squads, companies, battalions, regiments, divisions); composition, organization, and special functions of each; specialized combat forces (e.g., scouts, marines, anti-aircraft defense units); etc.

See also:

Land transport 40
Tactics 725
Military technology and equipment 71

N S 175 121 648 132 114 182

a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

N S [233] [262]

A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a 'time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

N S 175 121 648 114 411 704 182

N S 182 175 121 648 114 [411] [704] [233]

The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads: or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

N S 105 175 648 182

6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/
the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open, on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hills or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent observations, which might add up to some general notions. In the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred Cable and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

Hor) of the Koko Nor, for Nepal and /305/ the Indian border countries, but also for China and its Tan emperors, and when his tu fan as the Chinese called his subjects - under his eight successors (given the title of btsan bo), or rather under their mayors of the palace again and again invaded Kansu. With great effort the Chinese had re-captured the city of Sche bu tsch'eng as early as 729, but after only a short time (741) lost it again. Thereupon Emperor Hsüan Tsung had the city besieged again and again. Finally at the siege of 749 the Chinese stormed the short stretch of wall for three days and nights without pause and wore down the small garrison sufficiently so that it could be overrun. Of 60,000 soldiers who took up this siege, more than half were said to have remained. After this attack the fortifications were destroyed completely. But this occupation of the territory of Sche bu tsch'eng by the Chinese was also of brief duration. The tu fan took advantage of the difficulty in which the Tang dynasty found itself because of the rebel Nan lu schan, and already in 763 they entered the imperial city of Hsingan fu along with the rest of the Tu ku hun, after not only Tao tschou, Min tschou, Ho tschou, but also Lanchow and Tsinchow, in short the entire Lung yu or present-day Kansu fell into their hands.

If the superiors of the high command in the Täwo war[1] had spoken the forceful language with which Li scheng[2] was addressed, this war would also have ended in the glory of Chinese weapons, but at that time the Manchu knew only half-way measures. So the gentleman colonel /Plate LXVIII faces p. 304 in the original text./ /305/ came out of the Tibetan country on September 20 with waving banners and sat happy and proudly smiling on his steed whose long tail - according to the Asiatic idea, a horse's chief ornament - had been completely cut off. Little Radang had yielded nothing until it was paid its 450 taels, and even then it dared, or rather had the temerity to deliver the stolen horses with their manes cut off in derision and with bloody tail stumps. The merchants' guild of Tao tschou fumed with rage at the cowardly act of the officers. "It would have been better if the expedition had never taken place," they grumbled. For this reason the colonel did not stay long in the city. On the march his troops looked very good and offered a pleasing picture, although they always had to march in single file. Half of the troops were armed with modern repeater guns, the rest with old Mausers; 300 of each 1,000 men were equipped with long lances on which large three-cornered flags of all different colors fluttered, as they entered Tao tschou. Behind each division rode the officer in charge of it and saw to it that no man escaped. If someone for any reason had to stay behind he was first obliged to hand over his gun. The supply train was amazingly small and consisted of yak oxen, an ula from Merema and Tawa. In the endless procession the large copper cooking pots and the opium and tobacco pipes of the men, as well as the badly-packed small personal belongings of the officers were very carefully carried by soldiers. Beside their guns the troops carried only their few cotton garments and wore hemp sandals which were undoubtedly the best foot-gear what with the poor roads, the many brooks without bridges the slippery stones and the endless climbs up and down.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, p. 481 — Analyst] [2] [Cf. cat. 116, p. 491-492 — A]

Native families of rulers have maintained themselves to this day, remnants of the old Mongolian- and Tu ku hun times, in the districts of Tao tschou, Min tschou and Di dao tschou. The mightiest is the Yang tu se, the king of Dschoni. Today he rules only over Tibetans, 48 tribes of them, who annually bring him small gifts. His feudal lands reach as far as Szechwan in the south. However, among the majority of his subjects his word does not carry much weight. They rob merchants and carry on wars whenever they /Plate LXIX faces p. 305 in the original text./ /306 choose. The Dschoni tu se himself, however, in his low and easily-accessible native country, is today with all his clan subject to the general supervision of the tschou of Tao. Even weaker and smaller is the Chan tu se who lives 15 li below Dschoni in the Tao Ho Valley. The Ma tu se also has little more authority; he is already in the Min tschou district near the town of Tang tschen, 150 li south of the chief city of the district, and rules over 2,000 families. Of the fourth, the Kia tu se, I have already spoken briefly in connection with my journey through Di dao tschou. Dschoni, Tschan, Ma, Kia on the one hand and the tschou of Tao, Di dao, and Min on the other, are often referred to as the Wu hu and the country as the Land of the Five Rulers. For the "democratically"minded Chinese used to complete personal freedom and privilege, conditions in the wu hu are very foreign; they are completely baffled that here, not as elsewhere in the Kingdom of the Middle, the ruler should have a claim and levy taxes, but that the individual families and the heads of families belong to the various rulers, so that, as often happens here, subjects of all five live together

708

708 AUXILIARY CORPS--organization and functions of specialized noncombat services (e.g., medical and sanitary corps, army engineers, labor battalions, signal corps, intelligence services, military police); other specialized personnel (e.g., paymasters, chaplains, judge advocates, military government officers, specialists in communications and psychological warfare); etc. See also:

Communication	20	Supply and commissary services	705
Medicine	75	Military engineering	711
Police	625	Military government	727
Peacetime espionage	648	Public health	744
Courts-martial	696		

*668 625 1. The secret service

The command of the police system on mainland China rests with the national headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party. Nominally it is the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee,' but the real power is in the hands of the small group which forms the Political Bureau. In turn this bureau is influenced greatly by the Secretariat and the secretary-general. When the secretary-general is strong he may even dominate the bureau. It usually makes the decisions on policy. The secret police service's executive body is centered around the Social Department of the Central
*668 625 647 Committee of the Party. This Department has a direct system of organization within the Party. In large areas (such as the former northwest region) or in special areas (such as Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), there is a Social Department subordinate to the Party's "Central Committee Sub-bureau." From this level down, like the Party local organization, there is a social department or social secretary at each level to take charge of the secret service in the corresponding area.

*668 625 2. Other police systems

Built around this Party secret service system, are numerous other separate, but not entirely independent, systems of police forces. The most important is the regular police. Organizationally, this is a branch of the People's government. Its central
[645] [647] headquarters is the Ministry of Public Security under the Government Administration Council. From this level down there is a branch office of the department at every level of the People's government. This branch commands the regular police forces.

The United Front Department system which extends to the provincial and municipal levels, is designed for two purposes. Negatively, it infiltrates into the organizations of the people and watches their functions. Positively, it dominates and utilizes the people's organizations to promote the Party program.

The system of People's control is similar. Here, people are used as spies for the Party. The People's Procurator system is slightly different. It is a prosecuting government organ. Since prosecution needs the investigation of facts, inevitably this sytem is involved in the police system.

[645] [648] The spy system under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also has a dual purpose. Positively, this system infiltrates into foreign territories to conspire for future conquests. Negatively, it is used to detect and prevent possible agitations which may disturb public order in mainland China.

*668 625 *708 726 The police and spy system among the military forces can be divided into two parts. The system of political defense is used to weed out potential political enemies inside the army, while the scout and spy system is mainly used to detect military enemies. Both of these systems have branches in the field army and the army areas.

712

712 MILITARY INSTALLATIONS--defensive fortifications; harbor and coast defenses (e.g., coast artillery emplacements, antisubmarine nets); radar and antiaircraft installations; military camps and posts; arsenals; naval stations and bases; military airfields; missile bases; construction, maintenance, and distribution of military installations; etc. See also:

Construction trades 33
Settlements 36
Civilian airport facilities 808
Antiaircraft defense units 704
Organization of coast guard and naval shore stations 706

228 776 823 [782] According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been connected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

346 *712 178 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been transformed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

771 In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local
[177] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters; but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

797 [211] Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

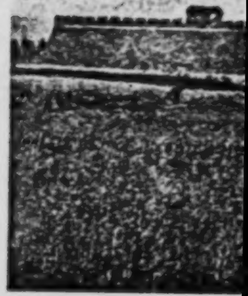
/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long
line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which
was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place,
and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow.
An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where
life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 701 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers
marched in and out, and much official business was done, for
this was an important military center and the officer in command
held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the
place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly
resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to
be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to
walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert
stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where,
twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.
712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.
The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[529] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[276] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a
fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves
in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of bliz-
zard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were
dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.
[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by
[574] the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the
three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed them-
selves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the
properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their
belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating
stagnation.
712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sun-
rise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling
by day, but all were travel worn and weary....
484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of know-
ledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her
712 wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to
the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them
come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand
the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which
they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to
bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they
[432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and
handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably
believed none of them....
712 The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the
512 large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things,
[701] and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up
[352] the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover-
[276] lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into
the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon
that they knew." (pp. 17-20).
361 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed:
443 "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the
(186) elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis.
They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely
to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-
supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in
regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of
marriages arranged between their own children and those of other
181 towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative.
436 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable,
"was the backward system of money exchange which it retained.
441 Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coin-
age on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at
it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down,
weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tun-
hwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless
cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became
therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other
towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When
the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome,
merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused
one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the
dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing
man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head
of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year
issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin
stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town
absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's
effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was
offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would
use it.

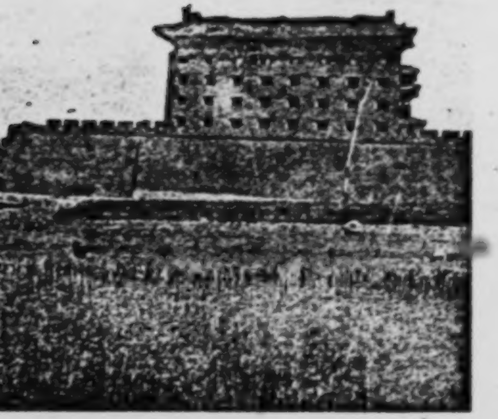
EAST GATE



WEST GATE

PLATE I

OF THE FORTRESS OF T'UNGKUAN



OF THE FORTRESS OF T'UNGKUAN

and not infrequently arrive at T'ungkuan in a state of collapse.

From Shen Chou to Lingpao Hsien, a distance of 45 li, the road runs through deep cuttings in the loess near the right bank, but out of sight, of the Yellow River; and from Lingpao to Wenhsiang Hsien, called 60 li, it runs across a series of bluffs high up above the river; for the first 20 li of this latter stage horsemen can follow a footpath along the river itself, which here rolls its pea-soupy waters through a gorge in the loess hills; wild fowl of all kinds abound here in the spring and can be easily shot. Lingpao and Wenhsiang lie right on the river. Round the latter the loess is much mixed with sand. The barrier range on the traveller's left hand here begins to draw in towards the Yellow River to form the famous narrows at T'ungkuan. From Wenhsiang to T'ungkuan, called 60 li, the road continues through the loess not far from the river. Finally T'ungkuan itself is approached through a deep cutting in the loess hills with gates and walls appearing at intervals after the manner of the Nank'ou Pass in the Peking mountains, with which this famous stronghold may be compared.

The narrows of T'ungkuan are formed by the Northern barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan and the Yellow River, which here approach to within a few miles of one another, the intervening space being filled by a thick layer of loess hundreds of feet deep, intersected by impassable rifts. Here the Peking road through Shansi *via* T'aiyuan Fu meets the Honan road and continues as one to Hsian Fu, where it bifurcates again, one branch leading south-west to Chengtu and Tibet, and the other north-west to Lanchow and Turkestan. The fortress of T'ungkuan commands the meeting-point of these four highways, and is now and always has been one of the most important strategical points in the interior of China. It will one day be also a considerable railway centre as trunk lines are projected along all these roads. The number of roads leading east and west, north of the Yangtzu, is extraordinarily small, and railways usually seem to find that the ancient highways of traffic and commerce offer the easiest routes through mountainous country. T'ungkuan has from time immemorial served as the gateway from China to Central and Western Asia, and has played

a correspondingly important part in Chinese history. In more recent days too, during the troubles since the fall of the Manchus in 1911, it has once more figured prominently in the manœuvres of Imperial, Revolutionary, and Republican armies, brigands, and train bands, while in times of peace it lends itself admirably, flanked as it is by river and mountain, to the levying of likin and other barrier tolls dear to the Chinese official. It is a compact little place, with ramparts and gates remarkable for their massive size even in China, the land of walls, overlooking the Yellow River, which pouring down from the north in a turgid yellow flood here strikes the Ch'inling Shan and turns sharply to the east.

As we approached T'ungkuan some one noticed three strange pack mules which had attached themselves to our caravan. Enquiries elicited the fact that they belonged to a merchant who was endeavouring to smuggle three loads of Price's candles through the frontier barrier into Shensi by this means. We had unwillingly to cut him adrift. Unless accompanied by transit passes goods in transport through the interior of China are taxed again and again at every point where a barrier can be erected until the prospective profit on their sale is eaten up by these tolls and their further transport becomes futile.

From the railhead at Kuanyint'ang to T'ungkuan is called a distance of 280 li, and can be done in three days. As far as Lingpao the li are "short li"; thence to T'ungkuan they are "long li"; the difference is most marked, the short and the long li averaging about a quarter and a third of a mile respectively. This absurd and typically Chinese arrangement is said to be due to the fact that the authorities of Honan Fu endeavoured in days gone by to lay claim to the fortress of T'ungkuan on the ground that it was nearer to their city than to Hsian Fu.

A peculiar four-wheeled cart of prehistoric appearance is used round T'ungkuan, the only place in China where I have seen a four-wheeled native vehicle. Even the huge carts which one meets on the grasslands of the Mongolian border or in the sands of Western Kansu, regular ships of the desert, and often accommodating whole families, are always of the familiar two-wheeled type.

From T'ungkuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

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can be covered in three long marches. The road, a broad tree-lined cart track, lies up the valley plain of the Wei River, with the great barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan on the left hand and the river on the right. The plain is one vast wheat-field, dotted with peculiar walled farms, each a formidable little fortress in itself; they are relics of the great Mahomedan rebellion and form a characteristic feature of the landscape in most parts of Shensi and Kansu. Nowadays the Mahomedans of Shensi are a negligible quantity, the majority having withdrawn westwards into Kansu, where they form an exceedingly important and powerful element in the population.

Forty li from T'ungkuan the district city of Huayin Hsien is reached, the inns lying in the suburb of Huayin Miao, five li east of the walled town. This latter village is the starting-point for the sacred mountain, the Hua Shan, a portion of the Ch'inling range. Seventy li further on the empty city of Hua Chou is passed, and 50 li beyond that Weinan Hsien, the centre of a particularly rich agricultural district, is reached.

The traffic on the roads of this fertile and populous plain is very great, and it is one of the absurdities of modern China that no railway should yet connect Hsian, the metropolis of the North West, with the coast. Railway construction on the plains of Central Shensi means little more than laying the rails on the necessary embankment and building a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River. And while these rich and populous plains in the centre of China are innocent of every vestige of railway construction, a line has been built at great difficulty and expense through the mountains north of Peking past Kalgan to end in the air beyond Tatung in Northern Shensi. The Hsian line is a section of the Belgian Lung Hai railway referred to above, which has for the moment come to a stop at Kuanyint'ang in Honan. Failing railways the construction of a few good trunk roads fit for motor traffic would be of enormous advantage to the province and could be undertaken, as far as the plains of Central Shensi are concerned, at comparatively small cost. There can scarcely be another civilized country in the world which would be

All along this road across the eastern end of the Ch'inling ranges a large proportion of the hill tops are crowned with walled strongholds called *Chai* which serve as refuges for the inhabitants of the farms and villages in the valleys in times of trouble. These fortified hill tops are a characteristic feature of S.E. Shensi and N.E. Szechuan. The better ones contain houses all ready for receiving the refugees, while others are merely walled shells inside which the owners erect mat sheds or temporary huts. Nearly all are unapproachable except by most precipitous footpaths. Six years ago, in the comparatively peaceful days of Manchu rule, these *chaitzu* were generally in ruins and fallen into disuse; nowadays they have mostly been repaired at a cost of many thousands of taels and have been in pretty constant use during the troubles which have afflicted these parts ever since the revolution of 1911. It is a regrettable but indisputable fact that public security in the interior of China has steadily deteriorated and that the ravages of brigands have everywhere increased during recent years since the establishment of the Republic.

Leaving Niuerhch'uan on the next day, we followed down the valley, which contracts to a gorge and is rather difficult for loaded mules, for an hour's march. Here the gorge debouches on to the valley of a considerable stream, the Shêch'uan Ho (lower down called apparently the Chia Ho), flowing like most of the rivers of Shensi from N.W. to S.E. Our path turned up the valley of this stream and followed it in a westerly direction for the rest of the way to the large market village of Fenghuangtsui, 80 li from Niuerhch'uan. The valley is hemmed in by rocky jungle-clad mountains and is uncultivated till within 15 li of Fenghuangtsui, where a tributary of equal volume from the north joins the stream. From this point on there are rice fields and a succession of hamlets. Fenghuangtsui is the largest village in the district and contains many more families than Chenan itself. Apart from these occasional townships there is marked absence of villages in these mountains, and one usually travels all day long without passing anything but scattered farmsteads and huts.

The next day's march was a long and tiring one called 90 li. The trail leaves the main valley of the Shêch'uan Ho

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and enters a gorge which soon ends in a stiff climb up to a pass, about 5000 feet high and two hours' scramble from Fenghuangtsui. There is a similar steep descent for a thousand feet or so down the other side into a ravine where farmsteads and rice fields reappear, and then a weary three hours' march down a stony gorge which debouches on to the narrow valley of the Ch'ienyu Ho, a considerable stream for these mountains, which takes its rise in the watershed ranges north of Hsiaoyi T'ing and flows south past Chenan to join the Han near Hsünyang Hsien. The trail continues down this stream, which has to be crossed and recrossed though barely fordable, for another hour's march through precipitous limestone gorges, and then turns up a small tributary to the west for a few li to reach the city of Chenan, a dilapidated little place lying hidden away in the mountains just round the corner from the canyon of the Ch'ienyu Ho.

We had had nine days' continuous travel over the most appalling mountain tracks since leaving T'ungkuan, and as we were well housed in the Yamen of the Chief of Police, and were informed that the trail on to Hsingan was much worse, we decided to rest in Chenan for a day. The fourteen days between T'ungkuan and Hsingan by this route constituted one of the hardest journeys we made in all our wanderings through Shensi and Kansu owing to the roughness of the mountain trail. Travelling as we were with the assistance of the local officials we did not have to sample the inns, if there were any, *en route*; without such assistance it would of course have been very much harder and more fatiguing.

Chenan has practically no city wall left, which is unusual. The explanation lies in the fact that the inhabitants own a particularly fine *chaitzu* on a neighbouring mountain top in which they prefer to take refuge, with their magistrate and his police, in times of trouble rather than defend their city. A large proportion of the population were there at the time of our visit, for at that early period of our journey our party was so formidable in size that when we descended on these small mountain towns like a swarm of locusts the people used often to fly at our approach as though from a band of brigands. Chinese officials travelling on what used to be, and often still is, called an Imperial Mission, such as

the latter gradually comes to an end, winds through the same low hills in a northerly direction until, crossing a low divide, it emerges into more open country to reach Kulupa.

The latter is a walled stronghold of the Catholics on the top of a hill and is the centre of Catholic missionary work in Southern Shensi, though the Bishop resides at Hanchung. The Italian Fathers who have been established in this corner of Shensi for a great many years, have attained considerable power and influence in the neighbourhood. They work on different lines to the Protestant Missions, but from their point of view with greater success. Their plan is to collect orphans or other children who are not wanted by their parents, to educate them and teach them all kinds of useful industries, and to bring them up as Catholics. This is the work that is carried on at Kulupa, where there are usually some hundreds of children being brought up as members of the Catholic Church, mostly girls, as these are easier to secure. These old-established Catholic Missions usually own a good deal of land acquired in a variety of ways, and are practically self-supporting. At Kulupa an entire hill top is covered by substantial buildings and the whole surrounded by a good wall. When trouble comes, the gates are shut, the community fetches out its arms, and the brigands, or whoever they may be, pass on to easier prey.

To many Catholics the Protestant missionaries, who are usually married and live as far as possible a comfortable European family life, seem entirely out of touch with the Chinese amongst whom they are working. To many Protestants the life led by the children in such an establishment as Kulupa seems somewhat dreary, inhuman, and lacking in the comforts and interests of home life. The ideas of Catholics and Protestants in regard to Christianity and the converting of the Chinese are certainly very divergent and consequently puzzling to the latter, but they both do an enormous amount of good in different ways. The priest appears perhaps to sacrifice his life more completely to the Chinese, as he usually comes out from Europe never to return, and often lives for the rest of his days practically as a Chinese amongst the Chinese. But no missionaries of any persuasion have done more good for the Chinese people

this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here containing a considerably less volume of water than where crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between. Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings one to Fu Chou.

Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city, is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact that it had been sacked four times by brigands during the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The official of one of these cities informed me that it was inadvisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

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place having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there would be nothing to attract another raid provided there were no modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver, opium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go for. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou was a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain behind the town, built by the magistrate and the few remaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In the centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient bronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang Dynasty, the only object of value which survives the periodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to Ch'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west trails in these parts.

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 to 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through poor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The loess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the whole region gives the impression of turning into desert. Several miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of caves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts built of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity of wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for constructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably the people are so used to living in caves that they do not feel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is not to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in winter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage which is always going on in the loess these caves are constantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct when it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan is a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a city.

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River and follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after three to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass (4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen Shui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously enough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent and descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy downs. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

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the P'ingfan River a few li south of Hung Ch'engtzu, a small walled town and the end of the second stage from Lanchou.

From Hung Ch'engtzu to the district city of P'ingfan is a pleasant march of 70 li up the fertile valley, past several villages, including the township of Nan Tatung about halfway. A mile before getting in the old Manchu garrison town of Chuang-lang T'ing is passed, imposing in appearance with its well-built walls, but nowadays an empty shell. The remnants of these old Manchu garrisons in Western Kansu are now, as elsewhere, in extreme poverty. But their existence at any rate gives the province the distinction of being, so far as I know, the only one of the eighteen provinces which contains a resident population of the five races, symbolised by the new five coloured national flag, which go to make up the Republic, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, and Mahomedans. The Union of Races represented by this flag has hardly become a reality yet; and is perhaps not likely to materialise until the Chinese cease fighting the Tibetans and grant them autonomy as a self-governing dominion of the Chinese commonwealth on the lines of the relationship between Canada or Australia and the rest of the British Empire. P'ingfan is a prosperous little place, the centre of a rich irrigated valley, and is of some importance as the junction of roads to Lanchou, Hsining, Liangchou, and Ninghsia, the four largest towns of Western Kansu.

From P'ingfan the road continues up the valley with the ruins of the Great Wall on the right hand, the scenery becoming wilder and cultivation and habitations less as one proceeds. Thirty li out the mountains close in on the valley to form a gorge, and shortly afterwards the river is forded to reach the village and former posting stage of Wusheng Yi, 40 li from P'ingfan. Beyond this place the valley becomes flat and open and assumes a plateau-like character, with patches of cultivation here and there. Another 40 li brings one to the village and ruined fort of Ch'ak'ou Yi, the end of a stage of 80 li. General desolation and ruins are the features of this part of Kansu, intensified to us perhaps by the fact that we rode during the afternoon through a succession of bitterly cold hailstorms, the elevation being close on 9000 feet. The remains of the Great Wall, the ruins of farms, villages, and forts, the abandoned fields in the marshy valley,

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canny Mahomedan innkeeper, seeing such a large party of officials and soldiers (everywhere unwelcome guests owing to their custom of helping themselves to what they want and not always paying for it), assured us it was only 30 or 40 li to Tatung Hsien by a good road; so we took the road again after a rest, and had another weary six hours' march before getting in. The road lies down a narrow picturesque valley, in which trees, farms, and cultivation make their appearance again, and finally debouches on to a broad and fertile valley, closely cultivated and thickly populated, which is crossed to reach Tatung Hsien. I have but the vaguest idea of the latter part of this long march, which was finished by the light of lanterns in the dark, beyond remembering that we forded a stream running in various branches just before getting in, and narrowly missed taking an evening bath on more than one occasion.

Tatung Hsien is a prosperous city, the centre of a fertile corn-growing valley populated largely by Mahomedans. The elevation is about 8000 feet and the wheat was ripening for harvest during the middle of August. It reminded us somewhat of Ho Chou. Being comfortably quartered here in an old military yamen, we enjoyed a welcome day's rest. Tatung Hsien is also known locally by its old name of Maopeisheng, and usually appears on foreign maps under that name in various guises. If a traveller in China, unacquainted with Chinese characters and their usual romanisation, writes down the names of places as they sound to his ear, the results are often unrecognizable; further confusion is entailed by the varying forms of romanisation in use in different European languages. There are several townships called Tatung in Western Kansu; they are sometimes distinguished by being referred to as Tatung Hsien, Nan Tatung, Pei Tatung, and Hsi Tatung, but confusion often results.

From Tatung to Hsining is a distance of 110 li by a good cart track down a fertile and well-cultivated valley past numerous farms and villages. The march may be divided into two by halting at the walled township of Hsin Ch'eng, 40 li out, where the valley narrows to a defile and is barred by an old wall with a gate and the inevitable likin barrier. This is considered by some to be a branch of the Great

Wall; if this is so, the old gate and wall at T'ungmen Kuan, between Labrang and Ho Chou, is probably a portion of the same loop, which must have been constructed to protect the Hsining region against the incursions of Tibetans or Mongols from the Kokonor, and the course and history of which it would be interesting to trace. The road eventually debouches on to the city of Hsining, lying in a small cultivated plain of loess formed by the junction of three valleys, the Pei Ch'uan from Tatung Hsien, the Hsi Ch'uan from Tanko T'ing, and the Nan Ch'uan from T'a-erh Ssu (Kumbum), the combined streams going to make up the Hsining River.

Hsining is one of the chief cities of Kansu, being the centre of a region of fertile corn-growing valleys, producing wheat, barley, and particularly beans. Its commercial importance arises from its position near the Kokonor border, and together with Tanko T'ing, a day's journey further west, it commands the bulk of the valuable Kokonor trade in skins, furs, deer horns, musk, gold, and particularly wool. A state of passive hostility has reigned between China and Tibet since the collapse of Chinese power in Lassa consequent on the revolution, and the Szechuan-Tibetan trade through Tachienlu has suffered greatly thereby; the Hsining and Tanko trade, on the other hand, has continued uninterruptedly throughout these troubles, and has perhaps even increased. As elsewhere on this border this trade is largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. Before the Mahomedan rebellion of 1860–70 the Hsining-Kokonor road to Lassa was the most frequented route between China and Tibet, but was then replaced by the Szechuan road through Tachienlu; now it is coming into its own again. The interior of the city is fairly prosperous in appearance as far as Kansu towns go, but by no means indicative of the commercial and political importance of the place. The east suburb, the former Mahomedan quarter, is still completely in ruins, a relic of the last Mahomedan rebellion in 1895, when the city successfully withstood a siege by the rebels. The walls are particularly formidable and well built.

Hsining, as well as being the seat of a Taoyin and a Mahomedan General, has always been the residence of the high Chinese official controlling the immense territory of

000 these two faithful friends we had also two earnest Evangelists, who never lost an opportunity of recommending the Good News which we were there to proclaim.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CITY OF TEMPLES

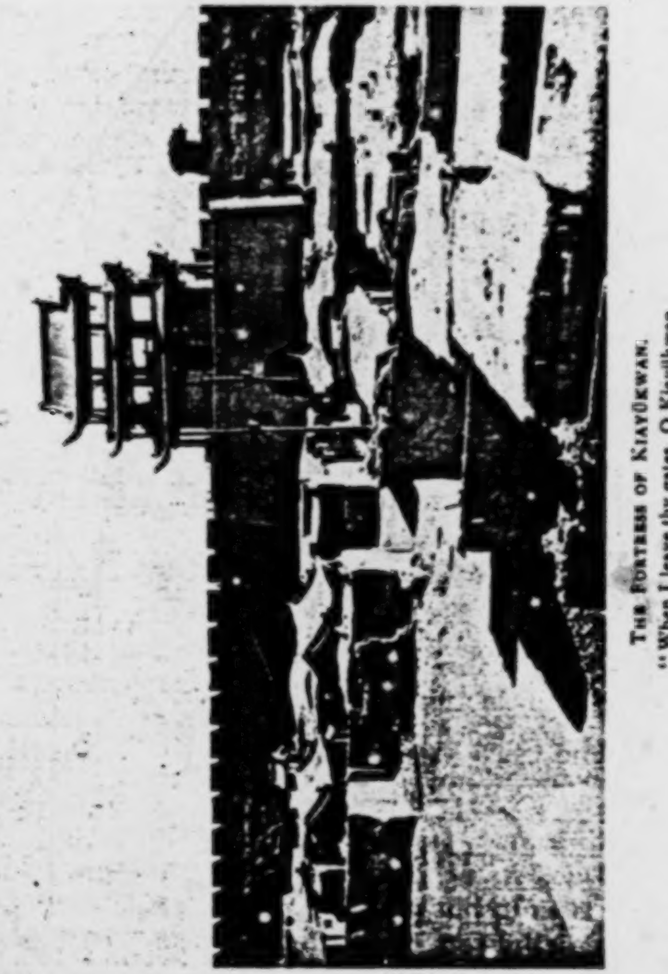
241 WHEN not busy with village classes we made an opportunity to see the sights of Kanchow, which is a
• [712] very remarkable town. The city wall is three miles in length, and from it a fine view of the well-irrigated, fertile land around can be obtained. This was sown with wheat, barley, millet, and more especially with rice, for which this district is famous, as well as with the opium poppy, and also peas and beans for animal fodder. Nearer the town were numerous fruit-orchards —pears, apricots, and apples—with vineyards which supply the market with both black and white grapes.
[312] The amount of water which floods this district from the melting snows is so great that many of the country roads become shallow rivers during the summer months.
361 Looking down into the city from the wall, one's first
346 impression is the beauty of the reed-filled lakes, and the number of splendid trees. From the midst of these the
342 gay, glazed-tiled roofs of numerous temples appear, and a high pagoda built in Indian style catches the eye, but the dwelling-houses are low and insignificant. The roofs are flat and made of mud, and the houses are all very lightly built and obviously crooked, owing to the boggy nature of the soil which does not allow of a sure foundation. The largest temples and the Mission Compound stand on the higher ground of the city,

000 through which the ordinary traveller is glad to pass quickly.

133 The aspect of the country was very different from that which we had met south of Kanchow. On the Tibetan side the snow-covered Richthofen Range came closer and closer, while the Mongolian hills gradually diminished in size until they became mere sand-dunes, and then drifted off into the flat expanse of the Gobi Desert. The style of the country presented a good deal of variety, and lay in clearly defined sections running
[245] from north to south in narrow strips. Shaho, the first town of importance, was on a fertile band, and lay in the midst of orchards, in which the trees were then laden with ripe pears. Leaving these one mile behind us, we entered an area of loose sandhills, where we found it necessary to descend from our carts to lighten the weight for the animals. We plodded through the fine, dry slopes with a delightful sense of illusion that just
136 over the horizon the sea must surely appear. A number of small sand-coloured lizards sunned themselves by the way; and raising their heads at our approach, they then made off at a great pace pursued by the carter, who derived much enjoyment from catching them by the tail. Our part in the sport was to sing and whistle, which immediately brought the little creatures to a standstill, and kept them spellbound for as long as we continued our tunes. About ten miles further on we passed a clearly-defined line of swamp, through which we approached the city of Fuyi. Here the water-wagtails kept pace with the cart, and a beautiful crocus-yellow-breasted variety flitted in and out of the rushes.

[361] Fuyi was the smallest walled city we had seen, but
• [712] stands surrounded by well-watered and prosperous
622 farmsteads, owned by wealthy families. The hand of a

•712



THE FORTRESS OF KIAYÜKWAN.
"When I leave thy gates, O Kiayükwan
My tears may never cease to run."

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000 we began to view the incoming winter, under present conditions, with a certain amount of anxiety. Seeing therefore that our life must necessarily be somewhat rigorous, we added a layer of camel's hair to our already wadded Chinese garments, and thus equipped we were subsequently enabled to meet temperatures registering fifteen degrees Fahrenheit below zero.

262 During this first winter we were fortunate in securing from a Moslem farmer excellent milk, but food supplies in these localities are very variable, not only from city to city, but from year to year; and after a few months, cattle disease carried off most of the cows, so our dairy supply failed completely. Mutton, yak beef and pork could be bought, but all were of a poor quality. Vegetables, however, were excellent and eggs plentiful. Our daily dinner was a Chinese meal of rice or macaroni, but for several months of each year no fat of any kind was obtainable for cooking purposes, with the exception of linseed-oil, which is commonly used by Kansu people; unfortunately, in spite of every effort, we were never able to accustom ourselves to the strong taste, nor eat it without revulsion. Our winter preparations also included a large quantity of wheat, which we ourselves ground as needed, and which gave us a good store of bran with which to fill large baskets of eggs, this being the only way to prevent their freezing.

133 Our first expedition was taken before the winter closed in, when travelling would be too hard. It took
712 the form of a trip to the fortress of Kiayükwan, which
• was only twenty miles distant. The road was over a barren and stony waste, leading slightly uphill, so that the journey took six and a half hours to perform. It was a dismal landscape, though the Richthofen Range looked magnificent with snow to its very base, and we also crossed a good many beautifully clear streams on

133 the way. At a distance of about two miles a high gate-tower of many storeys came in sight, flanked on
• 712 either side by a clay wall, which on the south stretched for seven miles to the foot of the Tibetan mountains. On this side lay green meadows richly watered by springs, and for this reason the name Kiayükwan has been given, meaning 'The Barrier of the Pleasant Valley.' The position of the fortress has indeed been well chosen in view of excluding invaders from the west, this being the narrowest point between naked hills on the north and south. Under the shadow of the walls a stream is crossed by a wooden bridge, and from here the path mounts steeply to the door of the southern quarter, where all the inns are situated. We passed through two great vaulted gates into the first enclosure, which holds within it the ruins of a small town, now mostly uninhabited. The splendid outer walls, with their loophole battlements and towers, and the Yamen and military barracks, still occupied, give an impression of mediaeval importance to a place which otherwise would be only a tumbledown village.

487 A most imposing gate led out on the north side, and beyond this, as far as eye could reach, was an undulating desert over which the wintry wind was blowing. A hundred yards from the gate a stone tablet proclaims this to be 'Earth's Greatest Barrier.' The scene was desolate beyond words, and if ever human sorrow has left an impress on the atmosphere of a place, it is surely at Kiayükwan, through whose portals for centuries past a never-ending stream of despairing humanity has defiled. Disgraced officials, condemned criminals, homeless prodigals, terrified outlaws, the steps of all these have converged to that one sombre portal, and through it have for ever left the land of their birth. The arched walls are covered with poems wrung from

We were
485 however, obliged the next night at 1 a.m. to pass the same spot[1]—one lonely shed inhabited by an old man, who provides boiling water for passers-by. But on this occasion he would not permit us a moment's delay, and urged us to proceed to our destination with all possible speed; which, needless to say, we did.

CHAPTER XXII

JADE GATE TO TUNHWANG

•712 FIVE days' journey from Kiayükwan the traveller
174 sees on the farthest horizon a light, elegant tower rising high above the city wall. This is Yümen—'Jade Gate'—through which he passes to Central Asia, and which being visible from a very great distance, is the one dominant feature of the beautiful little town of the same name.

Ancient records dating back to 104 B.C. speak of Yümenkwan—'Jade Barrier'—as terminating the line of guard-houses which were planted at intervals from Chiuchüan—Ancient Suchow—in a north-westerly direction on the Kansu border. A great deal of research has been made by Sir Aurel Stein as well as by other *savants* to elucidate the exact position held by this particular fort. Sir Aurel Stein places it beyond Tunhwang, one hundred and thirty miles west of the little town which now bears its name, while others believe this elusive gate to have been no other than the original structure of Kiayükwan which is, all agree, the modern equivalent of the ancient Barrier. Local opinion, however, confirms Breitshneider's assertion that the modern Yümen is built on the site of the ancient Jade Gate.

1 [outside the village of Chikinpu--Analyst]

491 wonder why this weak-looking work of man did not cause un
damage annually with the very swift river current. On seve
the large iron posts that looked like cannon bores and were r
into the earth along the bank in order to hold the large rope
chains of the bridge, I found an inscription which revealed t
bridge had been put together in this manner long ago under t
Ming emperors (in the fifth year of Emperor Hung Wu, 1372
and was thus an arrangement that was centuries old. The go
was obliged to pay out 10,000 taels (30,000 marks) each ye
keep it in repair. And the cost of repair was actually said t
consumed a few thousand taels each summer. A hemp rope
of the kind necessary to give added support during the summ
[661] floods, cost about 1,000 marks in our money. But from the
taels the officials who in the eyes of the people represented
and mother, must have been able to pocket a tidy little sum

1. After negotiations lasting one-half year - for a lo
time the "parents of the people" would not hear of a
change - a German firm succeeded in getting a con
to build a narrow iron bridge across the river a year
my arrival. This was built during the years 1908-19

Thus Lanchow fu is a bridgehead, a fortress, which defe
•712 convenient Hwang Ho crossing. From time immemorial th
was regarded as important and was occupied by troops. Lon
fore the beginning of our era, during the Ts'in and Han dyn
we find mention of a fortified encampment here. (2) The

2. In the feudal age in China, during the Tschou dy
(1122-255 B.C.) the boundary of present-day Lanch
bordered on the territory of the Hsi Kiang (Chinese),
one suspects, were Tibetan nomads. At times the p
was also entirely inundated with Hsi Kiang. At the
of the Ts'in dynasty (255-206 B.C.) and of the Han
B.C.-220 A.D.) the district became more and mor
But the chief city of the district lay somewhat farth
The present-day settlement was begun by Emperor V
the founder of the Sui dynasty (589-605). In the ye
during the Tang dynasty everything was again lost t
Tibetans and remained in their hands, with some in
ruptions, until, after the year 1000, the Hsi Hsia ki

gained control. Finally around 1081 Lanchow fu was 712
again conquered by the Chinese under their brave eunuch general Li hsien, with the help of the Tibetans who, insofar as they were farmers, were subject to the Sung dynasty. (Tsing yuan, too, was snatched from the Hsi Hsia kingdom in the same year.) Since then the city has remained united with the kingdom. But the importance of the place may be seen from its earlier changeful fate.

The Yellow
River which is of any visible use to the land and its people only in- 487
sofar as it flows outside the Great Wall, cannot be easily crossed anywhere; certainly not on the Great Chinese Plain where the inhabitants call it their sorrow and affliction on account of its destructiveness. It once took me a full day on a ferry to get through at Kaifeng fu between the countless mud banks which are always in motion and constantly changing. Along the railroad line Peking-Hankow in Honan it forms an almost insurmountable obstacle even for our modern technical resources, because of its insecure mud bottom. Even though it does not contain a great deal of water, it is never easy to cope with at Lung men and in its entire middle course as far up as Lanchow fu. Finally, in Lanchow fu, almost where its Tibetan upper course begins there is a place where not only can the two banks be connected by a bridge without great difficulty, /149/ but where roads also lead down to it. The highway which connected Chinese culture with the Western world here crosses the Yellow River. Inasmuch as roads, to say nothing of highways, in China have, up to now, depended more on the accidents of nature than on the will and skill of man, and Kansu, which is by no means a flat country, possesses very few highways, it follows that every place where this natural road could push through was of particularly outstanding importance. This road, the ancient "silk road," leads out from the original sites of Chinese culture, out of the Wei Ho Valley and the Fen Ho Valley basin from Hsingan fu by way of Ping liang fu to the northwest, to Lanchow fu. It anxiously avoids large rivers which, as for example the upper Wei Ho, have cut deep ravines into the mountains and which only bridle paths and mule tracks can follow. It leads across loess country devoid of stones, past a few loess brooks and often for long distances on high ridges. Each year the summer rains tear up great holes in the road and interrupt traffic, but in the dry winter months trade and traffic flow cheaply and easily. Roughly, this road follows the watersheds between

frontier territory" and embrace all of Chinese Turkistan and 631
Dsungari (Ili). Since this time there has been only one governor in Hsingan fu, the ancient capital of the kingdom, a fu t'ai or a hsün fu for Shensi.

Thus Lanchow fu has become administratively a very important, 721
if not the most important, city of Central Asia. It belongs to the few places which were left to the emperor in the great Mohammedan struggles of 1862-1873, when an independent Islamic-Turkish kingdom arose under the Sart Yakub Beg and when in Kansu, Hochow which lies a two-days' journey west of Lanchow fu, as well as Kin tse pu, the oasis of Tung fu hsiang mentioned in the last chapter, became centers of a large Islamic-Chinese insurrection. The fact that the Mohammedan leaders of the insurrection did not succeed in occupying this junction made it easier for Generalissimo Tso t'ung tang to recapture the provinces which had for years been lost to China.

The Mohammedans succeeded only once during the struggles lasting hundreds of years in breaking through the city gates, but even then (1781, according to the chronicle of Lanchow fu) the Hui hui of Hochow and the Salars could not hold it for long. In all their battles the Mohammedans of China always lacked far-sighted leaders, and their politics always foundered because of their purposelessness and the petty egoism and greed of individuals.

The city of Lanchow fu is surrounded by what according to Chinese 712
ideas is an only moderately strong wall which, however, to the bands of the Mohammedan mullahs, armed with short pikes and swords, may have represented an imposing obstacle. According to my observations, the city lies 1,520 meters above sea level. (1)

1. Michaelis 1,473 meters; Potanin 1,495 meters; Kreitner-Loczy 1,594; Rockhill, first journey: 1,669 meters (?); second journey: 1,575 meters; Grenard 1,494 meters; Filchner 1,600 meters (?).

It lies in the upper part of a fertile alluvial plain which is many kilometers long and wide, through most of which the Hwang Ho flows as a broad stream. Red clay mountains covered over with loess rise up south and west of the city quite close to the surrounding walls, and were fortified during the Mohammedan wars of the 19th century. The photograph of the city which in Plate XLIII shows its location was taken from the northernmost point of these mountains and the outermost one in relation to the river.

Plate XXXVI.

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The [illegible] of Hsining with his bro[illegible]

712

On the city wall of Ho tschou. (C[illegible]
the towers of two mosq[illegible]

/facing 161/

...r and son.

...Outside the wall may be seen
...ues.)

from the tu se fields into their barns. I shall come back to the subject of the Tu jen later when my journey takes me through their country. In and around the city of Hsining there are only a few Tu jen living today. 624 651

The city of Hsining fu is now almost entirely Chinese. Even in the erstwhile very important eastern suburb, the Tung kwan which was destroyed by the Chinese in 1895, Mohammedans are no longer permitted to live with their families; they may only conduct their businesses there. Since 1896 specific sections and valleys in the mountains have been assigned to Mohammedan families. The only thing that is waived today is the decree that was for years carried out very strictly, namely, that Mohammedans wishing to visit the inner part of the city were obliged to have a stamp put on their cheeks as they entered the city gate. 563

The inhabitants still vividly recalled the horrible battles with the Mohammedans. Hsining was therefore also a military city. There were five ying (battalions) stationed here and the largest and most beautiful yamen was that of the general (tschen tai) who had a rather large arsenal. In it incense was lit on the first and fifteenth of every month to the deliverer of the city, an old ko lu pu pau (a Krupp cannon), and officers and soldiers fell to the ground in a kowtow before the rusty cannon. This weapon was the soul of the defense in the year 1895. Human blood was officially smeared around the mouth of the cannon in order to make it voracious and thirst after Mohammedan blood. The natives said: "It has a soul just like a human being," and they undoubtedly had a much more definite image than our native recruits do when we teach them to speak of the "soul" of the axis of a gun or cannon. 701 [782]

The tsch'eng schu ying, the military governor of the city who is also the keeper of the keys to the city gates and commander of the so-called middle battalion, (1) as well as the hsien, the prefect, 701 712

1. The Chinese provincial army consisted only of the green banners, the lü ying. In peace time one seldom heard of the larger associations, the tschen piao (brigades), the hsie (regiments), because the Chinese provincial army (I am not speaking of the troops on the coast) was used as a police troop and was garrisoned in various places. The primary important military unit is the ying camp or battalion that is under the command of a major (yu tschi) or a captain (du se or schu be).

701 712 In Haining fu there was a "middle," "left," "right," "front," and "rear" ying, each of which was under a du se, or more often under schu be. They were very poorly armed. The troops almost never drilled. Each month the soldiers were given a goodly ration of wheat and four marks pay. By far the majority of them were married.

[714] Outside the city there was a fortified encampment of so-called bu tui (allegedly modern drilled infantrymen) which was under the direct command of the general, and these men had better uniforms and were armed with muzzle-loaders. As long as I was in Hsining fu the officers did not hand out modern guns from the arsenals, partly for reasons of economy, partly for safety's sake, for often the soldiers deserted taking their guns with them and then selling them to the secret societies or to the Mohammedans.

the dao tai and also the highest official in the city, the ts'ing tsch'ai da tsch'en, that is the imperial minister in residence /172/ or, in short, the amban to whom North Tibet is subject (1), - all of these

1. The official title of this official is: tsung li tsch'ing hai sche wu da tsch'en, that is, minister and military attaché of the entire Koko Nor district. He was always a Mänchu and had a position equal in rank with that of the viceroy of Lanchow. He is always given the title of amban or Seling amban, i.e., Hsining minister, by the Tibetans and Mongols. The office was created in 1723 for the Mongolian banners. The Tibetans call Hsining "Seling" or "Siling mkar."

have a separate arsenal in connection with their yamen, so that in the siege of 1895 each of them could arm his own men and send them up on the city walls. Besides that, there are a considerable 361 [344] number of other official buildings in the city. A great deal of room is taken up by large guild houses, especially those of the Shensi merchants, and by the ordinary state temples and the schools. Since large areas within the city are not built up and consist of fields which are so extensive that several times I was able to shoot wild pheasants on them for my dinner, it will be understandable that most travelers have overrated the population of the city. Even though the Chinese live close together, they nevertheless always

The crumbled loam walls and the old roofless yamen and temple buildings lay bleak and desolate when we passed through. We were still merely crawling along at a snail's pace. In the interior of the city, in a corner of an old ruin, we brewed our tea once more before we traveled on into the night. In spite of our weariness, none of us wanted to spend the night here. The cold which set in anew after sundown was too intense. We preferred to fumble along across the barren steppes. Even though we were now going along a well-traveled caravan road, we had difficulty in finding our way in the dark to Schara khoto. We did not reach it until morning. We had covered 140 kilometers on our flight. All of us had sore feet from the solidly frozen riding boots, and the three rescued ponies were also near exhaustion because they were too heavily loaded. 361 631

Schara khoto (1) is today the farthest Chinese military outpost 701 712

1. A Mongolian name meaning "yellow city." The Chinese call the town Scha la ku to and say that this means "city of the green meadow." [103]

from Kansu. The Chinese government had stationed here a schu be (first lieutenant), a lieutenant and a few sergeants with 30-40 men (belonging to the green banner). They were armed with swords and matchlocks and a few old German drums and French horns. Thus, the detachment does not play a very important role. The soldiers even have difficulty defending themselves against the attacks of marauding Tibetans. There is an old wall but it is so large that it would take at least a regiment to defend it. There is also a large old parade ground. Between this and the city which is empty today there live about thirty Chinese families who cultivate a few small acres in the vicinity, raising barley and wild oats. Nothing else grows here. It is an unspeakably miserable spot. 241

One of the Chinese immediately received us very hospitably in his mud hut, and turned over his large warm kang to us. Without wasting any words he immediately prepared a few opium pipes for us, for the Chinese say this is the best restorative if one is over-tired. I was the only one who did not smoke and I did not wake up until the next night, whereas my companions, all of whom had smoked, walked about vigorously early in the day. 574 276

Two days later I traveled back to Dankar. On this stretch I was accompanied by fifteen armed men and half way to the city I was 000

T 122 pass through everywhere. By means of it even the road to Lhasa was open to me. But from the very first moment I was worried for fear my treasure, the passport, might be taken away from me, could be revoked or might even be a forgery.

I now urged our rapid departure and I set out as soon as I had received the notice that the military escort which the amban had promised at the time of the Chinese New Year would be sent after me to the border.

T 121 My task was now to finish the exploration of the Hwang Ho within the boundaries of Tibet and then to push on ever farther through unexplored territory, through the wide white spots on our maps of Tibet, to the southeast until I should be stopped by the Lhasa government or until I had reached the Valley of the Brahmaputra.

C 487 With this end in view I left Hsining fu and followed the most southerly of the three valleys which converge near the west gate of the city, upward, spending the first night in Schang bsin tschuan (meaning, roughly, "upper new town"), a small loess town with a bu tse or fort made of loam and a /261/ small garrison. Half the populace consist of Chinese, the other half are Tu fan, that is, Tibetan farmers, and it lies only a few kilometers south of the Gum bum monastery with which my readers became acquainted in Chapter Six. The loess ends here and this is also the end of the Chinese wagon road. From here one can travel on only with beasts of burden.

C 712 Just beyond this place, at sunrise the next morning, we passed by a low wall and small guard house containing a few ragged soldiers, and herewith we crossed the boundary of the land containing the most industrious farmers of our planet: the Middle Kingdom, and entered the kingdom of steppes and mountains. This is where Tibet begins.

C 487 Even directly beyond the little wall the land seemed uncultivated, wild and unclaimed. Soon we climbed steeply up a narrow rock ravine and often labored over slippery masses of ice which filled the entire valley floor like a glacier. Often men had to be sent ahead to cut steps into the ice for the animals and spread earth and sand. In spite of this, many of the animals fell, slid helplessly down the ice slopes on their knees, broke their saddles on the rocky crags and corners on either side of the valley, or had to be laboriously unloaded and re-loaded. Here, already, one of the yak bullocks fell with a wrenched shoulder and had to be

slaughtered. The little brook which runs through this valley ravine had, in the long winter months, prepared this obstacle for us. It had refused to let itself be bound by the winter's cold, but had, a violent fellow, again and again broken through the ice formations, flooded them, thickened them and piled them up until the result of its labors resembled a glacier. C 487

And yet by noon already my caravan climbed up the steep and narrow pass of the La tsche Mountains, the Lao ye Shan as the Chinese call it, at an altitude of over 3,800 meters.

The mountain range which I herewith crossed is part of the long chain emerging at Koko Nor from the mountain masses which have been leveled off into a sort of high plateau and coming to an end in the Lan chow fu region among the pliocene clays and the loess of North China. Altogether I crossed this range at six different places. Like several other ranges which emerge from the northern part of the East Tibetan highland, it gradually decreases in height toward the east. Like all the other mountain ranges north of the 32° north latitude, it contradicts Richthofen's theory of a sharp drop in the Tibetan plateau, a Landstaffel, on the Chinese side. Below Hsün hoa ting Shan the chain of the Lao ye is broken through by the Hwang Ho. Farther up it forms the watershed between the Hsining River and the Hwang Ho. C 133 487

The path across this pass was poor. The animals gasped pitifully under their burdens and we made very little headway. Every few minutes the beasts would stop, panting for breath. Our progress was fitful.

For the first few days of our journey I had rented an additional three dozen mules or so; thus my eye fell upon an imposing file climbing up the steep slope. The caravan moved up toward the pass like a giant worm, winding its way laboriously, desperately twisting to the right and left, /262/ contracting and expanding, but nevertheless making headway and steadfastly striving toward its goal. Amid much shouting and the never-ending "aoaoao" of the Chinese drivers, we finally passed through a tight notch of a narrow ridge and arrived at the top, and from there we climbed down again on the south slope which was much steeper than the northern one, into a narrow rocky valley.

We passed near a Chinese wall (Ts'ien bu tsch'eng) in which a lieutenant with a small squad of men guards a frontier outpost. Soon after, we again saw a few fields, passed Tibetan farm houses, and saw Garang, the seat of a Tibetan prince of Ts'ien bu (rank). Long C [712] T 361 792

belong to it on the right Hwang Ho bank as far as 180 kilometers (aerial distance) or eight to ten travel-days south of the city of Ting. In the east it borders the sphere of influence of the hsün hoang ting and farther south that of the tao tschou. The greatest Tibetan prince is the ts'ien hu of Lutsang, Lubungko, who gets an annual salary if he is not guilty of any major crime. After the last war in which at the end he played the part of mediator, he was awarded the red button and was given about 900 bushels of grain annually. After the Lutsang chief, the Dantschie ts'ien hu with the two tribes of Wanschgoro and Tschoch'ru (altogether 1,000 families) is the most powerful ruler. Other nomad tribes are: west of Kue de the Ts'aner, Tschebts'a and Rengan; south and southeast between the city and Lutsang: the Wulang, Ats'o, Dschesa, Nerta, Kamba, Bara, Baa-Mongra (800 families) and Gonts'a. Many nomad tribes pay an annual tax in lamb skins instead of the horse tax which was instituted in the Ming period. Each nomad family is supposed to pay a tschü lin (lamb) skin worth 0.5-0.6 tael. In this way 9,000-10,000 skins are received annually. But the ting taxes the farmers around Kue de after each harvest for the amount of the seed that was sown in the fields in spring. The ting, in turn, is required to give gifts to the 24 monasteries in his district. C 563 631 T 101

An earth wall ten meters high, with a rectangular ground plan, with very few gates through which a horseman can just about squeeze himself on horseback (that is to say, if he stoops down), gives us here an exact picture of the old Roman frontier camps on the former Limes germanicus. The wall encloses the official buildings and the chief shrines of the Chinese patron saints, besides a few dozen miserable Chinese shacks in which the soldiers and the officials with their families live. On the town wall I saw large piles of stones the size of a fist, which had been gathered together to be used for defense. The actual life and bustle of the city, buying and selling, is carried on in front of the south gate. There are a number of streets there along which Tibetans, Mongols, Mohammedans, as well as Chinese merchants have their shops and dwellings. This section is extremely picturesque. Countless lamas in their attractive costumes idly fingering their beads, lounge about there during the day around the open bazaars, the upper part of their gowns slun C 361 631 [712]

disappear without a trace if we had walked into the trap. 000

At eleven that evening we were in the inn at Kue de. The newly /278/ bought yaks had suffered considerably. They were all overtaxed and two of them were lame.

Thus the proposed journey from Kue de south through the territory of the Ts'aner and that of the Lutsang-Tibetans and on to the Aru Rardscha monastery and thence across the Hwang Ho, was not advisable. My yak purchase, so frought with adventure, had convinced me that I could only have fought my way through in bloody combat. As a single European and with my few native companions I would have endangered the newly-equipped caravan. The advantages did not seem worth the price. Besides, it was extremely doubtful whether the Tibetans would even permit me on the Aru Rardschan gomba ferry across the great river.

Thus I had no choice but to ride back the old way. On the next day I crossed over to the left bank of the Hwang Ho and at the southern foot of the Lao ye Shan at the Chinese military station of Ts'ien hu tsch'eng I gathered together my entire caravan. Meanwhile the large yak herd had been able to graze there undisturbed. During this time the animals had stored up a great deal of surplus energy.

As I mentioned earlier, the Chinese have guarded the Tibetan part of the road from Hsining fu to the oasis city of Kue de by means of two military posts, Ts'ien hu tsch'eng and I ts'a sche. West and northwest of the former post there spreads out an uninhabited mountain region with peaks of 4,000-4,500 meters. Only on the south side of these mountains, that is, west of the station of I ts'a sche which I first visited there are pastures which are visited by nomads for certain periods. B. from Ts'ien hu tsch'eng northwest into the mountains there extends a longitudinal fissure with old moraine remnants and along this leads a "caravan road" which, however, is seldom used because the region is regarded as unsafe and thus for long stretches there is not a trace of this "road." Nevertheless, it conveniently connects with Schara khoto, that important military station which had served me as a refuge after my defeat at Koko Nor the preceding January. In 1904 Lieutenant Filchner and I had also set out from there, and Prschewalski, Rockhill, Kozlov had already passed through there. After all that had happened, I finally had to make up my mind to go through the very same gate. The only consolation I had was that the road I used this time to reach the town, had not been traveled by any European before me. [712] 487

It took us three days to get through the mountains between Ts'ien 000

133 part of this mighty chain which I was now crossing with my caravan had been indicated on our maps as the Siansibei chain since the time of General Prschewalski's journeys. Up to now it was not clear whether this chain discovered by Prschewalski had any connection with the Semenov Mountains. Now as a matter of fact, in the eyes of the natives, Siansibei is only a pass which I myself crossed on the following day and which I discovered to be 3,800 meters high. The mountain range around the pass does not have any particular name for the natives, they give names to peaks and passes only. Thus, it is possible in Tibet to proceed after the fashion of recent Russian explorers and introduce foreign, if possible proper names for the individual ranges. These foreign names have the advantage of showing immediately that they are not local designations, but that they have been introduced by individual travelers in their explorations and in their effort to untangle the knotty problem of Tibetan Mountains. If, as our knowledge grows, we realize that the demarcation of individual mountains has been wrong, we have found that European designations of mountain ranges are easier to change than ostensibly local names.

487 485 712 Up on the top of the Siansibei Pass we came upon the large caravan road that leads from Bayan Nor and Kabatalen across the tala to the south and along which - as I now noticed for the first time - there stand loam fortresses every 25 - 30 kilometers, as a protection for travelers against nocturnal attacks. We continued to follow this road and set up Camp 17 within such a loam fortress. The loam walls had been erected probably half a century before by Chinese soldiers. Now they stood empty and partly in ruins but within them we felt infinitely relaxed and safe. I slept like a god between the three walls that still stood upright, in spite of snow and hail which were accompanied by an icy westwind.

133 316 The descent south from the Siansibei Pass is extremely gentle. Already at an altitude of 3,600 meters one leaves the Semenov Mountain range and thereupon has a wide view across a new steppe which slopes toward the southeast, and once more looks down on a longitudinal valley covered with rubble. A few brooks have cut a bed 200 meters deep into this rubble, and far in the southeast a long, dark crevice with vertical walls stood out sharply against the pale yellow gleam of the steppe. "In that flows the Hwang Ho," my H'an said immediately. He had formerly often come through this region in search of gold and had even, on his way home, gone down the Hwang Ho on a raft. The river flows so deep down that one can see its waters only when one steps close to the edge of the fissure.

Formerly as many as 2,000 gold washers traveled to the Gorgi C 316
Ravines summer after summer and into the mountains which bordered
the southern part of the steppe that lay before us. Most of these gold
washers were, like my H'an, people from the so-called "Small So-
ciety" (Hsian /308/ kiao), that is, Mohammedans. Meanwhile
thousands of them have perished, losing their lives in the Mohammedan
rebellion. But at that time, when the gold-washing regions were C [712]
visited in the greatest numbers - around the 1870s - the government
kept ten soldiers in each of the loam fortresses on the road, for their
protection, and from each gold washer the mandarins collected two
mace per season for licenses. Hundreds of small employers instigated
these expeditions and came here with people from their village and
their neighborhood. The region is considered one of the richest in
gold in the entire Hsining district. But one day - it must have been T [721]
in the year 1889 - Ngolok-Tibetans came riding up in great numbers
from the south, fell upon the unarmed gold washers, took their food
supplies which they had laboriously dragged up from their home in the
Hsining Valley, and thus forced them to beat a hasty retreat along
with the Chinese soldiers. Since that time the soldiers have never
again taken up their posts here and only small bands of particularly
audacious gold seekers dare to work the Gorgi Ravines, and for this
they pay high taxes to the Tibetan tribes living in the vicinity.

At the time of my visit the local landowners, two tribes who have T 619
their pastures on the southern edge of the steppe and at the mouth of 625
the Gorgi ravines - in the northern part of the steppe there are few good 72
pastures - were bitter enemies. Disputes over a matter of inheritance
had resulted in wars that had been going on for years and cost a great
deal of blood-shed. A young Tibetan who had been adopted by a child-
less couple, had lost his step-father in a smallpox epidemic when he
was still a boy. His step-mother took another man into her tent soon
after the death of her husband, and when the step-mother died this
man refused to give up the property. Meanwhile the young man had
reached the age of 20, and when he had in vain brought suit before
the chieftain, he resorted to self-defense, attacked the man's tent
with the help of some of his contemporaries and some blood relations,
drove away the man's herds and took possession of the tent and its
contents. Since that time the tribe has been divided into two factions.
The two hostile territories are separated by the Da ho ba (Chinese) or
the Hongan Chu (Tibetan), a torrential mountain brook which flows T
through the steppe in a deep channel. Most of the battles took place 721
in its narrow ravine. On the steep slope along the road we saw the

713

713 ORDNANCE--specialized military weapons; description of complex weapons (e.g., small arms, artillery, poison gas, flamethrowers, torpedoes, mines, bombs, rockets); description of accessory equipment (e.g., cavalry gear, gun mounts and carriages, armor, range finders, ammunition); ordnance stocks; etc. See also:

Atomic energy . . . . 378 Riding gear 482
Unspecialized weapons . . . . 411 Ordnance manufacture 719

T 122 I did not wish to be at the mercy of arbitrary Chinese governmental
bodies, and from the beginning I counted on having to carry out my
plans by means of my own efforts. For I had been told all too plainly,
that anyone traveling in Tibet is completely unprotected and free as
a bird. So I could not shrink from any expense for firearms and when
we set out, my arsenal consisted of three Henry Martini guns, a Win-
chester carbine, a German military gun, model 1871, a German
military gun with a magazine dating from 1884, and a modern Ger-
man military rifle from the year 1889, a Japanese infantry gun, two
Mauser- and one Bergmann-pistols, a heavy German three-barrelled
gun, an old English musket, a Tibetan /287/ fork gun and two re-
volvers. Besides that, we also had two long lances and half a dozen
swords. Each gun had several hundred cartridges.

It was, of course, a serious matter to have so many different
types of guns and ammunition, but it never caused any unpleasant
results because my men were used to it. The provincial troops of
Kansu also have the most different types of weapons. The only seri-
ous matter was the loading difficulty of the old Henry-Martini guns.
The guns were perfectly adequate for our purpose but the accompany-
ing cartridges were made before the time when the cases were stamped
out of one piece of metal, and were rolled into shape out of a thin
metal strip. The bullets were extremely soft and so full of dents after
a few days that they would no longer fit into the barrel. More than
once one of us aimed at a bear or a wild yak and after the first shot
had to bend the cartridge case which had become dented in the heat
of the chase, in shape with his teeth in order to be able to push it
into the barrel. The most exciting thing I saw in Tibet was to watch
a hunter in such a predicament!

C 713 My Japanese military gun was a very good weapon, although it
703 had gone through a lot before it fell into my hands. I bought it in
the Gum bum monastery from a Mongol who said he had "found" it
on a battlefield in Manchuria. My German military guns I had also
bought in the interior. They, too, had surely had an eventful life
history. Besides their German factory and regimental stamps they
also bore Chinese symbols and I have a strong suspicion that they
were sold by deserters. At the end of the 1890s large lots of discarded
military guns, especially from South Germany, were sold by brokers
to the Chinese provinces whose troops were armed according to the
preferences of whoever happened to be governor. There were thou-
sands of old Mauser guns stored in the arsenals of Lanchow and Hsining.

From these stores there were always some that got into the trade each 713
year. For, although every Chinese soldier who deserted and sold his 703
gun was beheaded, this capital offense is so widespread, especially on
the borders, that the mandarins did not dare place these repeater guns
into the hands of their troops except in special cases, and preferred to
equip their regiments with old muzzle-loaders. According to their
superiors, there are very few soldiers who can withstand the temptation
of running away and taking their guns along when the first favorable
opportunity presents itself. They could always easily get 80-100 taels
for their guns, in other words, a fortune with which they could rent a
small field in some remote corner and realize their ideal, namely,
raise a family. This was also the reason why in the exposed garrison of
Schara khoto there was not a single repeater gun to be seen.

But let us return after this digression to my departure from the 000
Schara khoto Valley, from the yellow city, the city of the green mead-
ow.

An easy climb brought me and my yak herds up the afore-mentioned 133
saddle of the mountain, to the water shed between the Hwang Ho, or
the /238/ sea, and the Asiatic plateau which is without an outlet. The
altitude measured 3,420 meters. It is only 6 kilometers from Schara
khoto to this pass which is not more than 300 meters higher.

Suddenly I could see far into the distance. China with its loess 000
dust, its oppressively narrow valleys, its torrential brooks and streams
lay behind me, had been overcome. I am at the top! A blissful
feeling spreads through my whole body and with a joyful heart I see the
caravan slowly cross the pass, group by group. I feel that I have
reached the climax of my life. With this band I would surely succeed
in getting an insight into Tibet's most hidden secrets. I could not con-
trol my emotions. I was forced to let my shouts of joy ring out into
the magnificent sunny morning, so that my Tibetans looked at me in
amazement and believed I was trying to invoke the god of the pass.

I stood on the roof of the world, which extended from the snows of 133
Pamir up to my flat watershed. The first yung - as the Tibetans say -
lay before me, a huge wide and flat valley basin, high above the
timber line, without bush or tree, with only a few rounded dunes in
the middle. In a yung valley the water course is not the essential
thing. These are valleys which originated in other ages, which have
been produced by other forces than those in action today. Nor was it
possible to say whether this yung below me sloped toward [illegible]
to Lake Koko Nor or to the southeast. I was standing [illegible] of

[text continues on p. 489]

714

714 UNIFORM AND ACCOUTERMENT--military garb (e.g., hair style, body armor, body painting, amulets and charms, uniform); description of personal equipment (e.g., canteen, haversack, helmet, gas mask, first-aid kit, shields); distinctions (e.g., according to rank, between different corps and services, between parade and field uniforms and equipment); etc. See also:

Clothing and accessories . . . . 29 Military medals and badges 703
Adornment 30

the south, runs for two hours' march across the flat-topped hills, descending finally by precipitous zigzags to reach the city of Yich'uan lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east to join the Yellow River. The country crossed on this march is again pure loess, very sparsely populated, and with innumerable grass-grown terraces which have gone out of cultivation and render evident the depopulation of the region.

Yich'uan Hsien, lying at the junction of two narrow valleys in the loess, is the capital of a second class district, and was evidently a comparatively large and prosperous city in the past. At the time of our visit it was practically empty, and lying in the heart of that wild and little frequented region which contains the chief haunts of the brigand bands of Northern Shensi, it is at the present time uninhabitable by any but the poorest classes. Northern Shensi, depopulated by the Mahomedan rebellion fifty years ago, and now probably undergoing a process of desiccation, is losing its few remaining inhabitants of the better class through the devastations of the brigands, many having moved across the Yellow River into Shansi, where conditions are much better. Recently a large band of brigands, perhaps finding that Northern Shensi was getting rather bare, also moved across the river; but prompt military measures were taken by the Shansi authorities and they were soon driven back to their original haunts with great loss. The question naturally arises, why should these brigands be left apparently unmolested by the authorities of their own province?

The answer is provided by the history of events in Shensi during the years since the revolution of 1911, which is outlined in another chapter. The brigands of Northern Shensi are mostly ex-soldiers and Ko Lao Hui men, and are composed of the same material as the provincial troops, with whom they exchange rôles from time to time. It is therefore not possible to use the latter against them. Further, they constitute in a way the reserves of the provincial army, which are thus maintained without cost to the provincial Government. The Shensi soldier usually owns his own Mauser and as much ammunition as he can carry wound round and round his body in a cloth bandolier, acquired in the course of some previous rebellion or brigand raid,

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In Haining fu there was a "middle," "left," "right," "front," and "rear" ying, each of which was under a du se, or more often under schu be. They were very poorly armed. The troops almost never drilled. Each month the soldiers were given a goodly ration of wheat and four marks pay. By far the majority of them were married.

Outside the city there was a fortified encampment of so-called bu tui (allegedly modern drilled infantrymen) which was under the direct command of the general, and these men had better uniforms and were armed with muzzle-loaders. As long as I was in Hsining fu the officers did not hand out modern guns from the arsenals, partly for reasons of economy, partly for safety's sake, for often the soldiers deserted taking their guns with them and then selling them to the secret societies or to the Mohammedans.

the dao tai and also the highest official in the city, the ts'ing tsch'ai da tsch'en, that is the imperial minister in residence /172/ or, in short, the amban to whom North Tibet is subject (1), - all of these

1. The official title of this official is: tsung li tsch'ing hai sche wu dá tsch'en, that is, minister and military attaché of the entire Koko Nor district. He was always a Manchu and had a position equal in rank with that of the viceroy of Lanchow. He is always given the title of amban or Seling amban, i. e., Hsining minister, by the Tibetans and Mongols. The office was created in 1723 for the Mongolian banners. The Tibetans call Hsining "Seling" or "Siling mkar."

have a separate arsenal in connection with their yamen, so that in the siege of 1895 each of them could arm his own men and send them up on the city walls. Besides that, there are a considerable number of other official buildings in the city. A great deal of room is taken up by large guild houses, especially those of the Shensi merchants, and by the ordinary state temples and the schools. Since large areas within the city are not built up and consist of fields which are so extensive that several times I was able to shoot wild pheasants on them for my dinner, it will be understandable that most travelers have overrated the population of the city. Even though the Chinese live close together, they nevertheless always

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718

718 SPECIAL MILITARY EQUIPMENT--description of communications devices specialized for military use (e.g., field telephones, portable radio equipment, semaphore and blinker systems); special navigation and detection devices and equipment (e.g., radar, loran, special electronic gear); etc. See also:

Description of nonmilitary signalling, telephone, telegraph, radio, and radar equipment . . 20
Photography 215
Manufacture of electrical equipment 393
Army signal corps 708

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victorious army all the way from Shensi to Turkestan, their method of dealing with the rebellion being to massacre the inhabitants and reduce to heaps of ruins every Mahomedan habitation they came across. As the male Mahomedans were mostly scouring the country in marauding bands, they met with little difficulty in doing so. Chinese rebellions have in the past of course always been suppressed in this manner, and indeed could probably not have been suppressed otherwise. Fifteen li from Huining the valley contracts into a gorge, and the road runs down the bed of the stream, a brackish trickle of water, for the rest of the way. Huining is a poor city lying in a region of arid valleys. Complaining of the hardships of life at his post, the magistrate informed us that in many parts of his district ordinary fuel was unobtainable, and the inhabitants were reduced to burning dried dung as in the deserts of Tibet and Mongolia. This arid region stretches away apparently to the north till it merges into the Ordos desert, a land of sand and camels. In addition to being such a miserably poor district, his post had the disadvantage of lying on this great road, and when an important personage, such as a Mongol prince or high Chinese functionary, passed by on his way to or from Turkestan, his passage would leave the unfortunate magistrate many hundreds of taels out of pocket, which he could ill afford. We were a very small party when travelling in Kansu and I hope we did not cost him anything; but I know that when we commenced our journeys in Shensi with a huge party we were a heavy burden on the people and officials of the districts through which we passed.

The next stage is a short one of 60 li to the walled posting stage of Hsikung Yi. The road runs down the Huining valley for 20 li, and then ascends a side ravine to the south-west for the rest of the way. The hamlets passed seemed more miserable and the country more desiccated than ever. All along this road, as on most of the bigger roads of Kansu, may be noticed groups of curious little towers every five to ten li. It was a long time before we could get a satisfactory explanation of what these towers were intended for; so far as I know they are only to be seen on the roads of Kansu. We now learned that they were beacon towers, another relic of the rebellion and its suppression, by means of which

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signals could be sent great distances in a very shor
of time.

From Hsikung Yi to Anting, another short stage
the road follows up the ravine for ten li, and then c
long steep hill by zigzags. On reaching the summit
no immediate descent the other side, but the path
along a high ridge with extensive views over th
mountains all around, finally dropping steeply to An
a valley running north-west. Anting Hsien (now kn
Tinghsi) is an important district city lying at the j
of three valleys, and, commanding several roads
south, east and west, was formerly an important
centre. There is more water available here, and conse
the country is much more fertile and the people qu
off. Loess country in this rainless region is either
or a garden according to the amount of water avail
irrigation, and from here on to Lanchou, though t
become more and more sterile, the irrigated vall
wonderfully green and fertile.

From Anting to Lanchou is a march of four shor
of about 60 li each. The road runs down the vall
several prosperous hamlets for 45 li to the village of T
whence it strikes west up a side valley to the posting
of Ch'enk'ou Yi, the end of the stage. From here it
a gully for a few li and then climbs a steep loess hill
the summit of a ridge along which it winds for
four hours' march, with finally a steep descent to th
market village of Kantsao Tien, lying amongst
irrigated fields at the junction of three valleys.
south-west rises a high range of mountains, beyond
lie Titao and the T'ao River. From here on to Lanc
irrigated valleys, bounded by desert hills, are highly
tive, and the crops several weeks ahead of those in the
region we had traversed since crossing the Liupan

From Kantsao Tien a good road runs down the cu
valley for 70 li to Chinchia Yai, a large village a
station, and the end of the stage. The district city
Hsien lies just off the road, 25 li to the south.
Chinchia Yai the valley soon contracts to a stony rav
after 20 li debouches suddenly on to the gorges of the
River, which here rolls its turgid waters between pre

721

721 INSTIGATION OF WAR--frequency of war (e.g., common, rare, unknown); military preparedness; scale, severity, and duration of wars; small-scale military operations (e.g., raids for slaves or cattle, headhunting, privateering); conception of war (e.g., as glorious, as holy, as wrong but inevitable, as less debilitating than peace); prevalent motives for waging war (e.g., vengeance, self-defense, aggrandizement; prestige); predominance of offensive or defensive warfare; material gains through war (e.g., booty, trophies, slaves, women, mercantile advantages, territory); decision as to war (e.g., deliberations, negotiations); methods of initiating hostilities (e.g., challenges, declarations of war, attacks without warning); etc. See also:

Ethnocentrism 186
Cannibalism 266
Prestige 554
Riots, piracy and banditry 579
Feuds 628
International relations 648
Revolution 669

of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to Mecca.

e. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations mentioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to "strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general terms in Sura ii, v. 186., between the regulations of the fast and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . . Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans, on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

"Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those who have received the Book, until they humbly pay tribute out of hand." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not dead but living in the presence of their Lord their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura iii, vv. 163-4]

Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obligations, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gambling and usury are forbidden along with the making of images or representations and a number of the practices of pagan Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans, and inheritance are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an institution, but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined. Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely condemned, and rules of social behavior are laid down in several passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

PREFACE

The following chapters give some account of a series of journeys through the North-Western Provinces of China, undertaken in connection with the Anglo-Chinese Opium Treaty and other matters requiring investigation on the spot in conjunction with Chinese officials.

Shensi and Kansu are not very well known to foreigners generally owing to their isolation and to the absence of any towns open to foreign trade therein; but they contain many regions well worth visiting, and Kansu especially, with its profusion of game, European climate, and interesting mixed population of Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols, is in many respects one of the most attractive of the eighteen Provinces.

We were greatly indebted to the Chinese officials, both those who accompanied us and those of the districts through which we passed, for their constant courtesy and assistance, which did much to mitigate the hardships of these long journeys through the mountains and deserts of the North West. In all we covered a distance of 14,200 li (about 4000 miles) by road in Shensi and Kansu, the journeys occupying some ten months of almost continuous travel, divided over two summers.

This book was written three years ago, in 1917, when affairs in China were in great disorder after the troubles consequent on the collapse of Yuan Shih-k'ai's imperial dream in 1916. Unfortunately the hopes that China would soon pull herself together again and put her house in order have not yet been realised, and the country continues to drift on down stream, torn by internal strife and preyed upon by countless hordes of brigands and those Frankenstein monsters, the Armies of the North and South, created by the militarists for their own profit and advancement.

Conditions in Shensi have become worse rather than better during the past two years. The neighbouring Province of Szechuan, usually the chief bone of contention between North and South, after changing hands again and again,

settled down towards the end of 1917 in possession of the Southerners. Shensi then became the principal scene of conflict between the Northern and Southern Armies, and during 1918 and 1919 the Province suffered terribly at the hands of the rival forces, in most cases indistinguishable from the brigand hordes. Towns and villages were again pillaged and burnt, and the countryside laid waste. The Military Governor, who *more sinico* started his career as a Southern revolutionary, but subsequently gravitated towards the reactionary North and became one of the staunchest of the Northern militarists, has survived many vicissitudes and is still in the saddle; but the next two most prominent officials in the Province at the time of our visits, both progressive and enlightened men, have since met with a violent end at the hands of one side or the other.

Kansu has remained peaceful. General Ma An-liang died in the summer of 1918, and is said to have been succeeded, as Head of the Moslems of the North West, by General Ma Fu-hsiang.

The remarks about the successful suppression of opium cultivation, which reached its high-water mark in 1916 and 1917, contained in Chapter XI unfortunately no longer hold good. At the time of writing the poppy is again being extensively cultivated in the distant provinces of the interior, notably in Shensi and Szechuan, under the open encouragement of the local officials, who derive their principal revenues from the taxation of the opium produced. In the spring of 1919 the writer travelled for days through districts in Western Szechuan, where the cultivation of opium had previously been completely eradicated, without ever being out of sight of the countless fields of red and white poppy in full bloom; the price of opium was everywhere rapidly falling, and the populations of the out of the way cities were again sodden with the drug. This flagrant violation of the country's treaty engagements is not the fault of the Central Government, who continue to do their best to carry out suppression of production and consumption. But the various semi-independent military chiefs in the distant interior care nothing for the orders of the Peking administration or for China's treaty obligations, and aim only at their own enrichment.

frontier territory" and embrace all of Chinese Turkistan and Dsungari (Ili). Since this time there has been only one governor in Hsingan fu, the ancient capital of the kingdom, a fu t'ai or a hsün fu for Shensi.

Thus Lanchow fu has become administratively a very important, if not the most important, city of Central Asia. It belongs to the few places which were left to the emperor in the great Mohammedan struggles of 1862-1873, when an independent Islamic-Turkish kingdom arose under the Sart Yakub Beg and when in Kansu, Hochow which lies a two-days' journey west of Lanchow fu, as well as Kin tse pu, the oasis of Tung fu hsiang mentioned in the last chapter, became centers of a large Islamic-Chinese insurrection. The fact that the Mohammedan leaders of the insurrection did not succeed in occupying this junction made it easier for Generalissimo Tso t'ung tang to recapture the provinces which had for years been lost to China.

The Mohammedans succeeded only once during the struggles lasting hundreds of years in breaking through the city gates, but even then (1781, according to the chronicle of Lanchow fu) the Hui hui of Hochow and the Salars could not hold it for long. In all their battles the Mohammedans of China always lacked far-sighted leaders, and their politics always foundered because of their purposelessness and the petty egoism and greed of individuals.

The city of Lanchow fu is surrounded by what according to Chinese ideas is an only moderately strong wall which, however, to the bands of the Mohammedan mullahs, armed with short pikes and swords, may have represented an imposing obstacle. According to my observations, the city lies 1,520 meters above sea level. (1)

1. Michaelis 1,473 meters; Potanin 1,495 meters; Kreitner-Loczy 1,594; Rockhill, first journey: 1,669 meters (?); second journey: 1,575 meters; Grenard 1,494 meters; Filchner 1,600 meters (?).

It lies in the upper part of a fertile alluvial plain which is many kilometers long and wide, through most of which the Hwang Ho flows as a broad stream. Red clay mountains covered over with loess rise up south and west of the city quite close to the surrounding walls, and were fortified during the Mohammedan wars of the 19th century. The photograph of the city which in Plate XLIII shows its location was taken from the northernmost point of these mountains and the outermost one in relation to the river.

tiles of the roof beams and between the tiles the sun came in. Fortunately the weather was fair when I visited the house.

I was ushered into the same room in which during the previous year the "war of Kue de" had begun. I sat on the same wide bench, on the same cushion covered with shabby red cotton material on which His Buddhistic Holiness, the much-feared Tibetan lama, the incarnation of the black monastery had sat the year before and exchanged honeyed, false words with the then ting of Kue de. He had come at the request of the Chinaman in order to bid farewell as a friend before setting out on a long journey, and had just received a large yüan bau, a piece of silver weighing about two kilograms, from the hands of the ting for whom he was supposed to buy incense and Indian dates in Lhasa. His retinue, about 300 armed men, awaited him on the plain outside the city. The two talked for hours. The Chinaman even wanted the Tibetan to dine with him. But the errand, the honeyed words, the invitation, all that had been merely a snare and a delusion.

The holy lama was known to be the head of a robber tribe which made life miserable for the poor city dwellers. His men had their tribal headquarters below Kue de, to the right of the Hwang Ho, behind high, steep mountains, in ravines which were accessible only by means of /266/ narrow paths and only in single file. From here they kept the whole countryside in a state of terror. No one could travel peaceably across the country. The largest caravans were plundered. The inhabitants of the city were on the point of deserting it. The city's commerce, its entire significance were destroyed. Right in front of its gates the bullocks and donkeys of the Chinese were snatched away from the ploughs. Anyone who pretended to offer resistance was shot down. Finally in 1905 a young, newly-arrived ting had the courage to defend the interests of his subjects. After giving a report of the situation to the central government, he was given the power to call the incarnation to task. He invited the great lama to his house. And when the invitation was accepted and the lama's coming announced a few days in advance, one courier after another galloped to Hsining with the request for further authority. The ting asked permission to arrest the lama. He asked for troops. But for days no answer was forthcoming. The amban lacked the courage to take over the responsibility. In fact, he was inclined to side with the Tibetans. The ting sent to Lanchowfu, and from there he telegraphed to Peking for detailed instructions. But on the miserable path to Lanchow fu it takes a rider two days, even if he can change

horses ten times. So the ting could have waited a long time. Meanwhile everything was in readiness. His men had been secretly armed, his gates guarded. Nevertheless things would probably not have come to a show-down if the brother of the lama who was waiting down in the yamen courtyard had not grown suspicious, had he not succeeded in getting into the guest room and calling to his brother that he had been lured into a trap and that he should flee. In a flash, the incarnation grasped the situation. With the large piece of silver which he was still holding in his hands he knocked down the ting and made for the door on his brother's heels. Now, it is customary in China that during a visit the yamen attendants stand at the door. There were ten of these and they blocked the lama's escape and sought to tie him up. He was a giant of a man, splendid, muscular, built like a god - so I was told by all my informants. Armed only with the piece of silver he threw aside those men whom opium and idleness and weakened, and he would surely have escaped if the ting had not carried a small revolver concealed in his garments and, beside himself with humiliation over what had happened to him, he shot at the holy lama. That same evening the incarnation died of his wounds in the courtyard of the yamen.

In the general confusion, the brother had succeeded in fleeing the city and bringing news to the tribe of what was happening in the yamen. They responded like bees that have been robbed of their queen, for their all, their sacred incarnation, their god, had been killed. However, there could be no thought of storming the city. Capturing a Chinese loam fort was still a precarious matter for a tribe of horsemen. Thus, after a few wild demonstrations, they retired to their hills in order to prepare properly for the war, to grind powder and cast bullets. The rifle-makers of this tribe were known far and wide. Some of their master craftsmen had even ventured to make imitations of our modern guns. It was lucky for the Chinese that the tribe had been able to get only very little steel. /267/

At first the war had cost considerable bloodshed. Shortly after the murder of the lama a Chinese division marching from Hsining fu via the Lao ye Shan to Kue de, fell into an ambush and lost thirty men. However, a large battle never took place. In an earlier chapter I have briefly referred to the outcome of the war, that the cannons were brought from Lanchow and that the Tibetans were finally out-argued by the Chinese mediators a few months before my visit, without too much bloodshed.

722

722 WARTIME ADJUSTMENTS--emergency adjustments (e.g., martial law); wartime restrictions; disposition and behavior of noncombatants (e.g., removal to place of security, mobilization for war industries, observance of special taboos); means of maintaining civilian morale; civilian defense activities; economic readjustments to war; etc. See also:

Rationing	434	Public finance	682
Price controls	435	Government regulation	686
Wartime extensions of political authority	642	Conscription	702

114 done in public welfare. The information about the situation in
657 the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available
to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies
in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with
the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that
635 the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social
645 Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including
647 Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare
657 works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry
645 of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers;
657 organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

657 Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with
747 some religious and humanitarian bodies and organised the
National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission
731 was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

657 The activities of the National Relief Commission included
749 care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them
were sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Ching-
[722] hai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service
[727] Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association, one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

747 The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate
797 much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned
621 woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating
184 the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

*563 The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall,
722 were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with
727 which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

*563 The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason,
162 in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a
Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese
woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their
[562] men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

829 Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present
*668 regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border
177 Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and sub-
[157] missiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open discontent. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime.

724

724 LOGISTICS--wartime procurement of military supplies; logistic planning; organization of land, sea, and air transport; expediting of supplies; depots, dumps, and supply trains; etc. See also:

Land transport	49	Military vehicles, naval vessels, and military aircraft	71
Water and air transport	50	Organized commissariat and supply services	705

*175 years, ceased to be the leading metropolis, dropping in rank to
[633] a city of secondary importance. This decline of the Northwest
[178] had been in process since the end of the Han dynasty and had accelerated during the T'ang. The decreasing productivity of the land made it harder and harder to maintain large bodies of troops
*175 to defend the Northwest frontier. Supplies for the defense forces,
724 not to say for campaigns to the Far West had to be brought up by
487 canals from the Southeast, a tenuous system which, once obstructed, would constrain the withdrawal of Chinese troops from far-flung outposts in the Northwest and render abortive any attempt at their recovery.

000 II. The Succession of Steppe Empires

A. The Scythians

Historically, the first empire to break out of the steppes was founded by the Scythians. They are supposed to have been a North-Iranian people, who nomadized in what is today's Turkestan and Western Siberia. The Greek historian, Herodotus, has left a rather intimate description of their manners and folkways. They are mentioned also in Assyrian, Persian and Indian sources (under the name Saka). Of the three groups of Scythians who inhabited respectively the Ferghana-Kashgar area, the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, and western Siberia north and northeast of the Caspian Sea, it was the last that set events in motion. In the second half of the eighth century B.C. this group fell upon the Cymmerians, a Thraco-Phrygean people settled north of the Black Sea. This conquest catalysed a migration of nations, the echo of which was heard even by the prophets of Israel. It was the first known inroad of the steppe nomads into the southern cultural world.

The Scythian Empire continued until the third century B.C. Its southward drive under the leadership of Ishpakai was stopped by the Assyrians in 678 B.C. Ishpakai's successors, Bartatua and Madyes, expanded their empire towards the south and the west. In ca. 628 B.C., however, they were repulsed by the Medes under Kyaxares. The Persians under Cyrus battled against the Scythians in the region east of Khiva in ca. 529 B.C. and 15 years later under Darius in the southern Ukraine. The Scythians finally were decimated by the Sarmathians, another North-Iranian nomadic tribe, who pushed the Scythians into the Crimea towards the end of the third century B.C.

There is abundant archeological evidence of the Scythian Empire. Their particular art style, the so-called animal style, set the pattern for subsequent craftsmen of the steppe. Its influence was felt all over Central Asia well into the confines of early Chinese dynasties.

726

726 WARFARE--wartime mobilization; departure of troops (e.g., public ceremonies, rituals for securing supernatural aid, exhortations to bravery); military expeditions (e.g., marching, scouts, protection of flanks and rear, camping, mounting of guards, foraging, billeting); types of combat (e.g., skirmishes, surprise attacks, assaults, pitched battles, siege operations); joining battle (e.g., choice of time and place, ritual preliminaries and precautions); deploying and coordination of forces; special characteristics of naval and air combat; military conventions and rules of war (e.g., flag of truce); personal encounters (e.g., duels between champions); termination of combat (e.g., after first casualty, after desperate last stand); tactical withdrawals; flight and pursuit; surrender; etc. See also:

Religious practices	78	International law	648
War songs	538	Organization of army or war party	701

*668 1. The secret service

625 The command of the police system on mainland China rests with the national headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party. Nominally it is the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, but the real power is in the hands of the small group which forms the Political Bureau. In turn this bureau is influenced greatly by the Secretariat and the secretary-general. When the secretary-general is strong he may even dominate the bureau. It usually makes the decisions on policy. The secret police service's exec-
*668 utive body is centered around the Social Department of the Central
625 Committee of the Party. This Department has a direct system of
647 organization within the Party. In large areas (such as the former northwest region) or in special areas (such as Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), there is a Social Department subordinate to the Party's "Central Committee Sub-bureau." From this level down, like the Party local organization, there is a social department or social secretary at each level to take charge of the secret service in the corresponding area.

*668 2. Other police systems

625 Built around this Party secret service system, are numerous other separate, but not entirely independent, systems of police forces. The most important is the regular police. Organization-
[645] ally, this is a branch of the People's government. Its central headquarters is the Ministry of Public Security under the Govern-
[647] ment Administration Council. From this level down there is a branch office of the department at every level of the People's government. This branch commands the regular police forces.

The United Front Department system which extends to the provincial and municipal levels, is designed for two purposes. Negatively, it infiltrates into the organizations of the people and watches their functions. Positively, it dominates and utilizes the people's organizations to promote the Party program.

The system of People's control is similar. Here, people are used as spies for the Party. The People's Procurator system is slightly different. It is a prosecuting government organ. Since prosecution needs the investigation of facts, inevitably this sytem is involved in the police system.

[645] The spy system under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also has a dual purpose. Positively, this system infiltrates into for-
[648] eign territories to conspire for future conquests. Negatively, it is used to detect and prevent possible agitations which may disturb public order in mainland China.

*668 The police and spy system among the military forces can be
625 divided into two parts. The system of political defense is used to weed out potential political enemies inside the army, while the
708 scout and spy system is mainly used to detect military enemies.
726 Both of these systems have branches in the field army and the army areas.

721 horses ten times. So the ting could have waited a long time. Meanwhile everything was in readiness. His men had been secretly armed, his gates guarded. Nevertheless things would probably not have come to a show-down if the brother of the lama who was waiting down in the yamen courtyard had not grown suspicious, had he not succeeded in getting into the guest room and calling to his brother that he had been lured into a trap and that he should flee. In a flash, the incarnation grasped the situation. With the large piece of silver which he was still holding in his hands he knocked down the ting and made for the door on his brother's heels. Now, it is customary in China that during a visit the yamen attendants stand at the door. There were ten of these and they blocked the lama's escape and sought to tie him up. He was a giant of a man, splendid, muscular, built like a god - so I was told by all my informants. Armed only with the piece of silver he threw aside those men whom opium and idleness and weakened, and he would surely have escaped if the ting had not carried a small revolver concealed in his garments and, beside himself with humiliation over what had happened to him, he shot at the holy lama. That same evening the incarnation died of his wounds in the courtyard of the yamen.

726 In the general confusion, the brother had succeeded in fleeing the city and bringing news to the tribe of what was happening in the yamen. They responded like bees that have been robbed of their queen, for their all, their sacred incarnation, their god, had been killed. However, there could be no thought of storming the city. Capturing a Chinese loam fort was still a precarious matter for a tribe of horsemen. Thus, after a few wild demonstrations, they retired to their hills in order to prepare properly for the war, to grind powder and cast bullets. The rifle-makers of this tribe were known far and wide. Some of their master craftsmen had even ventured to make imitations of our modern guns. It was lucky for the Chinese that the tribe had been able to get only very little steel. /267/

At first the war had cost considerable bloodshed. Shortly after the murder of the lama a Chinese division marching from Hsining fu via the Lao ye Shan to Kue de, fell into an ambush and lost thirty men. However, a large battle never took place. In an earlier chapter I have briefly referred to the outcome of the war, that the cannons were brought from Lanchow and that the Tibetans were finally out-argued by the Chinese mediators a few months be-

This war followed the pattern that had been established for 726
millennia in China. The people from Lanchow fu set out for war without any kind of plan, and hoped for some kind of solution short of open battle, either by means of endless negotiations, orders and counter-orders from the distant throne, or primarily by the presence of an army.

The good ting, a man of action, was, of course, immediately 631
discharged, lost his position and his honors because he could not pay for the whole war himself. A few years later I saw the young, vigorous and intelligent man still waiting patiently but not very hopefully in Lanchow fu for a settlement in his favor of the long-drawn-out civil suit against his superiors. But if Ru da lao ye should ever get another post, he will surely never again help an oppressed people! To me the most characteristic aspect of the whole thing was the fact that in Kue de shop-keepers, my host and many farmers spoke in the most exalted terms of Ting Ru as their savior, but no one turned a hair for the dishonored one. Unless one had a great deal of money in Old China, one did not dare be a person of action. One had to keep strictly to wu wei, i.e., not take any action and simply let things happen.

The present ting of Kue de turned out to be a very cultivated literary man and an archaeologist. He had a great understanding for the oldest Chinese characters. He had not bought his rank. He had, already in the 'sixties, brilliantly passed his state examinations, and later, too, he was famous for his classical poetry and the number of his classical quotations, so that it seems strange that he never took the higher state examinations and achieved a still higher position. But, of course, he was not a rich man's son.

An hour after my visit in the yamen, the ting called on me at 538
my inn. As a present he brought me a poem more than a square meter in size, which he had composed himself and written with his own hand, partly in Old Chinese symbols. It depicted the dangers of the Ts'ao ti, that is, of Tibet, in the blackest colors imaginable. He predicted that I would never escape if I ventured to go there. It almost seemed to me as though the amban had advised me to go to Kue de only in order to have me talk to this man. The refrain was always: Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate, as though the old mandarin had, with his opium-stained fingers, turned the leaves of Dante's Divine Comedy and as though the haughty Chinaman who disdains anything foreign had copied some of the great poet's most gruesome passages.

and on its southern slope the priests of Rao gomba have their shabby huts of loam. The northern part of the Nima long is bordered by a long fold of chalk which, characterized by countless steep, white rocks, can be recognized hundreds of kilometers in a N 55° W direction and borders the horizon in the northern part of Tschang La. A great many unusual mountain formations has stirred the imagination of the inhabitants, has caused legends to arise and erected thrones to the gods. In the Radang country the Ani lhakang (pronounced: el hagu) is conspicuous. It lies on the border of Radang and Sare and roughly has an altitude of 4,500 meters. North of it is the beginning of the territory of the notorious Tāwo kiang ts'a and the feudal state of the Dshoni tu se.

We had just crossed the rDo ro ford and were busy putting on our boots and trousers when three horsemen, mounted on dashing steeds, came toward us, a gentleman, a priest, and a servant. The servant led a pack horse by its bridle, which carried a few blankets, as well as a tea pot, cooking pot and flour bag. The gentleman had pulled a good-looking hat made of lynx skin down over his ears and wore a blue pulo cloak with small white crosses on it and with a 20 centimeter wide border of Yün nan leopard skins; his left ear-lobe was pulled down with a heavy gold ring to such an extant that he had to have a small leather strap over the outer part of the ear to carry the weight. Tschemotscho recognized the gentleman and called to him after he had already ridden past, silently and with a sinister look. It was the bon of Chamā, and he was coming from the military encampment of Tāwo Kiang ts'a. All the rulers of the 12-Bu had been summoned by the Sung pan officer to help end the war. Two days ago the men from Tāwo kiang ts'a had given in and the bon was now on his way home. However, those from Radang had, after settlement of the Tāwo affair, demanded 400 taels from the Lanchow hsie tai. This colonel had permitted his soldiers to tear the wood for their fires from the walls and roofs of the Radang winter houses, instead of looking for it in the woods. The hsie tai had laughed at the demand of the men from Radang and so the 280 warriors of the little tribe had set out yesterday, had attacked the 3,000 Kansu and Szechwan soldiers and had driven them behind the massive stone walls of their camp with stone slings, whips and matchlocks. After this bold attack they had taken the horses away from the cavalry. With 89 horses as booty they returned home to their tents which lay on the Nima long, east of the little lake of Mou Ts'o. However, we did not learn all these details immediately from the Bon. All we heard as we rode through the river was a call to Tschemotscho: "Are you crazy? With so few men you surely cannot think of attacking Radang? Or don't you know that there is a fight going on here? Can't you hear the shooting? Look north to the foot of the chalk mountains. See the long line, see the stone wall which the women and children of Radang are erecting at the backs of the fighters, behind the dark masses from which clouds of white smoke detach themselves. The Chinese want to get their horses back. If you let yourself be caught by Radang, they will welcome you as hostages, and if there are dead among them, they will take revenge on you." And from the opposite shore of the nDam Tschü we could hear: "And Radang is right."

The tsung ye had scarcely had a word interpreted to him before he had torn off /297/ his beautiful red velvet coat-of-arms and stuffed it in my clothes bag. Our large red flag fared even worse. So quickly was it taken down from its long lance that it was torn to shreds, and Tschemotscho bent over deftly and pushed it into a hare's burrow by the wayside. Ma Sche tschang's, the corporal's, beautiful red uniform with the red tails was awkwardly folded and forced between the wooden strips of his large umbrella; he cursed hideously because his master had given him nothing but this weapon against the rain. Meanwhile the battle on the edge of the Nima long, at the foot of the chalk mountains, continued amid a great deal of shouting and wasting of powder. The Chinese had broken up camp while it was still night, followed the Geku Valley and had now, when we saw them, crossed a grassy pass in the chalk mountains, from which point they had a view of the high plain of Nima long and the plain in which flow the nDam Chu and the Me Chu. Through my field glasses I clearly saw their red coats, saw how they hesitated to climb down the gentle slope, how only a few courageous ones farther to the right followed the shallow bed of a dried-up seam of water, and how the Tibetans, on the other hand, with their sharp eyes espied every advantage and crept from one stone to another. We were not quite two kilometers distant from the Tibetans when we were able to turn at right angles toward the west. Very low hills hid us from the tents of Radang, which we passed at a distance of about 500 meters. The horses which had been taken from the Chinese stood tethered in the middle of a large circle of black tents. But the herds of yak and sheep the Radang people had left to graze on the heights through which we rode, as though nothing had happened. We saw only two old men and two priests who were tending them.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

NW. China AF13

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On the first day one reaches the land of the Samsa who are supposed to be very bad robbers; on the second day one gets to the Laringo or Larungo hsi tsang who once plundered the Holderer-Futterer expedition; from there in /299/ another three days one reaches the headwaters of the Tao Ho or Lŏ Chu and the Da ts'ang Mongols and without effort reaches the Tsei Chu along which live the Horsun Tibetans with their 800 families. After another two days one reaches Ratsong and the Ts'ien hu country of Lutsang (Tibetans) and the sphere of influence of Kue de ting. Another day's march takes one to the Wan schu tribe and two days later to the T'san and then to the city of Kue de.

TC 726

/299/ At Lhamo se the lively monastery brook which has already come far from the west from the grass lands, turns north for two kilometers and then again at right angles to the east. Not too far from the second bend lies the small monastery of Kosaniba. Behind it are the winter houses of the Radang and there, at the timber line, we came upon the encampment of Chinese troops, which consisted of rounded stone walls with poor loopholes, inside which the Chinese lived in inadequate tents and barracks. However, the officers and soldiers were still for the most part off to the "war" against the Radang, only the generalissimo of Szechwan along with 800 men had not gone into the field. Those who were left behind were angry and in an irritable mood and made me feel unmistakably that they were not at all edified by my appearance. The relationship between the two provincial contingents also left much to be desired. The plan of attack against the horse thieves was not designed to reap martial laurels. Caution is the better part of valor. The Chinese officers did not dare undertake anything independently, and always glanced helplessly sideways toward their superiors and to the wishes of the central government whose commands betrayed obvious suspicion as to the ability of their subordinates. The military rabble from Kansu had met with bitter opposition and from now on they wanted simply to feign attacks while the leader of the Sung pan soldiers who kept neutral in this new dispute, thought he would play the role of middleman. The war against Tāwo kiang ts'a (written: Tāo rgya mts'a) which was supposed to number 800 warriors, had also ended only by means of schang leang. The leaders were, to be sure, well advised from the very beginning and had attempted to push through from

above, from the open, treeless steppe and not by the direct route into the ravines of Täwo. But since, at the initial advance, 15 horsemen of the front detachment had fallen into ambush and were partly cut down and partly captured, the action during the rest of the summer months consisted only of threats until finally, with the help of the neighboring chieftains, and only because of the presence of troops, it was sche tsing schuo h'au leao, i.e., it was settled with talk. The Täwo agreed to a partial disarmament and gave up 100 swords, 50 fork guns and 50 lances, but were permitted to keep the goods amounting to 12,000 ounces of silver which they had stolen from the Chinese merchants and on account of which the summons had come from Lanchow; there was not one single decisive action during the long summer on the part of an expedition that was almost as large as that of the English who marched into Lhasa in 1904. My escort had counted on getting new food supplies among their comrades. Behind my back they had traded in my supplies at Rao gomba so that only two rations were left. But the camp was itself short of rations because of the Radang incident. For everybody /300/ had thought the war was over and they would soon go home. No one had sent supplementary supplies. Thus my heroes nowhere found a merciful hand that would replace the rice and tsamba they had sold. However, because of the scant supplies I, too, unfortunately, suffered and was forced to cover the final distance at top speed. Within two hours we were again mounted and after three days in the saddle from morning till night we reached Tao tschou.

Our first day's ride lasted until far into the night and took us over a plateau, through valley pockets and across flat passes where the waters that run eastward through the Täwo Kiang ts'a territory, separate from those that flow north to the Tao Ho. Broad areas of steeply bent gray-green sandstone and slate with an east-west strike continued to interchange with wedged-in patches of crumbled white calcium carbonate; above this in many places there was a horizontal layer of hard, red Nagelfluh. The highest point we reached shortly before twilight at a pass of 3,765 meters. The mountain ridges here have an average height of somewhat over 4,000 meters. It was all good pasture land. For the time being there was no more forest from Kosaniba and the Chinese encampment on.

On the second day we had to go up and down steep inclines across the source waters of the Tao Ho tributaries and again climb a watershed of 3,800 meters. But by noon we reached a narrow wood ravine and entered the valley of the Wong Chu which breaks through the

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727 AFTERMATH OF COMBAT--number and nature of casualties; treatment of own casualties (e.g., retrieving and disposal of dead, care of wounded); treatment of enemy casualties (e.g., despoiling, mutilation, killing); taking of trophies; treatment of captives and prisoners (e.g., slaughter, torture, mutilation, release, exchange, holding for ransom, adoption, enslavement, sacrifice); punishment of enemy leaders; military occupation and military government; homecoming after war (e.g., return trip, reception of returning warriors); home reactions to victory and defeat; victory celebrations (e.g., dances, feasts, memorials); demobilization; resumption of normal life; reconstruction of war damage; etc. See also:

Commemorative statues and monuments . . . . 211 Slavery 567
Cannibalism . . . . 266 Colonial administration 636
Mutilation . . . . 304 Prisons 697
War dances . . . . 535 Mortuary practices 764

N
361 also in Dzungaria. There, a large expanse of pasture land
233 prevails more in the south along the northern foothill slope
311 of the Tien-shan than the north along the southern side of
the Altai.

N
161 C. Population Trend and Its Significance

1. The Changing Trend of the Northwest in Comparison with Other Major Regions.

The population of the Northwest as in the rest of the country has been on the increase in spite of the limited arable and irrigable land resulting from inadequate rainfall, and the mountainous terrain, as well as the frequent earthquakes in
N Kansu and repeated Moslem disturbances. It was reported that
[731] more than 246,000 people were killed by the great earthquake
[165] of Hai-yüan, Ching-ning, and Tung-wei in eastern Kansu in
[669] December, 1920, and the Moslem uprisings of 1861-1874,
1895, and 1944. Long before the 1953 census was taken, there has been an incessant influx of people in large numbers. A gradual increase is marked by various estimates and reports.
S For example, in regard to the population estimation of
[161] Sinkiang Province, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1910
gave the figure of 2,670,000 and 2,519,579 in 1923; the record taken from "Le Temps" of April 5, 1934, is around 5,000,000. According to a nation-wide regional survey taken by the Agricultural College of Nanking University in the period from 1928-1933, the annual rate of natural increase of the Northwest was at 11.5 per thousand which was exceeded only by the North China Plain, as illustrated by Table XII.[2]

N
163 According to the 1953 census report for the nation as a
whole, the average birth rate is thirty-seven per thousand,
165 average death rate, seventeen, and average annual natural
increase, twenty.

Table XII clearly indicates that the annual natural increase rate of the Northwest is due to a smaller death rate rather than a higher birth rate as compared with other regions. This might be the result of a healthier, drier climate rather than better living conditions or medical care. The 1953 census report gives an even larger natural increase for the nation due to a higher birth rate and a lower death rate. The gradual
N population increase of the Northwestern provinces is also
161 shown by Table XIII;[2] this table shows a considerable increase
for the provinces of Shensi and Kansu (including Ninghsia)
S especially. As for Chinghai and Sinkiang, although the increase
[161] is not so pronounced, nearly one third of a million for the
former and 1.1 million increase for the latter are indicated. These bring a total increase of over thirteen million (more than half the original number in seven years) for the four

1,2. [See pp. 135-136--Analyst]

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
[851] the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the
people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial
burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
*[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the
region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
[167] corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the dis-
asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
[463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich
merchants who have authority in political and economic matters,
but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are
small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and
struggle for a living.

*563 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
131 is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and
matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred
to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed
part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According
to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area
within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It
is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have
made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the
north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
[441] gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled
[439] north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade.
There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here gen-
erations ago.

*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine fur-
nishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yel-
[369] low earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer-
chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home
with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses.
But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular
doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

*563 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
262 those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more
flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
[556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits,
fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the
poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted veg-
etables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads
and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn
with the fur side inside.

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. Introduction

657 Welfare work in China's Northwest has to be conducted for the benefit of two distinct categories of people in need. The poor are composed of those whose problems arose out of inadequate standards of living. They include the aged and disabled, the orphans and other destitute or handicapped people. Marginal cases of this category are the underprivileged groups of society, who might maintain themselves, even though precariously, in years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and charity organizations normally available to this category are discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

657 731 The second category however, the victims of natural disasters, poses a special problem in the Northwest. As has been demonstrated in other Sections of this Handbook, the maintainence of agriculture in the Northwest is more dependent upon conservancy and irrigation projects than in other regions of China. During the last period, of the Imperial era, many of these projects have fallen into disrepair, thus exposing the area to more critical inundations and droughts. Reports from the Imperial period reveal that there were fourteen severe inundations in the province of Shensi during the hundred years 1800-1900 and seven in Kansu. The same century brought sixteen severe droughts to Shensi and nine to Kansu. The droughts of 1877 which encompassed both provinces, of 1900/01 in Shensi, and of 1908/09 in Kansu were catastrophes of a national extent.

The frequency and severity of earthquakes in the Northwest adds to the problems of the region, particularly since in many areas of the region people live in loess caves. The great earthquake of 1879 which hit both Shensi and Kansu, the one of 1881 in Kansu and the ones of 1892 in the Kucha district of Sinkiang and the Hsi-ning district of Chinghai are still in everybody's memory, even though the twenties of our century have again brought two devastating earthquakes.

[669] Nor is this all. During the last hundred years the Northwest has been ravaged by rebellions and civil wars almost without interruption. Several of these events left in their wake a vast number of displaced and needy people, who added to the problems of emergency and disaster relief.

794 II. Welfare Among the Moslems

735 A. The Distribution of Welfare Responsibilities

779 Most of the efforts in the field of public welfare among the

574 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for
794 travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food,
485 shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-
792 by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front
of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospital-
ity is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as
well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

657
With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew
731 that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until
the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this
realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its
possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes.
During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted
droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized
a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this
commission was financed partly by fixed government grants,
special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese
cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well
as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad.
The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this
as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare
Section of the General Handbook.

653 The realization grew however that with regard to natural
disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than
312 relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might
185 be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This
project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities
and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the
twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was
completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been
reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project.
The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the
National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

114 Unfortunately, there is very little information available on
the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field
657 of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Gov-
ernment and under the present Communist regime. From the
[794] little material we have the general impression is that the local
efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work
done in public welfare.

177
*563 degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence
628 on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is
*563 unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country.
628 The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt
167 to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the
177 Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-
sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes.
Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages
very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number
of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chi-
nese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife.
The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population
reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which
lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and
especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest,
offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is
*563 decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most
628 effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from
167 the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such
circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more
*727 promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese com-
177 munity. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among
(181) the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees,
especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of
refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims
of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this
right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan
communities.

*563 The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is
582 also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of
two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place
177 as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which
[591] through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in
the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a
*563 Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like
177 a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further
contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a
Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a
generation of two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate
the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man
marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally
attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode
of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members
of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him.
Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan
country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

114 done in public welfare. The information about the situation in
657 the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

635 It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social
645 Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including
647 Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare
657 works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry
645 of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers;
657 organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

657 Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with
749 some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission
731 was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

657 The activities of the National Relief Commission included
749 care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them
[722] sere sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Chinghai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service
[727] Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

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749 The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate
797 much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned
621 woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating
184 the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts
with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a
Chinese village community, although that community also owns
communal wood lots and pastures.

*563 The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall,
722 were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with
727 which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effec-
tive refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan
rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like
many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward
refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the
right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it
is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of
the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into
the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

*563 The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason,
162 in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a
Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese
woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their
[562] men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman,
but not a man.

829 Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present
*668 regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border
177 Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies
and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a
half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be
remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed con-
siderably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable
attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified.
Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and
a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political
Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas
did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism
of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Com-
munist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and
interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and sub-
[157] missiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open dis-
content. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the
rural people's attitude toward the new regime.

T 133 In the region of the Hsining River we again traveled between loess-covered red clay mountains to the town of Ping tschung yi and then through the so-called Hsiao hsia (small gorge), both of them places where in the last Mohammedan war there were bloody clashes.

C 797 361 On December 25, I was in the city of Hsining fu. I soon found a pretty, albeit dirty, but at any rate homey inn, and that evening I could already spend with Mr. and Mrs. Ridley, the English missionaries of the China Inland Mission, to whom so many Tibetan travelers are indebted. With two boys of five and three years and their adorable little daughter who was then six months old, the courageous couple were again living all alone among the Chinese in the rude frontier town in which they already in 1895 lived through the terrible four-month siege by the Mohammedans. The last European whom Mr. and Mrs. Ridley had seen, had come through Hsining fu a half year before. I found a large Christmas tree in their simple Chinese house, and on that evening I was even permitted to appear as "Grandfather Christmas" with a long white beard, with a stick and a rod and a well-filled sack, and help give the children the type of Christmas celebrated in their homeland. I would not have dreamed of all this on the night before when in the pitch dark I was still sitting on my pony in a temperature of 15° and in a dry, biting mountain wind, until I finally found a hut on the gates of which we had to knock for a long time before we were admitted.

C 727 Of course, nothing had changed in Hsining fu since I had left it in November 1904 together with Mr. and Mrs. Filchner. Chinese cities probably do not change much anyway. There was meantime only the small war that was taking place on the Hwang Ho below the city of Kue de ting and the city had not yet calmed down during the first few days after my arrival. An anxiously-awaited execution order had just arrived from Peking and, at the imperial command, a few leaders of the hostile party, an aristocratic Salar and a few Tibetan chiefs and lamas were now being beheaded just outside the west gate. This was a big event because of the importance of the persons. Many people had gathered from far and near for this performance and the soldiers who were in charge of the execution were very frightened. They purposely walked back and forth excitedly while the preparations were going on and meanwhile one of them on whom the executioner's sword had heretofore not been seen, knocked off all the heads in such a way that no one could tell who actually did it.

C 175 361

Hor) of the Koko Nor, for Nepal and /305/ the Indian border countries, but also for China and its Tan emperors, and when his tu fan as the Chinese called his subjects - under his eight successors (given the title of btsan bo), or rather under their mayors of the palace again and again invaded Kansu. With great effort the Chinese had recaptured the city of Sche bu tsch'eng as early as 729, but after only a short time (741) lost it again. Thereupon Emperor Hsüan Tsung had the city besieged again and again. Finally at the siege of 749 the Chinese stormed the short stretch of wall for three days and nights without pause and wore down the small garrison sufficiently so that it could be overrun. Of 60,000 soldiers who took up this siege, more than half were said to have remained. After this attack the fortifications were destroyed completely. But this occupation of the territory of Sche bu tsch'eng by the Chinese was also of brief duration. The tu fan took advantage of the difficulty in which the Tang dynasty found itself because of the rebel Nan lu schan, and already in 763 they entered the imperial city of Hsingan fu along with the rest of the Tu ku hun, after not only Tao tschou, Min tschou, Ho tschou, but also Lanchow and Tsinchow, in short the entire Lung yu or present-day Kansu fell into their hands.

T C 727

If the superiors of the high command in the Tâwo war[1] had spoken the forceful language with which Li scheng[2] was addressed, this war would also have ended in the glory of Chinese weapons, but at that time the Manchu knew only half-way measures. So the gentleman colonel /Plate LXVIII faces p. 304 in the original text./ /305/ came out of the Tibetan country on September 20 with waving banners and sat happy and proudly smiling on his steed whose long tail - according to the Asiatic idea, a horse's chief ornament - had been completely cut off. Little Radang had yielded nothing until it was paid its 450 taels, and even then it dared, or rather had the temerity to deliver the stolen horses with their manes cut off in derision and with bloody tail stumps. The merchants' guild of Tao tschou fumed with rage at the cowardly act of the officers. "It would have been better if the expedition had never taken place," they grumbled. For this reason the colonel did not stay long in the city. On the march

C 704

his troops looked very good and offered a pleasing picture, although

1 [Cf. cat. 116, p. 481 — Analyst] 2 [Cf. cat. 116, p. 491-492 — A]

731

731 DISASTERS--prevalence and major types of disasters (e.g., earthquakes, epidemics, conflagrations, typhoons, tornadoes, floods, droughts, famines, insect plagues); explanations and rationalizations; incidence of disastrous accidents (e.g., train wrecks); reactions to disasters; organization of relief (e.g., private, public); role of special relief agencies (e.g., Red Cross); emergency measures; reconstruction; preventive measures (e.g., flood control); etc. See also:

Relief agencies	74	Adjustments to famine	261
Cyclonic storms	132	Water supply	312
Areas of volcanic and seismic activity	133	Municipal fire-fighting services	368
Occurrence of epidemics	164	Reconstruction of war damage	727

*175 to the southeast, were interested in the recovery of Turkestan. They had a purely defensive policy for the northwest land frontier. They fortified the passes in the Kansu Corridor and conciliated the Uighur inhabitants of Turkestan by granting them honors and privileges and not interfering with their governments.

The Ming court was more concerned with the Mongols in the north. The strongest of these were the Oirats who at first submitted and then rebelled. The Yung-lo emperor personally led a series of expeditions into Mongolia and succeeded in holding them in check. But as the military strength of Ming China ebbed after his death, their power increased. In 1449, one of their chiefs, Esen, inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Ming forces and took the Ming emperor as prisoner. At the height of their power, the Oirats controlled an area as far west as the northern portion of Tienshan, as far south as Kansu and as far east as Chahar.

Throughout the Ming period, there were incessant encroachments by the Oirat, but the most serious were those led by Altan Khan in the 16th century. In his three major invasions of China, his horsemen despoiled the provinces of Shansi, Ninghsia and Kansu and extended the orbit of his power from Uriangghai in the north to Chinghai and Tibet in the south. He built a vast, though evanescent Mongol empire. Finally, in his old age he accepted a title from the Ming court and halted his raids on China.

Thus, for about eight hundred years from the latter part of the T'ang to the beginning of the Ch'ing, the extent of the Chinese empire did not go beyond the Kansu Corridor and the vast region of the Northwest was free of Chinese rule. During this long period, the Chinese were not only unable to recover Turkestan [167] but they were also uninterested in its recovery. The advance of the border peoples into China's North and Northwest pushed the Chinese to the South and Southeast. Gradually, with the rise of the southeastern coastlands as the cultural and economic centers of China and with the development of maritime travel, there was greater intercourse between China and the outside world by sea. The nation turned towards the Southeast to face the sea and the importance of the Kansu Corridor declined to that of the backdoor of China.

*175 13 487 Another reason for the reorientation was economic. Climatic changes resulting in increased aridity led to the shrinkage of the chain of oases that formed the caravan routes. This made travel difficult, and the desiccation of the soil reduced the fertility of the Wei River valley, once the home of Chinese civilization and *175 731 166 the base for China's imperialist expansion. Natural calamities, such as floods, droughts, pestilence, and famine, and the devastation of wars added to the impoverishment of the area and quickened the shift of population centers from the Northwest to the Southeast. *175 633 Sian (Ch'ang-an) the capital of China for two thousand

done in public welfare. The information about the situation in the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

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The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers; organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

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The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

241 433 Oil seed bearing crops are also raised but in small quantities compared with the output from other parts of China. One reason for this is the lack of markets with a resultant slight incentive to expand and promote the planting of oil seed bearing crops. The following figures are in 1,000 metric tons and 1,000 hectares and are an average for the years 1931-1939. (T.H. Shen. pp. 248-249.)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	1
Chinghai	-	-	-	-	21
Kansu	38	negligible	negligible	9	25
Shensi	46	12	17	86	51

Acreage in 1,000 hectares (1 hectare = 2.471 acres)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	31
Chinghai	2	-	-	-	34
Kansu	38	negligible	1	13	54
Shensi	56	9	38	267	141

Besides the geographical and climatic limitations to farming, insects, diseases, and rodents seriously limit crop production. The black smut of wheat, barley, millet, proso-millet, and kaoliang is reported to cause losses of from twenty to eighty per cent of the crops. Yellow rust of wheat causes a loss of twenty per cent. Leaf cur of tobacco at Lanchow in Kansu decreases the yield and affects the quality of the crop. A kind of marmot, locally
136 731 called the "yellow rat" was a great menace during the drought years 1928-1931.

241 731 The region is frequently subject to earthquakes, droughts, and famines which make farming extremely precarious. Calamities destroyed twenty per cent or more of the crop on the average annually during the period 1904-1929 and in 1930 a great famine swept through the region. Yet according to the population statistics and the total land area, there is no problem of population pressure, at least relatively. In addition, there is the possibility of increasing returns from the land under cultivation if existent farming techniques were improved and innovations introduced, i.e., use of fertilizer, better irrigation facilities, better seeds, etc.

241 489 But the biggest factors preventing increased returns in the Northwest have been the absence of transport facilities and financial assistance; e.g., the inability of the Nationalist Government to provide extensive loans at low interest rates. J.L. Buck points out that the absence of transport and communications to link the Northwest with other parts of China has accounted for the very small quantities of livestock and agricultural produce which have been exported and has hindered the development of local markets. With the growth of transportation, communications, better market facilities, etc., the possibility of increasing returns to agri-

of breaking through into the water below. On these occasions the driver is always compelled to leave the litter-side, and controls his beasts from a distance by means of shouted directions, enforced by skilfully-thrown stones. A pebble alighting on the mule's nose warns him to back, while one hitting him in the hind-quarters is equivalent to an order to move on. In spite of the undoubted understanding existing between man and beast, there is a moment of extreme nervous tension on the part of the occupant of a litter, when the ice collapses and the startled animal crashes into water of quite uncertain depth. From the moment, however, that we took the well-made road leading over the mountain, the anxieties of the valley were (temporarily) at an end, and we were free to enjoy the fine views which every turn of the road revealed to us. The short-cut downhill was less pleasant, for the road was so steep as to be only just negotiable.

The next few days brought us near to the centre of devastation by the great earthquake of January 1921. The face of the land had been completely altered by the mighty upheaval, and its surface still suggested the semblance of boiling mud suddenly petrified. In one place a mountain had been removed, in another a large lake of brackish water had suddenly appeared. Scarcely a human habitation was to be seen, for the cliffs had overwhelmed all the cave-dwellings which formerly the industry of man had hollowed out. Nevertheless, the road over which we travelled was newly-made, while huts had already begun to appear at intervals. They were poor little places, composed of four mud walls, a mud roof, a mud bed, and a mud trough at the back where a few sheep could be fed, and the children we met were almost naked, in spite of the then extreme cold. A missionary in charge of the relief works assured us

that two hundred thousand people had perished in the disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had also been constructed with famine relief funds, and which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled for seven days before touching another Mission station—a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose between this man and the others, on the subject of the choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected

733

733 ALCOHOLISM AND DRUG ADDICTION--incidence of excessive or chronic use of alcohol or narcotics; social problems arising therefrom (e.g., poverty, delinquency, broken homes); care and treatment of alcoholics and drug addicts (e.g., neglect, attempts at restraint and cure); special institutions for the treatment and cure of alcoholics and addicts; temperance movements; etc.

See also:

Use of alcoholic beverages and narcotics 27
Psychiatric aspects of alcoholism and drug addiction 158
Organized vice 548
Political movements 668
Relief of dependents 736

Whether in winter or in summer, whether by litter or by cart, the Kansu roads present dangers to the traveller. In hot weather thunderstorms or cloud-bursts in the hills are not unusual, and on these occasions mountain torrents will rush down with such force as to carry everything before them, nor have a cart and mules any power to withstand the strength of the spate. Each of the large rivers is so subject to fluctuations of stream, and unexpected currents, that each year some of the more reckless villagers lose their lives by drowning. In winter the rivers are ice-bound, and supply the traveller with many a nerve-racking experience, as we found when it was necessary to cross the ice in darkness, avoiding, by the help of a tiny lantern, the deep holes and fissures. 491

The last day before entering Liangchow, and the two days after leaving it, are days of torture, owing to the stony nature of the road. Even the very streets [363] of the town are as stony as the famous Portland pebble beach. Liangchow was the last outpost held by 797 foreign missionaries in North-West China, and has been occupied by the China Inland Mission for the past forty years. Six days further on lies the city of Kanchow, and here lived a Chinese missionary and doctor who, five years previously, had taken up his residence there. From him and from his Church-officers we had received a most cordial invitation to pay them a visit, and having accepted to do so, we were soon on the march once more.

We delayed, however, a few days in the little town of 733 Yungchang, distant two stages from Liangchow, the inhabitants of which have sunk to the lowest imaginable depth through opium smoking. Communal life here is not regulated, as in other places, by the meal hours, but by the recurring period at which the craving for the drug grips the population with invisible but relentless tentacles, so that on every *kang* the little lamp is

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

733 simultaneously lit, the pipe produced, and the pillows
spread for the wretched feast. This town might easily
[443] be one of the most prosperous of Kansu, being the
[237] centre of the lamb-skin trade, and at mid-January the
merchants come from all quarters to buy the tiny,
soft skins of the lambs, killed on the fourteenth day of
their existence. Large sums of money change hands in
Yungchang, yet all is consumed in smoke, and spent
upon that which satisfieth not. The men are gaunt and
[567] dishevelled, the women keep indoors for lack of decent
clothing, and Yungchang supplies the slave market with
its required commodity of little girls for the great cities.

We were leaving our inn one morning, when some
167 Chinese called our attention to the fact that a foreigner, 'one of your own people,' was begging at the door. We found a crowd collected round a ragged Russian, who was begging his way to Peking. The road over which we were travelling was the *Via Dolorosa* of the Russian refugees, who, driven forth by poverty or unwillingness to register their acceptance of the Soviet rule, find themselves homeless exiles on the face of the globe. For some months before our arrival a great stream of suffering humanity poured down this highway, in every stage of poverty and utter destitution. Until the great war of 1914, the peoples of the East were under the delusion that race-solidarity, which in them supersedes the instinct of individual nationality (strong though that be), was also impregnable in the West. From this time, however, European prestige was entirely shattered ; and the sight of homeless, penniless whites swelling the ranks of Chinese beggars, and of helpless women becoming the concubines of Chinese men, was a violation of their sense of fitness : nor have the common people ever recovered from the shock caused by these unthought-of proceedings.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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largely attended, as many as eighty men and women registering in one locality. The majority were illiterate. We therefore considered it best to insist on all students becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, resulting in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened, to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. They informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kiln-burnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the salt tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impossible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

bid her farewell, before she would permit the sacred words to pass her lips she washed her face and combed her thin hair, feeling it to be disrespectful to the One True God to address Him unprepared. Such a soul as this, met with on the road of life, one can never forget. She was ripe for the Call; and she heard it, and was glad.

The next city is Ansi, which also bids fair to disappear under the encroaching sands, as these have already drifted round it as high as the top of the wall. It is a cold, storm-swept place, exposed on every side, and with neither coal nor wood obtainable. The wind is said to blow every day in the year, but in the winter it is so fiercely terrible that all shops are closed, and everything is at a standstill. Every household then lives, eats, and sleeps on its dung-warmed *kang*, nor is it surprising that so many while away the weary hours with the fumes of the opium-pipe. Ansi lies at the cross-roads, where the great track from Suchow turns off towards Hami and Eastern Turkestan, meeting also the main road to the Oasis of Tunhwang, four stages to the south-west. The fame of Tunhwang had already reached us. We had entertained at Suchow a party of American archaeologists from Harvard University, who had recently been there for the purpose of seeing its art treasures. Not being able, however, to fulfil their purpose, they were returning to Peking, carrying away a rather unfortunate impression of the Tunhwang population, and they warned us that we should find them turbulent and somewhat rough-spoken. This did not alarm us, however, as our search was for treasure of a different kind, which called for excavation of another, and less obvious nature.

The geographical position of the city is such as to render it a very important centre, standing as it does where roads from Lhasa, Mongolia, India and South Siberia all converge. Merchants from Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar travel this way, and it is not infrequent to meet a caravan of sixty donkeys which have travelled fifty days over the southern border of the Takla-Makan desert. Tunhwang is a town which has, under various names, taken an important place in the history of the territory now known as North-West Kansu. In 165 B.C. there is record of its inhabitants being overcome in battle, and dispersed, reappearing later as the Indo-Scythians of the Punjab. Its more ancient name was Shachow—City of the Sands—and it is frequently marked by this name, on maps, at the present time. In A.D. 400 it was the capital of the State of Western Liang. It has been held by Tibetans, and used by the Chinese as an extreme outpost of defence against the Huns. Documents in the Indian, Khoroshti and Brahmi scripts had been excavated in the district, as well as in an unknown script resembling Aramaic.

Of the original city nothing now remains but a ruined wall, and an enclosure mostly cultivated by market-gardeners. In its stead has grown up a smaller town, on the opposite side of the river, the eastern suburb of which has become the business quarter, and is chiefly occupied by Moslem Turkis, who are now gradually possessing themselves of the land, so that it is common to see the scarlet dress and fluttering veil of the Moslem women at work in the fields. The reason for this change in the population is not far to seek, opium and its deadly influences being the cause. Rich and poor, old and young, farmers, tradesmen and artisans are all neglecting their employment for the opium-pipe, and it is freely admitted that the people

of the place are on the downward grade, being unable any more to hold their own with the Moslems, who are forbidden by the laws of their religion to indulge in this vice, and so easily get its victims into their hands. Nevertheless, the memories of past prosperity, and the present post of importance held by the Military Commander, impart a certain consciousness of self-respect to the inhabitants of Tunhwang, so that the visitor cannot fail to be impressed by the dignified bearing of the populace in this isolated spot.

Among our first visitors were two women from Kashgar. They were remarkably picturesque, and with splendid physique and deportment. They wore long, straight gowns of brilliant-coloured cloth, and a finely-woven veil falling below the waist, which softened the strong, handsome features, and gave them a most attractive appearance. They immediately mounted the *kang* barefoot, and it was a sight to see the face of Mrs. Liu—a model of Chinese propriety—as they slipped off their shoes, and the shapely feet were exposed. However, as they spoke Chinese fluently, she was soon in happy conversation with them. These ladies insisted that we should come that very afternoon to return their visit in their own home, and in an hour's time sent two charming children, wearing miniature Wellington boots, to escort us there. They led us safely past several ferocious dogs, through a spacious courtyard, to a living-room, where the whole family was assembled, the patriarch of the group being an Ahung, which corresponds to a Levite among the Israelites. After we had been seated for about half-an-hour, during which time they all listened attentively to the Gospel Story, a woman-servant appeared bearing a large dish of boiled lamb, the joints of which, being of the minutest size, were easily handled. The hostess,

is dreary beyond words. The visit of a traveller is their only touch with the outer world, and though in ordinary times and at certain seasons the caravans pass to and fro in large numbers, yet there are many months of wintry weather when there is scarcely a human being on the road. No wonder, then, that their[1] most valued possession is the harvest reaped from the field of opium, which supplies them with their sole luxury of life. Here, as in every other place, we visited each family, sat with them, talked with them, proclaimed Christ as Saviour and King, and on leaving saw to it that each family had now some Christian literature, which we hoped would be read during the long and dreary Gobi winter days and nights. Also before we left Petuntz we had an interesting interview with the man whose life we had saved. We found him to be only twenty-eight years of age, a native of Hangchow in Shensi, very well educated, and also that he had with him sufficient money for all his expenses, having come to 'Kow Wai' hoping to secure a good post. His gratitude to our party knew no bounds, and the villagers kept reiterating to him how lucky he was to have been picked up, as during these weeks when the roads were almost deserted, already several pedestrians had been found dead from thirst.

We left at sunset for the next stage, which was to Hungliuyüan—'The Park of Tamarisks'—a charming though deceptive name, and we reached it over ground which by night could have been mistaken for snowfields, the alkali deposit lying in a thick crust on the surface and making it soft and spongy. There were only four souls in Hungliuyüan, namely, one man employed as courier by the post-office, and a woman and her two sons. Of the three inns, two had been abandoned by their owners, who found they could make

1[Residents of Petuntz--Analyst]

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735 POVERTY--prevalence and definition of poverty; causes (e.g., low income, unemployment, sickness, alcoholism, improvidence, indolence); social attitudes toward poverty; begging and beggars; poor relief (e.g., almsgiving, private charity, public relief); special institutions for the poor (e.g., almshouses); support of institutions (e.g., municipal, ecclesiastical, private endowment); etc. See also:

Social stratification 56
Social insurance, public assistance, and private welfare agencies 74
Laziness 461
Wages 465
Housing 362
Gift giving 431
Income 434
Standards and levels of living 511

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

are precisely stated in the Koran, it is certain that they were well established before Muhammad's death. Each consists of a fixed number of bowings (rak'ah), the bowing itself consisting of seven movements with their appropriate recitations: (1) the recitation of the phrase "Allahu akbar" (God is most Great) with the hands open on each side of the face; (2) the recitation of the Fatihah or opening sura of the Koran followed by another passage or passages, while standing upright; (3) bowing from the hips; (4) straightening up; (5) gliding to the knees and a first prostration with the face to the ground; (6) sitting back on the haunches; (7) a second prostration.

The set times are at daybreak, fajr (two rak'ahs); noon, zuhr (four rak'ahs); midafternoon, asr (four rak'ahs); after sunset, maghrib (three rak'ahs), and in the early part of the night, isha (four rak'ahs). At these times, prayers should be said and the ritual observed by every believer wherever he may be. By preference they should be performed congregationally in a masjid (mosque) under the leadership of an imam. The imam and the worshippers face toward the qibla, the prescribed direction, which is toward Mecca.

The Koran also mentions the noon prayer on Friday as the principal congregational prayer of the week, and enjoins the suspension of work during its performance. At this time a special ceremony (kutba) is delivered, usually by the imam. (The deliverer of this ceremony is called the khatib. He is not necessarily the imam, but may be one of the leaders in the community.)

Tahara, the ablution before prayer, is strictly enjoined and the ritual is defined in Sura v, v. 9: "When you rise up to prayer, wash your face, and your hands to the elbows and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles." This is the lesser ablution, to be performed before every prayer. The greater ablution is a complete washing of the body, which should be done before the Friday service or special holiday service, and after becoming unclean (incidents of uncleanliness are defined specifically).

b. Alms (Zakat). With the observance of prayer the Koran regularly enjoins the giving of alms (zakat) as the outward sign of piety and as a means of salvation. A distinction is made between sadaqat, which is a freewill offering, and zakat, the obligatory contribution, presumably at the rate of one-fortieth of the annual revenue in money or kind. The zakat is to be exacted form all who enter into the brotherhood of Islam; but it is not a tax. The objectives on which the revenue from zakat is to be spent are defined (in Sura ix, v. 60) as being: the poor, the needy; those employed in its collection, debtors, wayfarers, and the "Way of God."

/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. Introduction

Welfare work in China's Northwest has to be conducted for the benefit of two distinct categories of people in need. The poor are composed of those whose problems arose out of inadequate standards of living. They include the aged and disabled, the orphans and other destitute or handicapped people. Marginal cases of this category are the underprivileged groups of society, who might maintain themselves, even though precariously, in years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and charity organizations normally available to this category are discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

The second category however, the victims of natural disasters, poses a special problem in the Northwest. As has been demonstrated in other Sections of this Handbook, the maintainence of agriculture in the Northwest is more dependent upon conservancy and irrigation projects than in other regions of China. During the last period of the Imperial era, many of these projects have fallen into disrepair, thus exposing the area to more critical inundations and droughts. Reports from the Imperial period reveal that there were fourteen severe inundations in the province of Shensi during the hundred years 1800-1900 and seven in Kansu. The same century brought sixteen severe droughts to Shensi and nine to Kansu. The droughts of 1877 which encompassed both provinces, of 1900/01 in Shensi, and of 1908/09 in Kansu were catastrophes of a national extent.

The frequency and severity of earthquakes in the Northwest adds to the problems of the region, particularly since in many areas of the region people live in loess caves. The great earthquake of 1879 which hit both Shensi and Kansu, the one of 1881 in Kansu and the ones of 1892 in the Kucha district of Sinkiang and the Hsi-ning district of Chinghai are still in everybody's memory, even though the twenties of our century have again brought two devastating earthquakes.

Nor is this all. During the last hundred years the Northwest has been ravaged by rebellions and civil wars almost without interruption. Several of these events left in their wake a vast number of displaced and needy people, who added to the problems of emergency and disaster relief.

II. Welfare Among the Moslems

A. The Distribution of Welfare Responsibilities

Most of the efforts in the field of public welfare among the

Moslems of the Northwest were done by the Moslems themselves and not by the Chinese administration. The law of Islam provieds for a rather extensive system of, and general concepts on the administration of public welfare. It is not so much through a system of government institutions that the needy were taken care of, but by the religious regulations of Islam. The concept of public welfare is found in the Koran and was transmitted to the people through the laws and obligations specified in the religious writings of Islam. In the Islamic law there is no clear conception of the separation of state and religious institutions. The functions in both political and religious realms are merged and interwoven. The provisions for public welfare are an outstanding example for such a merging of state and church functions. Charity and donations to the needy are regarded as a religious duty and the financial resources necessary to sustain those in need are in the form of an obligatory religious donation, the collection of which is administered by officials, which in an Islamic state constitute a part of the administration. A department of public welfare is specified in the Islamic religious laws to be one of the departments of the Islamic State. However, since the majority of the Moslem peoples, including the Moslems of Sinkiang, do not live in an Islamic State, the functions of the state became the responsibility of the local religious community.

B. The Concept of Charity in Islamic Writings

Charity towards man, in its widest sense, is laid down in the Koran as the second great pillar on which the structure of Islam stands (the first obligation being that of regular prayers). Benevolence to other people is stressed constantly throughout the Koran, the most frequently recurring words designating charity being infaq (meaning spending benevolently), ishan (doing good), zakat (purification), and sadaqah (derived from the root sidq which means truth and has come to signify a charitable deed). Benevolence to other men includes the feeding of the poor, the emancipation of slaves, the care of orphans who have no kinsmen. Small good deeds such as helping a man load his animal or saying a good word are considered also as charitable.

Charity is of two kinds: it can be voluntary or obligatory. Voluntary charity is usually known as sadaqah, while the obligatory charity is mentioned in the Koran as zakat.

Voluntary charity is to be administered so that no idea of the superiority of the giver or the inferiority of the receiver is conveyed: "As for those who spend their wealth in the way of Allah, then do not follow up what they have spent with reproach or injury, they shall have their reward from their Lord." Or, "Kind speech and forgiveness is better than charity followed by injury." Love of God should be the motivation for those who do

charitable deeds, and only the well-earned wealth should be given as charity. Those who give secretly are praised more highly than those who publicize their gifts.

Obligatory charity is collected by officials who are appointed by the community to carry out this task. The individual donator is not at liberty to calculate and spend his zakat in any way he wants, but it is collected by the officials and spent by the community.

Zakat is a charge on accumulated wealth, and particially in this manner redistributes a portion of the accumulated wealth of the few to those who have none in the community. A part of the amassed wealth of every individual is taken away annually and distributed among the poor and the needy. Zakat is payable on all cash hoardings, or hoardings in gold and silver, as well as on any form of capital, whether in the shape of cash or kind.

The items of expenditure of zakat are stated by the Koran to be the following: "Alms are only for the poor and the needy, and the officials appointed over them, and those whose hearts are made to incline to truth, and captives, and those in debt, and in the way of Allah, and the wayfarer; it is an ordinance from Allah, and Allah is the knowing and the Wise" (9;60).

The recipients of the benefits of zakat can be divided into three main categories: (1) those who need help; (2) the officials appointed for the collection and disbursement of the fund; and (3) a part is required to be spent in the way of Allah.

Six kinds of people fall under the first heading: the poor who, on account of some physical and mental defect, are unable to earn their bread because of their deficiencies; the poor who have no resources but when given some help can earn their livelihood; new converts to Islam who are deprived of means of subsistence; those who are captives and are deprived of freedom; debtors who are unable to pay their debts; and lastly, the travellers who are stranded in a foreign country or in a distant place and who are unable to reach their homes.

The second kind of expenditure involves the maintenance of an establishment and office for the collection of zakat, and includes the salaries of those who collect the money and distribute it.

The third heading includes those in the way of Allah, which means usually those who fight a Holy War in the name of Allah against the enemies of Islam.

Besides the institution of zakat, there are two others of similar nature designed to collect obligatory charity. Both of these are connected with Moslem festivals. The idea is that whenever the Moslem is in his happiest mood, he must never forget the distress of his poorer brethren. The first of these institutions is the sadaqat-al Fitr, a charity connected with Id el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year. Every Moslem on this occasion is required to give away in charity a certain amount of food, the value of

which varies according to one's wealth. This food must be donated by every Moslem in the community who is not poor, and distributed among those who need it. The second institution is that connected with Id al-Adsha, on which occasion the poorer members of the community are fed with the meat of the sacrificed animals, and the skins of those animals are sold, and the sum thus realized spent on the propagation of Islam.

These then are the concepts applied to welfare work among the Moslems of the Northwest. As has been seen: the impetus toward welfare activities is entirely religious. This religious basis of welfare work was somewhat modified among the Chinese Moslems (Hui) particularly in those provinces, such as Ninghsia and Chinghai, where the secular power was in the hands of Moslem leaders. In these cases welfare activities would be supported strongly and with a certain efficiency by the worldly arm, but would pertain in most cases to the Moslem population only.

With regard to the handling of welfare cases among non-Moslem Chinese, reference is made in the section on Public Welfare of the General Handbook.

III Welfare Among Lamaists

The concept of charity is alien to original Buddhism; it has no part in its ancient teachings. Almsgiving (dāna) is the only charitable activity that is occasionally mentioned in earlier writings. It is there termed as one of the "lucky things," with which to promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning the attitude in which alms should be given were worked out, the theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of the donee. The best gift of all, however, was the gift of Dharma (truth). The only entity who practided charity in anything like our sense of the word was the Bodhisatva, for whom, and for whom only, compassion was the cardinal principle. Every consideration is laid aside and even meditation neglected for its sake.

These basic doctrines have not prevented later schools of Buddhism in China from developing charitable and welfare work both through the temples themselves and through Buddhist sponsored or co-sponsored laymen's associations (see China General, Public Welfare). The Lamaist church, however, has stuck closer to the original concepts and hardly a trace of charitable or welfare work emanating from or sponsored by the lamaseries can be detected.

There exists, though, one concept common to both Lamaist peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

A CHINESE BEGGAR.
"All too familiar is the sight of the corpse of a man frozen to death on the side path."

To face page 10.

[FACING p. 10]

conditions unspeakably wretched, they yet cared not at all, for they had temporarily banished reality, and moved among elusive shadows, until the sentinel grey dawn should recall them to the grim world of Fact.

The largest city through which we passed was Pingliang. On the steps of a temple outside the city gate, we saw a motley crew of several hundred beggars basking in the midday sunshine. They displayed such a variety of physical ills, and provided such an exhibition of tatterdemalion garments, as to make one question how existence under such conditions could be endured. Nor can the life of a Kansu beggar hold any sense of security or hope of alleviation. All too familiar is the sight, on a winter's morning, of the naked corpse of a man, woman or child, frozen to death on the side path; and there is no one to remove the corpse, unless it be the tradesman, under whose frontage he sought shelter and died. The gathering which we witnessed at Pingliang was an assembly of the Beggars' Trade(less) Union, when they collect an enforced contribution from each business house in the town—a tax which none dared refuse, since their appointed Head controlled a band of defenders, who were ready to deal summarily with any shopkeeper who might offer a blow in lieu of the dole. The police were helpless in face of this Corporation; and thus the beggar asserted his right to live.

For an hour our litters threaded their way through the crowded streets before we reached the Mission Compound, where we were the guests of a Swedish missionary and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Törnvall. Our hearts warmed with admiration for the unassuming man, on whose face long suffering had left indelible marks. With him we visited the spacious buildings of

After I had had my presents handed over, the conversation turned to European weapons and the dsassak who already had a number of Russian and English repeater guns, made every effort to buy some of my weapons. When I showed no inclination to comply with his wishes, the atmosphere became strained and I hurried to take my leave. /350/

The Barun dsassak (Plate LXXV), like all Dam Mongols, cannot be relied upon. The flour for which I had paid him up in the Wulasetä Valley, was still not ground when I came to Barun kurä, and I was obliged to wait two days before I could get it. It was ground in hand-mills by old women and widows.

There were a great many beggars and cripples loafing about in the dsassak's courtyard. They mumbled their Om mani padme hung and plucked at their rosaries without ceasing. There were people coming and going all the time who paid tribute to the dsassak, and my companions were always amazed at how obsequious the Mongols were toward their ruler. Whereas the tent Tibetan shows very little respect toward his chieftain, the ordinary Mongol is bound by strict etiquette. He may never sit down with crossed legs before his prince, he must bend his right knee and remain in a half squatting, half kneeling position. If he is not invited to sit down he remains standing with his legs together. He must take his sword in his left hand and may not leave it sticking diagonally in his belt as he usually does.

The Mongol princes have incomparably greater prestige than the chieftains of the Tibetan nomads. I have already spoken of the princes' right of preëmption. Besides that, the dsassak owns his entire country, he annually apportions the pastures and also the arable land among his subjects and for this he receives his tithe in the form of animals and grain. Moreover, he demands several days of gratuitous service from each family, which the wealthier ones may pay off in the form of added taxes. On his part he feels himself responsible only toward the priests, he always supports a few lamas and gives large gifts to the monasteries. In many things he is the only source of supply for his subjects. He had large supplies stored in his warehouses in Barunkurä. In them I saw pulo from Shigatse, lambskins from Lhasa, Nepalese amulet boxes, peacock feathers from India, saffron from Kashmir, Indian dates and cocoanut, Tibetan stag-antlers and pouches of musk, as well as American cotton materials, boots from Dankar, tea and the many little things with which the Chinese furnish the nomads of the highlands.

While I was staying there a huge felt yurt was erected in the courtyard of the dsassak, measuring 10 meters in diameter. The tribal

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736 DEPENDENCY--incidence of dependency (e.g., orphans, widows, deserted and divorced wives, families of defectives and alcoholics, families of invalids and criminals); attitudes toward dependency; care and support of dependents (e.g., adoption, support by relatives, private charity, public relief); special institutions for dependents (e.g., orphanages); etc. See also:

Social insurance, public assistance, and private welfare agencies 74
Insurance 456
Levirate 587
Status of widows 589
Adoption 597
Treatment of motherless infants 846

establishments in the Northwest prior to the war. (See Section on Religion). During the war, however, religiously sponsored welfare work also spread to the Northwest. Among the more active organizations, the Friends' Ambulance Unit (FAU) which came to China in 1941 has to be mentioned; Catholic missionary organs also did much welfare work in the Northwest. The outstanding welfare contribution of the Catholics is their maintenance of orphanages, particularly for girls. In 1933 there existed three Catholic orphanages in Sian (Shensi), six in Lanchou (Kansu) and one in Ch'in-chou (Kansu) in which altogether 480 orphans were cared for. During the war, the number of orphanages grew to eleven in Shensi, twenty in Kansu (including Ninghsia) and one each in Chinghai and Sinkiang. In these institutions altogether 2,758 orphans found shelter and relief. Under the Communists these Catholic orphanages attracted particularly vicious attacks. No data are available from the Northwest; if, however, events in other parts of China can be generalized, it has to be assumed that none of these institutions survives. In addition eleven homes for the old were maintained by Catholic missionaries in the Northwest with over two hundred inmates. Also the Catholic refugee camps at Feng-hsiang, Shensi must be mentioned.

As the provinces of the Northwest were not occupied by the Japanese during World War II, UNRRA activities did not extend to this region.

V. Chinese Communist Welfare Projects

From the information that we get from the Communist press and propaganda, the Chinese Communist Government has launched an extensive program of public welfare, dedicated in particular to the raising of standards and security of the working class. It is no wonder that the Communist regime emphasizes the working classes to such an extent, since it claims that its ideological bases rest on this class. Life and medical insurance programs, better working conditions in factories and construction jobs, and welfare facilities for the working people are included in the Communist program. According to the Labor Insurance Law of 1951 (revised in 1953) workers were guaranteed from sixty to one hundred percent of their wages in case of injury or illness (including non-occupational ones) for their first six months of absence; after six months, they were to receive from forty to sixty percent of their wages from the labor insurance fund. Their jobs are secured for them upon recovery. Women had special provision for childbirth, upon which they received eight weeks of paid vacation and the expenses of the birth were taken on by the management. Provisions for the workers' future at old age, and the future of their families in case of accident was guaranteed as well.

If this law is fully implemented, it provides security for the workers and their families. However, we have no knowledge of how close to the letter of the law the practice of the government is. Nor do we know what percentage of the workers enjoy the benefit of this law.

Child-welfare is highly valued in China, whose future rests on the health and upbringing of its children. Therefore, extensive child-welfare programs have been adopted. Since the Communist society demands that women participate in industrial and construction works and contributed to the economic development of the country, provisions had to be made to take adequate care of their children. For this purpose many nurseries were established which provide a place for the children during the day time. Government orphanages were established as well, supplementing the already existing institutions. The aged, however, do not receive as much attention in the Communist society since they are viewed as being of no productive value to the society.

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737 OLD AGE DEPENDENCY--incidence of dependency for the aged of both sexes; care and support of the aged (e.g., support by relatives, private charity, public relief, institutionalization); special institutions for the aged (e.g., old people's homes); support of institutions (e.g., private, municipal, fraternal, ecclesiastical); etc. See also:

Age distribution of the population	162	Pensions and social insurance	745
Savings	454	Public assistance	746
Annuities	456	Status and treatment of the aged	888

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74 HEALTH AND WELFARE--general statements covering several aspects of the more highly institutionalized adjustments to social problems and disease.

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741

741 PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS--private endowments for relief of distress, social welfare, health, and education; church endowments for philanthropic and educational purposes; corporate foundations for the promotion of health, welfare, science, and education; special philanthropic organizations (e.g., community trusts); organization, administration, and policies of foundations; finance (e.g., gifts, investments, tax exemption); fund-raising methods; distribution of funds; etc. See also:

Institutions for defectives, dependents, and delinquents	73	Gift giving	431
Science and the humanities	81	Investment	484
Education	87	Taxation	651
Trusts	429	Church organizations	794

that two hundred thousand people had perished in the 731
disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by 491
means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had 741
also been constructed with famine relief funds, and 731
which now provided the means for saving scores of
lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted
by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled 797
for seven days before touching another Mission station
—a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in
those days, unused as we were then to the wider
horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the
little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and 583
cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, 292
white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at 533
brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild
snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in
those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose 485
between this man and the others, on the subject of the 513
choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being 783
distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected

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743 HOSPITALS AND CLINICS--number and availability of special institutions for medical care; organization and operation of clinics and hospitals; personnel (e.g., administrative and medical staffs, nurses, orderlies, technicians); equipment; special services; charges and fees; sources of financial support (e.g., governmental, ecclesiastical, private); ambulatory clinics. See also:

Physicians, nurses, and medical care	75	Care of alcoholics and drug addicts	733
Hospital buildings	344	Sanatoriums, convalescent homes, mental institutions, and leproseries	734
Care of war veterans	729		
Institutions for the care of defectives	732		

744 The first department devoted most of its time to preventing epidemics, innoculating people against possible epidemics (such as typhoid, typhus, smallpox, cholera) and preventing animal diseases. The National Department of Health was concerned with the promotion of regional health and sanitation institutes. Experimental stations for public health were opened in Kansu. In the
744 Northwest the health programs of the Nationalist Government were
743 launched in the last part of the 1930's. The numbers of hospitals recorded in the Northwest during 1936 are as follows:

	Hospitals	Beds
Shensi	7	263
Kansu	10	124
Chinghai	3	22

648 874 The Sino-Japanese war interfered with the progress of the health programs in the Northwest. However, some of the war results proved beneficial. During the war two medical schools were transferred to the Northwest. Sian has had a medical school since 1940 when the famous Medical School of National Peiping University was transferred there. It was not retransferred to Peiping after the war. A medical school was started in Lanchow
743 after the war as part of the National Lanchow University. In 1942 the Northwest Hospital was established at Lanchow, where, in 1944, over 30,000 outpatients and over a thousand inpatients were treated. Much medical field work was done during the war and a few army hospitals were opened in the Northwest. Hsi-ning also started a school hospital and a city-hospital during the war. A special health center was opened at Ting-yüan-ying for the Alashan Mongols.

744 *668 177

V. Health and Sanitation Under the Communists

The necessity to extend the work done in the medical field in the Northwest was clearly recognized by the Communist Government. According to the Chinese Communist reports from Peking, Northwest China, included in the overall program adopted by the Party to improve health and sanitation, has made relative progress in the field of public health.

The overall health policies of the Communist Government were adopted in 1950 by the First All-China Health Conference. This Conference stressed the following three principles as the guiding lines: (1) concentration on the health of the workers, farmers and soldiers; (2) emphasis on the means of prevention rather than cure of disease; and (3) uniting the modern and old-style doctors. The latter measure was decided upon because of the tremendous shortage of qualified doctors trained in modern methods to meet the needs of the huge population of China, the problem being more acute in remote regions.

A special conference entitled "The All-China Conference on the

N 744 *668 177 Health of the Various Nationalities in the Country," was convened by representatives of the Tibetan, Moslem, Yi, Uighur, Mongol, and Han nationalities, representatives of the health administrative organs of the Central People's Government and the various administrative regions, the representatives of the nationalities affairs, authorities of the various administrative regions, leaders of the medical preventive service corps to the national minority areas, and specially invited delegates of all nationalities.

"The Conference will undertake special studies in the diseases which most seriously endanger the health of the people in the national minority areas, such as venereal diseases, malaria, women's and infants' ailments (colds, measles, smallpox, puerperal fever), and thus to proceed to the decision on a definite policy for the work of promoting the health of the national minorities.

The Conference is expected to reach decisions also on various necessary measures for building up a public health system in the minority areas, such as the organization of health machineries, the fostering of health cadres, and the propaganda on health matters among the population." (NCNA Peking, August 24, 1951).

N 759 The need for professional medical help in the Northwest was one of the most urgent problems facing the Communist Government in the implementation of its health program. Young students from Central China with some medical knowledge were encouraged to go to the aid of the national minorities in the Northwest. "Go West" is the slogan of the day, and is considered to be a true pioneering act.

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"From June to October, four health service teams dispatched by the venereal disease prophylactic and therapeutic clinic of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region gave free treatment to some 3,000 peasants and nomads of var ous nationalities. In addition to the prophyiactic and therapeutic stations already established in the various counties, another well-equipped outpatient department has been added in Urumchi. The clinic has enrolled 60

students from the nationalities to learn prophylactic and therapeutic work." (FBIS, November 30, 1955).

Particular attention has also been paid to the Tibetan region as a whole and to Chinghai Province. About health programs developed in Tibet we have the following information: "Over 5 million yüan have been allocated by the Central People's Government to develop health work in the Tibet region during the past four years. During this time hospitals have been built in Lhasa and Chamdo; in addition, clinics and mobile medical teams have given service to patients in small towns and remote areas. Incomplete statistics show that free medical treatment and innoculation reached 963,000 people. In the same period, 170 Tibetans have been trained as medical workers. The Central People's Government has sent more than 400 doctors and nurses from other parts of the country to the region.

Plans were drawn up at a regional health conference of leading members of Tibet's health organizations and representatives of the Ministry of Public Health to establish more clinics and mobile medical teams and to train 50 to 80 Tibetan medical workers in the coming two years." (FBIS 181, September 16, 1955).

In Chinghai province itself, the Provincial Health Office administers the health program. Health clinics have been established in different parts of the province. The work here is more difficult because of the many nomadic tribes in the steppes. The Communists have aimed to train people among the nomads to take the position of medical personnel in their tribe. Progress in this area is slower. Some of the bigger already established clinics have been converted to hospitals.

According to their reports, on the whole, the progress made by the Communist Government in the field of health and sanitation is quite impressive. The first positive steps toward improving the health and sanitation conditions have been taken, but there is still much to be done in the future.

744

744 PUBLIC HEALTH AND SANITATION--organized measures for the prevention and control of infectious diseases and epidemics; degree of development and adequacy of public health services; specialized personnel (e.g., sanitary engineers, quarantine officers, inspectors); public health laboratories; public health activities (e.g., milk and meat inspection, imposition and enforcement of quarantines, control and extermination of disease vectors, sanitation); special control programs (e.g., yellow fever, venereal disease); public health legislation (e.g., pure food and drug acts); etc. See also:

Malnutrition 146
Incidence of disease 164
Municipal sanitation 364
Hygienic conditions in industry 466
Disposal of human excreta 514
Public welfare 657
Army sanitary corps. 708
Immunization and unspecialized preventive medicine 751

/The Chinese/

by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sanitary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the midwives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and child.

Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem. Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook). In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

E. Efforts of the Government

The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

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Sinkiang AI1

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745 SOCIAL INSURANCE--prevalent types of social insurance (e.g., retirement pensions, old age pensions, sickness and maternity benefits, unemployment benefits); contributions (e.g., from employers, beneficiaries, government); administration of funds; premiums and payments; industrial and business pension and benefit systems; social insurance legislation; systems sponsored and operated by the state (e.g., socialized medicine); etc. See also:

Annuities, individual insurance, and mutual benefit societies 456
Labor relations 466
Government expenditures for public welfare and pensions to government employees . . . 657
Pensions to war veterans 729
General data on medical care. 788

establishments in the Northwest prior to the war. (See Section on Religion). During the war, however, religiously sponsored welfare work also spread to the Northwest. Among the more active organizations, the Friends' Ambulance Unit (FAU) which came to China in 1941 has to be mentioned; Catholic missionary organs also did much welfare work in the Northwest. The outstanding welfare contribution of the Catholics is their maintenance of orphanages, particularly for girls. In 1933 there existed three Catholic orphanages in Sian (Shensi), six in Lanchou (Kansu) and one in Ch'in-chou (Kansu) in which altogether 480 orphans were cared for. During the war, the number of orphanages grew to eleven in Shensi, twenty in Kansu (including Ninghsia) and one each in Chinghai and Sinkiang. In these institutions altogether 2,758 orphans found shelter and relief. Under the Communists these Catholic orphanages attracted particularly vicious attacks. No data are available from the Northwest; if, however, events in other parts of China can be generalized, it has to be assumed that none of these institutions survives. In addition eleven homes for the old were maintained by Catholic missionaries in the Northwest with over two hundred inmates. Also the Catholic refugee camps at Feng-hsiang, Shensi must be mentioned.

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If this law is fully implemented, it provides security for the workers and their families. However, we have no knowledge of how close to the letter of the law the practice of the government is. Nor do we know what percentage of the workers enjoy the benefit of this law.

Child-welfare is highly valued in China, whose future rests on the health and upbringing of its children. Therefore, extensive child-welfare programs have been adopted. Since the Communist society demands that women participate in industrial and construction works and contributed to the economic development of the country, provisions had to be made to take adequate care of their children. For this purpose many nurseries were established which provide a place for the children during the day time. Government orphanages were established as well, supplementing the already existing institutions. The aged, however, do not receive as much attention in the Communist society since they are viewed as being of no productive value to the society.

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747 PRIVATE WELFARE AGENCIES--private fund-raising organizations (e.g., community chests); private, semi-private, fraternal, and ecclesiastical operating relief agencies (e.g., Red Cross, Salvation Army, family welfare organizations); welfare institutions not elsewhere described (e.g., settlement houses, city missions, day nurseries, church community houses); organization, administration, financial support, and activities of each type; etc. See also:

Institutions caring for specific types of defectives, dependents, and delinquents 73
Church welfare work. 794

done in public welfare. The information about the situation in the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers; organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

The activities of the National Relief Commission included care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them sere sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Chinghai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

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75 SICKNESS--general statements covering several aspects of sickness. Ideas of the causation of sickness, with methods of cure, and with specialists in the treatment of disease, including bodily injuries and functional or neurotic ailments will be filed below in the appropriate three digit category.

/Tibetans of Chingahi/

gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cooking preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

Most of the people do not know the different values of the various food products. Although many might wish to improve their daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

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751 PREVENTIVE MEDICINE--conception of health and hygiene; health regimen; protective measures (e.g., sun tan lotion, amulets, charms, spells, prophylaxis, immunization);etc. See also:

Incidence of disease	164	Health insurance	456
Diet	262	Personal hygiene	515
Exercise	526	Magic	789
Public health and sanitation	744	Infant care	854
Fetishes	778	Child care	855
Taboos	784	Prescriptions for longevity	886

/The Tibetans/

are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama. With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

"Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity." Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bundle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

HEALTH AND SANITATION

I. Introduction

For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 262 on special occasions, enjoy many Chinese dishes, or Tibetan adaptations of them. One of the most popular dishes is a sort of steamed dumpling stuffed with meat. Another is whole mutton, [273] semi-raw or roasted and eaten off the bone. A favorite beverage is a mildly fermented beer of barley or other grain. A more spirituous liquor is also widely appreciated.

Vegetables are scarce and usually are purchased from the Chinese or Chinese Moslems on the Sino-Tibetan border. At that they are limited mostly to potatoes and onions. The nomadic Tibetans have little fondness for green vegetables and accept them to a lesser extent than do the sedentary groups.

*563 B. The Predominant Diseases Among the Tibetans

164 The most common diseases include the venereal diseases, stomach and intestinal disorders, rheumatism, eye and skin diseases and tuberculosis. Perhaps because of the cold climate, the high altitude and the consequent absence of flies, and the use of animal manure instead of night-soil for fertilizing the fields, cholera, typhoid and similar excrement-borne diseases are rare.

The incidence of some diseases seems correlated to whether the people are nomadic or sedentary. For example, Ekvall (1939) reports a higher incidence of syphillis among the agricultural Tibetans, and a somewhat higher gonorrhea rate among the nomads. Leprosy is practically unknown among the nomads but is very common among the farmers. One can infer that rheumatism would be more frequent among the nomads than among the farmers because of the former's greater exposure to chills and dampness. In common with other Tibetans and peoples of the inland areas whose supply of salt is from Tibet's salt lakes, goiters are prevalent. The digestive ailments may be attributed to the frequent inclusion of foreign matter, such as sheep wool or yak hair, in the food, and also to some of the methods used in food preparation. The eye ailments, can be traced in part to the venereal disease rates, in part to the hazards of wind, dust, smoke, and snow-glare on the high plateaus. The skin troubles may be traceable to the customs of rarely washing more than the hands and face, of never completely removing one's clothes, and the numerous population that shares the sheepskin garment with its human host.

Other health hazards among the Tibetans include infections of accidental and non-accidental wounds (many a child has suffered severe burns) incurred in raids. The Tibetans seem to have an extremely low resistance to epidemic diseases such as smallpox, scarlet fever and influenza. Ekvall reports that the Tibetans even [751] suffered violent reactions to vaccination, quite out of proportion to their neighbors, the Chinese and Chinese Moslems. However, [758] this low resistance is accompanied by a high fear of these infections. The tradition of strict quarantine, even to the point of

/Tibetans of Chingahi/

gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cooking preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

Most of the people do not know the different values of the various food products. Although many might wish to improve their daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

/The Chinese/

knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs. The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin. These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases. Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.

Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the existence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth. According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is disturbed, disease follows.

These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated population, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population. In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases. Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China Handbook.

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot, who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sanitation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day

753

753 THEORY OF DISEASE--extent of the attribution of disease to natural causes, to sorcery, and to supernatural aggression; prevalent theories of the supernatural causation of disease (e.g., soul loss, spirit possession, object intrusion, poison, evil eye, violation of taboos, pollution or contagion); special notions about loathsome diseases (e.g., leprosy); scientific theories of disease (e.g., transmission through germs); etc. See also:

Religious and magical beliefs	77	Development of biological science	815
Incidence of disease	164	Knowledge and beliefs concerning human physiology	827
Medical research	742	Interpretation of mental disorders	828
Conception of the causes of death	761		

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

abandonment of the sick, is very strong, and to some extent helps limit the spread of contagious disease. (Cf. also Rijnhart, 1902).

The Tibetans are apt to attribute diseases to spirits, such as the sa-ndre, (earth-spirits), demons and wrongdoing in this or previous lives. The sa-ndre are especially feared, because they afflict those who disturb the ground with leprosy; hence, the high incidence o: that dread disease among the farmers and its absence among the nomads. Demons or devils are the sources of the epidemic diseases and the reason for the imposition of the strict quarantine of their victims. Like their diseases the devils are highly contagious. But, except for these ailments that have known causes, the Tibetan will consult a doctor or someone whose home remedies have proved successful. Under the latter category would be included the various Christian missionaries and explorers, traders, etc., who frequented Chinghai.

C. The Local Doctors

"...the treatment given by the native doctors generally means an increase of agony to the sufferer. For headaches large sticking plaster are applied to the patient's head and forehead; for rheumatics often a needle is buried in the arm or shoulder; a tooth is extracted by tying a rope to it and jerking it out...; a sufferer with stomach-ache may be subjected to a good pounding, or to the application of a piece of wick soaked in burning butter grease; or if medicine is to be taken internally it will consist probably of a piece of paper on which a prayer is written, rolled up into the form of a pellet, and if this fails to produce the desired effect another pellet is administered, composed of the bones of some pious priest.". (Rijnhart, 1902, p. 34).

Actually, Tibetan medical science is one of the ten major subjects that, according to Buddhist classification, constitute the whole of human knowledge. One of the nation's main medical schools is located near Lhasa. Some of the major academic monasteries also have medical schools and the person with the title of manpa (sman-pa, doctor) is respected as highly learned. The medical lore that is studied is that of ancient India. It is primarily scientific, in that it is based on rational explanations of physiology and pathology. The religious aspects are superficial additions that do not affect too seriously the basically scientific approach. There are different categories of disease apportioned according to whether the sickness is the result of something wrong in this life, in the previous life, or a combination of previous lives and the present; whether the patient is male, female, child or desexed. Then there are afflictions common to all regardless of sex or age. These number 404 categories, 101 being attributed to each of the four major elements, organs or vices, depending upon the interpretation. (The original Brahmanical medicine had only 101 cate-

/The Chinese/

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755

755 MAGICAL AND MENTAL THERAPY--individual therapeutic efforts (e.g., acts of faith, self-analysis); resorting to a specialized practitioner (e.g., circumstances, arrangements, payments); diagnosis (e.g., divination, interpretation of symptoms); therapeutic procedure (e.g., shamanistic seances, analytic couch); methods (e.g., interpretation of dreams, countermagic, exorcism, recapture of soul, sucking out of intrusive object, resort to spirit helpers); prescriptions (e.g., medication, purification, expiation, imposition of taboos); prognosis; ritual banishment of disease (e.g., scapegoat); faith healing; scientific systems of psychotherapy (e.g., psychoanalysis, psychiatry, mental hygiene); evidence as to the effectiveness of magical and mental therapy; etc. See also:

Behavior processes and personality . . . . 15 Soul concepts 774
Shamanistic dances . . . . 535 Spirit possession and dream interpretation . . 787

/The Tibetans/

are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama. With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

"Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity." Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bundle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend.

/The Tibetans/

are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

4. Popular beliefs

When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

5. Recreation

The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

H. The Western Mongols or Torguts

Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike character, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

Fig. 13. A Yidam, one of the tutelary gods, holding a prayer bell and Dordyi (bronze). The figure is placed upon the mouth of a sick person who takes his medicines through the mouth of the god.

756

756 PSYCHOTHERAPISTS--prevalent types of psychotherapists (e.g., shamans, faith healers, psychoanalysts, clinical psychologists); physical, mental, and social characteristics; source of power (e.g., inheritance, spirit helpers, specialized knowledge); training and initiation; prerogatives and disabilities; special paraphernalia and behavior; source of support (e.g., gifts, fees); penalties for failure; relations between practitioners (e.g., rivalry, organization); shamanism as a religious complex; special organizations (e.g., medicine societies, psychoanalytic societies); etc. See also:

Sorcery	754	Nontherapeutic functions of psychotherapists	789
Familiar spirits	776	Magicians and diviners	791
Revelation and divination	787	Transvestitism	838

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

A. Shamanism

Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toadstool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the position of Shaman is hereditary.

The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

one can hide from his all-seeing eyes, nor flee his judgment.

This was the autochthonous religion of the Central Asiatic steppe regions. It has been proved that Shamanism appeared among the Hsiung-nu of the third century B.C., as a cult idolizing heaven and certain holy mountains. The T'u-ch'üeh of the sixth century A.D. worshipped the originator of heaven and earth as their highest god, and sacrificed horses, cattle and sheep to him. This ancient so-called Tengri cult looks upon the world as a construction of layers. The upper seventeen layers form the realm of heaven, the world of light, and in the uppermost layer resides the Supreme Being, whom heaven and earth must obey. The lower seventh to ninth layers constitute the world of darkness, the place of damnation for sinners. Virtuous souls, on the other hand, are received into the world of light. Between these upper and lower realms is the world of the living.

Turkic mythology tells of a child-protecting diety, Umai, and good genii who populate the soil and water (yer-sub), especially fountains and mountains, holy places (idug). This cult became legalized and later was regulated by the Jassa (code) of Chingis Khan. The veneration and adoration of air and water played an important role, and was a distinctive phenomenon. For this reason, the Jassa forbade the Islamic ritual washings of body and clothes except in certain cases. Priests prophesied the future. The Kül Tegin inscriptions (one of the oldest Turkic runic written monuments) reflect the Turco-Mongolian cosmogeny and the concept of morality: The order of heaven is the subjecting and peaceful ordering of the peoples of the "four corners of the earth."

This same Tengri cult was carried to Europe by the Chazars and Avars. The Shamanism of the latter is evident in the practices handed down to posterity by Theophylaktos Simokatta, a Byzantinian historiographer of the seventh century. In China, which was conquered by the Ju-chen in the twelfth century A.D., a large part of the influence of the Ju-chen statesman, Wan-yen Wu-shih, was due to his Shamanistic "brotherhood."

More precise information about the Mongols' religious concepts prior to the thirteenth century is not available. Even in later times, Mongol Shamanism remained essentially unchanged and the major religions had only a negligible influence upon it. Mongols hide from thunder, they are careful to avoid muddy streams and springs, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and they take refuge on holy mountains. According to Islamic writers and Nestorian missionaries, the object of such ascents is to come nearer to Tengri. Doffing the cap and belt is a sign of humility before the omnipotence of Tengri. Thus, when he was pursued by the Merkits, the young Chingis Khan fled to Burkhan Khaldun, an especially holy mountain today called

771 Ken-tai, on the headwaters of the Onon River, and there im-
175 plored Tengri for grace and mercy. According to Vladimirzov,
171 the name "Chingis Khan" should be traced back to Chinggiz, the
756 god of light. His elevation and promotion to the position of Great
Khan (Khagan) of all the Turko-Mongol peoples of Central Asia
was confirmed by religious omens, circumstances and condi-
tions. For example, there was Mu-kua-li's prediction that a
revenging hero would be chosen (Chingis Khan) in the same place
(Kharaqorum) in which the last Mongol received the title of
Khan, i.e., "receiver (recipient) of the mandate of the blue
heaven." The superstitiously feared Shaman, Kökčü, could ride
his dapple-gray horse into the heavens and converse with the
spirits. It was he who announced to the assembly (Qurultai) em-
powered with making the decision that the "eternal blue heavens"
had ordained Chingis Khan as Khagan of the world, and that,
henceforth, he would be known as "Khagan through the eternal
heavens." Even the Mongol banner of the nine yak tails, which
is the symbol of the house of the spirit of the "golden chains"
(altan uruq), expressed the religious mission of conquering the
world. Later Chingis Khan had Kökčü, as well as his own blood
brother, Jamuga, murdered. The deed was accomplished, how-
ever, without the spilling of blood, because, according to Sha-
manism, the soul resides in the blood. Before starting out on
the decisive campaign against North China, Chingis Khan re-
mained in his tent for three days with his belt loosened. When
he emerged on the fourth day, he proclaimed to the worshipping
people that Tengri had accorded victory to him.

Chingis Khan and all his successors were Tengri's representatives on earth; their command was his command; rebellion against them was rebellion against him. When Güyük prepared to invite the Pope through his emissary, John of Plano Carpini, he called upon heaven (as highest representation of divinity and as the arbitrator among all religions) to bear witness to his divine power.

The worship of Tengri did not rule out attempts by the Mon-
gols to placate other representations of the godhead. This wish
for double insurance led to the lenient and favorable treatment
accorded to the priests of foreign religions and to the famous
756 Mongol tolerance. After a thousand-year process of penetration,
171 Shamanism was finally overcome by the major religions of the
bordering states. It is, however, still alive among the Tungus
tribes of Manchuria and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Re-
gion, among the Alashan Mongols, among the Tibetans of South
Chinghai and finally, among those Turks who live in the moun-
tainous regions of Sinkiang. It is noteworthy that, to a certain
degree, Shamanism is compatible with Islam and Buddhism.

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757 **MEDICAL THERAPY**--extent of differentiation of medical from magical and mental therapy; home remedies and self-medication; resorting to a specialized practitioner (e.g., circumstances, arrangements, payments); diagnosis (e.g., examination for symptoms, diagnostic aids); consultations; therapeutic principles (e.g., counterirritation, homeopathy); therapeutic methods (e.g., bloodletting, administration of cathartics and emetics, medication); prescribed regimen (e.g., rest, diet, isolation); remedies for specific complaints (e.g., fevers, colds, toothache, indigestion, rheumatism, infectious diseases); etc. See also:

Ideas about anatomy and physiology	82	Medical research	742
Obstetrics	84	Public health and sanitation	744
Materia medica and pharmacology	278	Surgery	758

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

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164 limit the spread of contagious disease. (Cf. also Rijnhart, 1902).
[758] The Tibetans are apt to attribute diseases to spirits, such as
*563 the sa-ndre, (earth-spirits), demons and wrongdoing in this or
164 previous lives. The sa-ndre are especially feared, because they
753 afflict those who disturb the ground with leprosy; hence, the high
776 incidence of that dread disease among the farmers and its absence among the nomads. Demons or devils are the sources of the epidemic diseases and the reason for the imposition of the strict quarantine of their victims. Like their diseases the devils are highly contagious. But, except for these ailments that have known
[759] causes, the Tibetan will consult a doctor or someone whose home remedies have proved successful. Under the latter category would be included the various Christian missionaries and explorers, traders, etc., who frequented Chinghai.

759 C. The Local Doctors

"...the treatment given by the native doctors generally means
• 757 an increase of agony to the sufferer. For headaches large sticking
*563 plaster are applied to the patient's head and forehead; for rheumatics often a needle is buried in the arm or shoulder; a tooth is extracted by tying a rope to it and jerking it out...; a sufferer with stomach-ache may be subjected to a good pounding, or to the application of a piece of wick soaked in burning butter grease; or if medicine is to be taken internally it will consist probably of a piece of paper on which a prayer is written, rolled up into the form of a pellet, and if this fails to produce the desired effect another pellet is administered, composed of the bones of some pious priest." (Rijnhart, 1902, p. 34).

75 Actually, Tibetan medical science is one of the ten major subjects that, according to Buddhist classification, constitute the
*563 whole of human knowledge. One of the nation's main medical schools is located near Lhasa. Some of the major academic monasteries also have medical schools and the person with the title of manpa (sman-pa, doctor) is respected as highly learned. The medical lore that is studied is that of ancient India. It is primarily scientific, in that it is based on rational explanations of physiology and pathology. The religious aspects are superficial additions that do not affect too seriously the basically scientific approach. There are different categories of disease apportioned according to whether the sickness is the result of something wrong in this life, in the previous life, or a combination of previous lives and the present; whether the patient is male, female, child or desexed. Then there are afflictions common to all regardless of sex or age. These number 404 categories, 101 being attributed to each of the four major elements, organs or vices, depending upon the interpretation. (The original Brahmanical medicine had only 101 cate-

758

758 MEDICAL CARE--regimen and care of sick persons (e.g., diet, rest, isolation); apparatus and paraphernalia of medical care (e.g., clinical thermometers, bed pans); general availability of medical advice, treatment, and care (e.g., organization, finance, services); etc. This category is intended for general information on medical care. For specialized data see relevant categories in 73, 74 and 75. See also:

Gift giving . . . . 431 Visiting 574

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 on special occasions, enjoy many Chinese dishes, or Tibetan
262 adaptations of them. One of the most popular dishes is a sort
of steamed dumpling stuffed with meat. Another is whole mutton,
[273] semi-raw or roasted and eaten off the bone. A favorite beverage
is a mildly fermented beer of barley or other grain. A more
spirituous liquor is also widely appreciated.

Vegetables are scarce and usually are purchased from the Chinese or Chinese Moslems on the Sino-Tibetan border. At that they are limited mostly to potatoes and onions. The nomadic Tibetans have little fondness for green vegetables and accept them to a lesser extent than do the sedentary groups.

B. The Predominant Diseases Among the Tibetans

*563 The most common diseases include the venereal diseases,
164 stomach and intestinal disorders, rheumatism, eye and skin
diseases and tuberculosis. Perhaps because of the cold climate, the high altitude and the consequent absence of flies, and the use of animal manure instead of night-soil for fertilizing the fields, cholera, typhoid and similar excrement-borne diseases are rare.

The incidence of some diseases seems correlated to whether the people are nomadic or sedentary. For example, Ekvall (1939) reports a higher incidence of syphillis among the agricultural Tibetans, and a somewhat higher gonorrhea rate among the nomads. Leprosy is practically unknown among the nomads but is very common among the farmers. One can infer that rheumatism would be more frequent among the nomads than among the farmers because of the former's greater exposure to chills and dampness. In common with other Tibetans and peoples of the inland areas whose supply of salt is from Tibet's salt lakes, goiters are prevalent. The digestive ailments may be attributed to the frequent inclusion of foreign matter, such as sheep wool or yak hair, in the food, and also to some of the methods used in food preparation. The eye ailments, can be traced in part to the venereal disease rates, in part to the hazards of wind, dust, smoke, and snow-glare on the high plateaus. The skin troubles may be traceable to the customs of rarely washing more than the hands and face, of never completely removing one's clothes, and the numerous population that shares the sheepskin garment with its human host.

Other health hazards among the Tibetans include infections of accidental and non-accidental wounds (many a child has suffered severe burns) incurred in raids. The Tibetans seem to have an extremely low resistance to epidemic diseases such as smallpox, scarlet fever and influenza. Ekvall reports that the Tibetans even
[751] suffered violent reactions to vaccination, quite out of proportion
to their neighbors, the Chinese and Chinese Moslems. However,
this low resistance is accompanied by a high fear of these infec-
*[758] tions. The tradition of strict quarantine, even to the point of

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

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759

759 MEDICAL PERSONNEL--prevalent types of medical specialists (e.g., herbalists, diagnosticians, physicians, surgeons, dentists, nurses, technicians, midwives); qualifications, training, status, and activities of each type; prerogatives and disabilities of medical personnel; special garb, paraphernalia, and behavior; remuneration (e.g., fees, salaries); penalties for failure; medical organizations; professional ethics; medical cults (e.g., acupuncture, osteopathy); examination and licensing of medical practitioners; etc. See also:

Medical personnel in institutions for defectives, dependents, and delinquents 73
Public health, hospital, and research personnel . 74
Psychiatrists, shamans, and medicine societies . 756
Role of midwives at childbirth 844
Medical and nursing schools 874

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

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846 The position of women is probably most clearly expressed in the fact that for forty days after a woman has given birth she is considered unclean. She may not leave her hut for ten days and may not even sit out in her yard, for she is unworthy for the sun to shine upon. During the first ten days even the husband is considered impure and may not associate with anyone. If he is a shopkeeper, custom forces him to close his shop during this interval or, if he does not wish to do this, to hire a substitute for this period, /242/ but he himself may not enter his shop or his place of business. For this reason many Chinese husbands quickly set out on a journey when a birth in the family is imminent, in order to avoid the suspicion of uncleanness.

764 Only a few days after my return from the Gum bum monastery my landlord in whose spacious buildings I had rented the third and last courtyard with its adjoining small house, died. His body was laid out for the next few days directly in front of my separate courtyard entrance, and there all the various funeral ceremonies took place so that I could view the entire proceeding at leisure. The
[609] family of the deceased had immigrated only a few generations before from Shensi, and so they were still considered strangers, they came from "down below," as the people of Hsining say. Thus, there were not many relatives and the family was not wealthy, so that everything was relatively simple and was done as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, according to our conceptions the ceremoniousness was tremendous.

•763 The man had reached a ripe old age and had then died very quickly. But his relatives had succeeded in observing the etiquette of putting on his shroud, a long, padded silk gown, while he was still alive and also in moving him from his bed beside the stove onto a small bench and laying him out in the center room of the main house, so that his soul might more easily find its way out into the open. Thus, at the very last minute his sons had proved
764 themselves pious children. Immediately after the man died money
775 was placed in his mouth, so that he should not be mute when reborn, but he was neither washed nor were his eyelids closed. During the first few days he lay in the death chamber as though he had been forgotten, and the doors and windows of the room were wide open. All I heard during the day was the man's name being called and the words "father" and "grandfather," and on the first evening a long train of Taoist priests set out from the house, bearing many lanterns, and gongs, triangles and drums through the streets of the

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764 FUNERAL--attitude toward the corpse; mortuary toilet (e.g., dressing and decorating the body); laying out in state; preservative techniques (e.g., embalming, desiccation, mummification); determination of time, place, and mode of burial; interval between death and burial (e.g., duration, measures to prevent further deaths, manifestations of grief); vigils and wakes; place of disposal of corpse (e.g., cemetery, ossuary); receptacles (e.g., coffin, canoe, urn, tomb); method of disposal (e.g., abandonment, inhumation, cremation, sea burial, cave burial, tree or scaffold burial); preparation of grave, pyre, or scaffold; transport of corpse to place of disposal; procession to grave; disposition of corpse (e.g., posture, orientation); funerary mounds, monuments, and memorials; burial rites; mortuary sacrifices; disposition of grave goods; roles of relatives at funerals; economic obligations of participants (e.g., fees, contributions); precautions against return of the soul (e.g., silence, disguise, doors of the dead); return from the funeral; purification of participants; etc. See also:

Commemorative statues and monuments . . . . 211 Blood vengeance 628
Dirges and laments . . . . 533 Eschatology 775
Posthumous marriages . . . . 588 Purification rites 783

*563 621 631 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village units would not have been so important in the local administrative system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper,
*563 361 632 443 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here as they do in other parts of the country.

*563 621 In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu-
[443] [632] liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

*563 621 771 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways. One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past. At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such
[794] a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

*563 545 621 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity. Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun. In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very
*563 621 769 [764] much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities. Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/The Tibetans/

are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama. With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

"Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity." Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bundle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend.

/The Chinese/

by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sanitary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the midwives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and child.

Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem. Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook). In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

E. Efforts of the Government

The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

N 744 Health of the Various Nationalities in the Country," was convened
*668 by representatives of the Tibetan, Moslem, Yi, Uighur, Mongol,
177 and Han nationalities, representatives of the health administrative
organs of the Central People's Government and the various administrative regions, the representatives of the nationalities affairs, authorities of the various administrative regions, leaders of the medical preventive service corps to the national minority areas, and specially invited delegates of all nationalities.

"The Conference will undertake special studies in the diseases which most seriously endanger the health of the people in the national minority areas, such as venereal diseases, malaria, women's and infants' ailments (colds, measles, smallpox, puerperal fever), and thus to proceed to the decision on a definite policy for the work of promoting the health of the national minorities.

The Conference is expected to reach decisions also on various necessary measures for building up a public health system in the minority areas, such as the organization of health machineries, the fostering of health cadres, and the propaganda on health matters among the population." (NCNA Peking, August 24, 1951).

N The need for professional medical help in the Northwest was
[759] one of the most urgent problems facing the Communist Government
in the implementation of its health program. Young students from Central China with some medical knowledge were encouraged to go to the aid of the national minorities in the Northwest. "Go West" is the slogan of the day, and is considered to be a true pioneering act.

N The primary attention is given to the workers, particularly
743 those working on big governmental projects. "In the mountainous
*668 region of Szechwan, Shensi and Kansu Provinces, workers on
177 reconstruction receive medical care. For each billeting camp of
1,000 of more a clinic staffed with 5 to 8 doctors and nurses is operating. Four regular hospitals have been opened in Chengtu and other cities along the line especially for road workers." (FBIS, No. 61, March 29, 1955).

S In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang
743 to meet some of the problems of lack of medical personnel.
744 Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous
668 Region to combat the most common diseases in the area. Particu-
lar emphasis was placed on curing and preventing venereal dis-
177 eases.

"From June to October, four health service teams dispatched by the venereal disease prophylactic and therapeutic clinic of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region gave free treatment to some 3,000 peasants and nomads of various nationalities. In addition to the prophylactic and therapeutic stations already established in the various counties, another well-equipped outpatient department has been added in Urumchi. The clinic has enrolled 60

762

762 SUICIDE--incidence of suicide; motives (e.g., humiliation, thwarted love); common methods (e.g., jumping, drowning, shooting, poison); stereotyped methods (e.g., suttee, hara-kiri); justifications; attitude toward suicides; etc. See also:

Personality disorders . . . . 158 Punishment of attempted suicide. 682

876 lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students
*668 thus treated have been reported.
177 Another factor which influenced education was the austerity
[762] movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment,
facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi
871 some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms
*668 with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by
177 fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office.
[875] This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a
teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

877 Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the
students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shen-
*668 si, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected
177 from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi,
110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, with-
[562] out contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minor-
*[563] ity groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was
sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to
[526] 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting
at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

873 2. Higher education

*668 Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the
Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first
177 group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense.
874 The second includes political training institutes. The third in-
*[563] cludes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

763

763 DYING--omens and predictions of death; notions about dying; recognizing the approach of death; settlement of affairs; assembling of relatives; attempts to postpone death; preparing the patient for death (e.g., removal from dwelling, dressing in mortuary garments, last rites); preparing the funeral equipment (e.g., shroud, coffin); last words and last favors; criteria of death (e.g., coma, cessation of breath or heart action); attempts at revival; reaction to the impact of death (e.g., wailing, flight, self-mutilation); announcement of death; post-mortem examinations; etc. See also:

Deathbed testaments . . . . 428 Omens 787
Capital punishment 681

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/The Tibetans/

*563 are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets
585 and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

*563 The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the
844 third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally
852 preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity
[562] of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein
[751] of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ail-
[853] ments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

*563 The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama.
553 With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between
852 names for males and females. High lamas always give their
[793] own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

*563 "Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat,
764 the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant
*563 sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the pa-
[755] tient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant
[793] sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity."
*563 Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bun-
• 763 dle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the
764 tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

*563 Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women
764 are not permitted to attend.
562

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*563 are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and
764 relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the
[534] procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

N
*563 4. Popular beliefs

755 When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is
N written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is
[776] believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

N
*563 Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to
787 learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

N
*563 5. Recreation

533 The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

S
563 H. The Western Mongols or Torguts

181 Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike charac-
000 ter, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

(eighth century A.D.) and a Sung edition of the Tripitaka. It gained its name through the Buddhist monk Wei-ko (Sung times) who used to stay there overnight and was called the Sleeping Dragon.

Another one is the K'ai-yüan-ssu, built in 713 A.D., which is adorned with many famous inscriptions and also was once famed for its library. Few religious relics are left now at this place, which has become a center of high-class girl entertainers instead.

One of the landmarks of Sian is the Glazed Tile Pagoda, Hua-t'a, built during the times of the Five Dynasties. Other famous pagodas in the neighborhood are the Great Swallow Pagoda, Ta-yen-t'a, belonging to the temple Ta Tz'u-en-ssu, in which the pilgrim Hsüan-tsang was active, and the Small Swallow Pagoda, Hsiao-yen-t'a, built in the beginning of the eighth century.

The best-known Taoist temple was the Ying-hsiang-kuan, which was made the main center of Taoist devotion by Emperor Jui of T'ang in 708 A.D. at a period when the Imperial house of T'ang showed pride in its alleged descendence from Lao-tzu, the great patriarch of Taoist religion. In Kuomintang times the temple was converted into a school.

The plain around Sian is dotted with many tombs of past emperors. These artificial hills are held in great reverence by the local population and many myths have taken their origin here even though it is not known whose august remains these hills cover.

Shensi is also the site of one of the Five Sacred Mountains of China, which formed part of the Imperial cult and to which regularly Imperial sacrifices were offered. The worship of these mountains belongs to the oldest religious traditions of China. All through historic times down to and including the last dynasty, the Emperors went there in person for regular services or at least had themselves represented by topmost officialdom. At least since T'ang times large temples were erected to the spirit of these mountains. They were, however, not only depositories of memories of this official cult, but as pilgrimage centers of organized groups and individuals, they have accumulated religious traditions and historical relics devoted to all sections of the population.

Even though the Western Peak, Hua-shan, has to cede priority to the Eastern, T'ai-shan, it always was, and still is, one of the most important centers of pious activities. Numerous temples, shrines, caves and pavillions testify to this fact. Most of them are outside institutionalized Imperial ritual, but are maintained by local religious groups or sects and by the donations of visiting pilgrims in search of delivery from some bodily or spiritual troubles.

Turkestan or Tibet, at any time during the past few hundred years. Hsienyang is also famous as one of the old capitals of China, having been the seat of no less a person than the Emperor who designed the Great Wall, and who, being annoyed by the supercilious conservatism of the Chinese scholars of those days, buried several hundreds of them alive, and burnt all their books; for which act his name is execrated by the scholars of today.

Starting out from Hsienyang we left the high road to Kansu, which we had followed two years previously, on the right hand, and continued across the level plain to Hsingp'ing Hsien, another short march of 50 li. This is a second class district city lying on a wheat and cotton-growing plain sloping from the north down towards the Wei River.

The next stage to Wukung Hsien is a distance of 90 li, still across the plain. Thirty li out, just beyond the village of Mawei, the local magistrate who was accompanying us suddenly dragged us off the road to visit a dilapidated little temple in the fields, which turned out to be the tomb of a notorious Imperial concubine known to every educated Chinese as Yang Kuei-fei. She was strangled here by her consort, the Emperor, to satisfy his troops in about 170 A.D.; I forget the details of the story, which every Chinese knows. There was nothing to be seen inside the temple except the usual ancient individual busy taking rubbings of inscriptions. Central Shensi is full of these objects of historical interest, dating back sometimes two or three thousand years. Wukung district is entered beyond the walled village of Tungfufeng, which lies half-way, and the plain now begins to rise imperceptibly and becomes the usual undulating loess plateau; so that there is a sudden drop to reach the city of Wukung Hsien lying in a valley a hundred feet or so below the level of the loess. Three streams, from near Fenghsiang, Linyu, and Yungshou, unite here to form a pea-soupy river flowing south to join the Wei. Wukung, a second-class district city, is quite a prosperous little place with busy streets and well-stocked shops.

From Wukung the road climbs out of the valley and runs across the loess uplands to the west. All along this road the traveller is accompanied on his left hand by the

846 The position of women is probably most clearly expressed in the fact that for forty days after a woman has given birth she is considered unclean. She may not leave her hut for ten days and may not even sit out in her yard, for she is unworthy for the sun to shine upon. During the first ten days even the husband is considered impure and may not associate with anyone. If he is a shopkeeper, custom forces him to close his shop during this interval or, if he does not wish to do this, to hire a substitute for this period, /242/ but he himself may not enter his shop or his place of business. For this reason many Chinese husbands quickly set out on a journey when a birth in the family is imminent, in order to avoid the suspicion of uncleanness.

764 Only a few days after my return from the Gum bum monastery my landlord in whose spacious buildings I had rented the third and last courtyard with its adjoining small house, died. His body was laid out for the next few days directly in front of my separate courtyard entrance, and there all the various funeral ceremonies took place so that I could view the entire proceeding at leisure. The
[609] family of the deceased had immigrated only a few generations before from Shensi, and so they were still considered strangers, they came from "down below," as the people of Hsining say. Thus, there were not many relatives and the family was not wealthy, so that everything was relatively simple and was done as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, according to our conceptions the ceremoniousness was tremendous.

763 The man had reached a ripe old age and had then died very quickly. But his relatives had succeeded in observing the etiquette of putting on his shroud, a long, padded silk gown, while he was still alive and also in moving him from his bed beside the stove onto a small bench and laying him out in the center room of the main house, so that his soul might more easily find its way out into the open. Thus, at the very last minute his sons had proved
764 themselves pious children. Immediately after the man died money
775 was placed in his mouth, so that he should not be mute when reborn, but he was neither washed nor were his eyelids closed. During the first few days he lay in the death chamber as though he had been forgotten, and the doors and windows of the room were wide open. All I heard during the day was the man's name being called and the words "father" and "grandfather," and on the first evening a long train of Taoist priests set out from the house, bearing many lanterns, and gongs, triangles and drums through the streets of the

city, and making a fiendish racket. Behind the priests came a 764
sedan chair on the seat of which was a board with the name of the 775
deceased. The sedan chair was followed by a table with all kinds of offerings and behind this tottered the son and the grandson in a stooped position, dressed in coarse white hemp mourning clothes and supported by friends and hired servants. They were still obliged to look for the gui, i. e., the soul of the deceased. For this purpose they halted at all corners and crossroads, called his name and searched the ground industriously. For the Chinese imagine that death sets in because the soul has left the body, and that the body would be able to go on living if only the soul or gui would or could find its way back. The gui is politely invited to return. (1)

1. It is doubtful whether gui (kwei) can be translated "soul" in our sense, for the ordinary folk-philosophy of Kansu teaches that a human being has three gui and seven schen (spirits). The three gui are thought of as having substance and belonging to the Yin principle (see page 33, footnote 1), whereas the seven schen are without substance and belong to the Yang principle. One of the three gui stays with the bones after death while the second, with the help of the Taoist priests, clings to the death tablet bearing the name of the deceased. In time these two vanish. /243/ The third gui is the only one that is immortal. It is also used by the Chinese in a Buddhistic way, it must pass through hell and is later, on occasion, reborn. But because many Chinese do not know anything about Buddhistic teachings of reincarnation, it is often said that this third soul lives on unseen with the family; it "haunts" the living and can bring them harm or be useful to them.

/243/ On the third day the corpse was placed in the coffin which 764
was over 2 meters long and constructed of beams 2 1/2 inches thick. Like the shroud, the coffin had been bought many years before and stored in a corner of the house. The feet of the corpse were tied together and its head placed on a brick. Every day after sunrise the relatives with their wives now gathered together in the death chamber around the coffin for half an hour and wailed so loud that all the neighbors heard it. At the same time tea and sweets were laid out on a table covered with a white cloth in front of the coffin, liquor was poured out and candles and incense burned. When the half hour

764 was up the howling and wailing ceased as suddenly as it had begun, tears were dried, and people went about their business or began eating, and after another twenty-four hours the lamentations were taken up again.

[793] On the sixth day the Taoist priests again came to the house and set up tents and canopies in the courtyard outside my door. (1)

1. I did not observe that the Chinese of Northwest China used Buddhistic priests in this connection. Lama priests are used only in places where Chinese are intermingled with Tibetans. But Hsining fu is a Chinese city in which, besides Chinese, there are only a few Manchu and Tu ren living.

Musicians appeared and also cooks who had to cook for the many guests and relatives who came to express sympathy. Meanwhile the priests had prepared a passport to the kingdom of the dead, a written eulogy on gray paper, and this was now sent after the dead man into the world of spirits, that is, it was burned amid all kinds of invocations. There were also a few paper dolls representing servants, one-half life size, burned and large paper silver coins and much copper money which was also stamped out of paper, so that the deceased was given a very good dowry to take along. (2)

775 2. De Groot, The Religious System of China, Vol. I, p. 80, reports that in the province of Fu kien in South China which is largely Buddhistic, the Chinese assume that each birth means the release of some poor soul from Hades. There souls always were obliged to pay a large ransom to the god of death and his executioner before they could be freed. In order to be able to pay this sum the souls have to borrow money from other souls and therefore the soul of every person who has died, as soon as it returns to Hades, is hounded by its creditors to pay its old debts, for the creditors were also trying to get the ransom money together so that they could return to earth as soon as possible. They also believe it is very useful to send copper coins along immediately, for of course a poor soul just returning from the earth does not know the current exchange in Hades copper money and is therefore cheated by the money changers down there and suffers great losses before he can get change! This

conception enables us to get an insight into Chinese folk psychology. 775

The monotonous sing-song and reciting of prayers and invocations lasted three days, and with each word the leading priest who appeared in a yellow gown embroidered with blue dragons, beat upon a "fish head," a hollow wooden globe with a slit in it, while his companions produced an ear-splitting noise with gongs, bells and drums, /244/ which was far inferior to the lamaistic music of the Tibetan monasteries and compared more nearly with caterwauling or with the noise accompanying the Upper Bavarian practice of meting out to offenders of the public morals summary punishment by masked private citizens. Under the supervision of the priests there were more gifts placed on a table in front of the coffin which stood in the open door of the house. Food was also placed on the table, a whole slaughtered pig, a cock, a jug of liquor, loaves of bread filled with vegetables and sweets. Later the priests ordered the tea and liquor to be poured on the ground. 764 [553]

It would lead me too far afield if I were to give a detailed description of the circumstantial ceremony which lasted three days. In the main, funerals are very much alike in the various parts of the Chinese kingdom. One of the souls of the deceased was conjured by the priest into a piece of wood about 1/2 meter long and very narrow and then the coffin was closed. A great many people appeared, acquaintances and strangers, and kowtowed before the coffin while lay musicians with one-string fiddles and small trumpets produced a different kind of racket, if possible even more woeful. The members of the family dressed in white coarse mourning clothes made of sacking and in mourning hats with their bare feet in sandals, knelt on either side of the coffin and each time a kowtow was offered in condolence they acknowledged it by touching their foreheads to the ground. Each person who expressed his sympathy by a kowtow and a small present was handed food and liquor by the relatives of the deceased, and the whole procedure, service to the spirits, kowtows, lay music and the partaking of food, took place in the court in front of the door of my room. All the street beggars, even the convicts from the yamen with their heavy iron chains and stakes and their wide, collar-like wooden kang came into the courtyard, made their kowtow and were thanked by being given food.

Thus, the funeral co... family much more than they had in cash. I was not at all surprised, therefore, when on the very first

764 day after the death of his father, the son asked me for a small loan and for an advance on my rent.

000 Then, just after the coffin had been carried out of the yard gate amid a large display of fireworks, the twenty-five soldiers of the amban who had left twelve days before for the Koko Nor in order to pursue the Tibetan robbers, arrived and drove my stolen horses and yaks into my courtyard. Even the old bitch I had bought two days before the attack was returned to me. But of my equipment only a few broken saddles and a battered tea kettle and half an ice skate were returned, the rest of the things had found other homes. The soldiers refused to tell me who the robbers had been. All they said was that the culprits were "wild Tibetans from the south." They said that three days before the attack on me a band of about 30 or 40 robbers had attacked and robbed a Tibetan tribe of Koko Nor and stolen 150 horses, but that the tribe pursued and defeated them and the robbers lost their entire booty as well as three men. "You ran into this robber band, sir; they spied on you for two days before they attacked. But your /245/ defense made such an impression on them that they later released the stolen animals. We found your ponies about 10 kilometers from the place where you were attacked, and they were quietly grazing in a valley. We also found three dead men there, unclothed and frozen stiff."

On that same evening the amban sent me a message saying that it was evident the robbers were not men of his tribe, that this winter an unusual number of robbers had come to the lake from the south, and that therefore he could not pursue the matter further.

It is no small matter to keep eight yaks in a large Chinese city. And everyone who knows China will understand that I was not a little frightened when the animals were driven into my dwelling. Many of the citizens had never seen these clumsy black ruminants and so they besieged my inn all day long. It was out of the question for me to keep the animals in the city and when I wanted to sell them the butchers offered me one tael apiece (three marks) because they believed that I would have to get rid of the animals at any price. I therefore hired a man to drive the animals a good day's journey south of Hsining fu and pasture them there in the mountains. The ponies, however, I did not allow out of my sight and took them all with me on my next excursions.

361 [543] I first went to a large fair that is given every year during the first ten days of the second Chinese month in the vicinity of Wei yüan bu.

767

767 MORTUARY SPECIALISTS--burial associations; gravediggers; cemetery guards and caretakers; hired mourners; embalmers and undertakers; funeral parlors; status and remuneration of mortuary specialists; etc. See also:

Coroners 693

cartload of loess soil, and at last proceed with the putting of our house in order. A fireplace built entirely of mud-bricks, into which a grating of half-a-dozen iron bars was fixed, made a very satisfactory cooking-stove, and a paraffin-oil tin let into the back served as a boiler. We also set up an iron stove we had brought with us, at great labour and expense, but which proved to be not only an immense comfort but an absolutely vital necessity, when the real depth of winter came upon us.

We visited several carpenters' shops in the hope of finding ready-made furniture, such as a table, bench, or stool, but the only articles for sale were, in every case, nothing but coffins. Red, black, blue, varnished or unvarnished coffins were temptingly ranged before us, but for the living, nought! Fortunately, however, our kind landlord came to the rescue by lending us a table and three stools, while the coffin-shop supplied us with as many planks as we required. These, supported on bricks and packing-cases, made the dresser, bookcase, writing-table and beds. A side-shelter was next transformed into a sleeping apartment for our women students, and thus, all being in order, we fondly imagined ourselves comfortably settled, but the neighbours shook their heads sagely, saying: 'Wait till the winds come!'

Our happy illusions were soon dispelled, for one night, not long after, we were suddenly awakened by the alarming roar of a tremendous gale, shaking the boughs of the poplar-trees and stripping off every leaf that remained. This preliminary onslaught was then quickly followed by an unearthly yell as the whole force of the tempest descended upon the city, carrying with it volumes of sand that whipped and cut against our pavilion like a volley of musketry. Without a moment's interruption the gusts swept in through the

768

768 **SOCIAL READJUSTMENTS TO DEATH**--disposition of the possessions of the deceased (e.g., abandonment or relocation of dwelling, destruction or mutilation of movable possessions, redistribution of property); provision for support of spouse and children; residence changes of survivors; etc. See also:

Inheritance 428
Guardianship and administration 429
Insurance 456
Heirlooms 523
Remarriage 587
Status of widows 589
Rule of residence 591
Adoption 597
Rules of succession 59, 61, 63, 622, 643
Relief of widows and orphans 736
Social insurance 748

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

C. The Mongours

At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

769

769 **CULT OF THE DEAD**--avoidance of graves and cemeteries; propitiation of ghosts and ancestors; recurrent feasts of the dead; maintaining relations with the long dead; ancestor worship; household cults; hero worship; etc. See also:

Family organization 59
Religious practices 78
Idea of filial piety 577
Eschatology 775

all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village units would not have been so important in the local administrative system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper, the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here as they do in other parts of the country.

In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some peculiar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways. One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past. At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

The village or community theatrical is another communal activity. Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun. In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities. Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt observance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems. Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese village. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village. In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they". As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

However, in numerous economic activities, there is nonadmitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of service to its members and had a much stronger control over them than did the local government. To a great extent it had trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had created considerable resentment and suspicion among the authorities and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

Though subscribing to all important religions in varying proportions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. However, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary significance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their memory always present. Those living now are only the present custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household together with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

"At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be, is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely correct order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulously observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon, in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices, to the Queen of Heaven.

"The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relationships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act according to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi Desert, 165-166.)

Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin, almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

A. Islam

When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the years following World War II and when they first came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support. Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950, which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools, provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Moslems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

ness" of this road, and certainly what with the ravages of brigands and the natural infertility of the soil, the few inhabitants were poor to the verge of starvation. Yenan seems to be the centre of the most desolate area, by far the poorest region I have traversed in China outside the actual deserts.

Chungpu, a poor little third class district city half in ruins, lies on the side of a hill, with a sacred grove of very ancient trees behind it, which present a remarkable sight in this treeless country. Near by is a small temple containing the tomb of the Emperor Huang Ti, who reigned some 4000 years ago, which illustrates the great antiquity of these little Shensi towns.

The next day's stage to Loch'uan Hsien is a trying march through the loess. The track follows down the valley to the east for 20 li, and then turning north climbs up through a gully on to the plateau a few hundred feet above, across which it runs for an hour's march to the hamlet of Antzu T'ou, whence it drops into the valley of the Lo River. This stream resembles the Ching Ho, a muddy torrent twenty yards wide, and flows in a narrow valley some hundreds of feet below the level of the loess plateau. It is crossed by a ferry at the hamlet of Chiaoho K'ou, and the path then climbs steeply out of the valley again and runs across the plateau in a N.E. direction for three hours' march to reach the district city of Loch'uan. The latter is the usual little third class Hsien city of Northern Shensi, but appeared to be rather more prosperous than its neighbours and to show less signs of the ravages of brigands. It lies on the loess plateau, intersected as usual by colossal rifts, the heads of some of which are so close to the city that they threaten to engulf it in a few years time. These towns and villages on the loess plateau are quite unapproachable except by the existing roads owing to the rifts which open up all around, and could be held by a few men against an army; perhaps that is why Loch'uan appeared comparatively immune from brigand raids.

From Loch'uan to Fu Chou is another exhausting march in the loess of 75 li. The track runs N.E. across the plateau for an hour's march until it is held up by a huge cañon with the usual perpendicular walls. Climbing in and out of

Italy combined, but the population of the whole Northwest Region is only about thirty-five million.

Northwest China is an area of 1,232,159 square miles, one third the size of all China, with a population only 5.8 percent of the nation's total. It represents, however, a great complexity both geographically, culturally, and ethnically.

The region is characterized, even more than the nation as a whole, as a unity with diversity. Its entity is partially cultural with a predominant religion of Islam and a common historical as well as political background. While climatic conditions are relatively uniform, ranging from semi-arid to arid of the extreme temperate continental type, its physiographic features very considerably. In addition to the thickly peopled humid and mild Han-chung Basin in Southern Shensi, there are large low-lying rich fertile riverine plains along the Wei-ho, Huang-shui, and some parts of the main Yellow River, as around Lanchou of Kansu and near Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) plus the Ili valley of Sinkiang and numerous small oases scattered along the foot of the snow-capped high mountain ranges of Nan-shan or Chi-lien, Kunlun, and Tien-shan. They are thickly populated areas either in large stretches or isolated pockets. Next come the vast plateaus and deserts of Alashan, Khara Gobi, Takla Makan, and Northeastern Dzungaria forming an extension of the Great Gobi of the Mongolian plateau. Each of them is enormous, e.g., Takla Makan desert occupies half of the Tarim Basin (910,000 square kilimeters). They are practically uninhabited except for a few small oases scattered here and there. Next are the arid and semi-arid upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor in the province of Chinghai and Southern Dzungaria of northern Sinkiang. The semi-arid steppes are occupied by pastoral nomads, while the ared portion is either inhospitable or very thinly populated. Last come the lofty mountains. Some of them are snow-capped with alpine pastures and forests like Tien-shan, Nan-shan and the Altai mountains. Some of them are barren and rugged like the Kunlun, Bayan Khara, and Altyn-tagh. The former provide natural bases for the development of transhumance and lumbering, while the latter precludes any permanent human settlement, except for a few high mountain passes which are occasionally traversed by traders and travelers, such as across the mountains of Kunlun, Bayan Khara and the Pamir.

As to historical and political relations with China, there are two distinct parts. Shensi and Kansu (excluding Ninghsia) are the sites of ancient Chinese culture - the archaeological finds of the "Oracle Bones" of the Shang Dynasty and the Yang-sha pottery in Shensi and Kansu date back at least to one to two millennia B.C. The Wei-ho valley plain is the cradle of Chinese civiliation.

*563 6) Muru Dzasak, 40 families, (Tafel: Da-tung Dzasak)
631 7) Charagolchin Dzasak, 4 families (Tafel: presumably Damba Dzasak)
8) Baga-nor Dzasak, 1 family (Tafel: ?)
9) Khalkha Dzasak, ? families (Tafel: ?)
10) Tsunkuk Dzasak, 60 families (Tafel: probably Tsinkuk Gung)
11) Barun Dzasak, 280 families (Tafel: Barun)
12) Tsun Dzasak, 300 families (Tafel: Dzun)

3. Probable extinction

*563 [162] [177] According to M. Hermanns, the total population of the Chinghai Mongols does not exceed 18,000 people. Since the Mongols of the Chinghai region have very few children - two at the most - and since sinification as well as Tibetanization appears to be rapid, the extinction of the Chinghai Mongols is to be expected in the near future.

IV. The Tibetans of the Northwest

A. General Characteristics

The province of Chinghai is inhabited by sixty-six Tibetan tribes, called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast to the "wild" tribes inhabiting the Koko-nor region.

*563 771 795 Lattimore and Father Schram point out that the Tibetan tribes easily subdivide into new tribes which observe strict clan exogamy. The Tibetans are Lamaist-Buddhists of the Yellow Hat Sect in the northern districts and of the Red Hat Sect in the southern districts. Shamanism is also still existant among the Tibetans. Some Tibetans living in the district of Hsün-hua have become Moslems.

B. Physical Characteristics

*563 142 The Tibetans belong to a race which is called protosinide. Their characteristic features are: middle to tall stature and very muscular. The legs are considerably longer than the legs of the Mongoloids. The color of the skin is light brown and the facial skin copperish red. The lips are thin. The nose is long and prominent. The head is large and long. Round heads appear only among the Ngo-loks. The face shows a sharp relief. Usually they lack the Mongoloid eyefold. Eye color is generally brown. Body hair is considerably stronger, thicker and denser than among the Chinese or Mongols.

*563 241 233 C. Economic Activities

The Tibetans are either nomads who breed yaks and sheep or farmers who cultivate oats, peas, wheat, cabbage, and turnips. They use the same agricultural tools as the Chinese farmers.

their victims, whose every attitude expressed the very 772
acme of agony. At last, having received its due, the 775
spirit was seen preparing for a new incarnation, as the 532
Wheel of Life revolving had now a fresh rebirth to
distribute. This time the protagonist is to enter the body of a pig; and here the artist reached the highest degree of plastic talent. Though it were but to wallow in the mire, the prospect of once more breathing the fresh air, of basking in the kindly rays of the sun, and of living the familiar life of earth, filled the hunted spirit with untold joy, marvellously indicated by the glance thrown over the shoulder, as the porcine snout descended like a mask upon the features.

An old priest was superintending a party of wor- 769
shippers, who had come to burn gold and silver paper
folded to represent money, this being considered suit- 782
able to be offered as votive-sacrifices for the dead. These people had lately lost a father, and picturing him as wandering through such an abode of pain, were now doing all they possibly could to come to his assistance. Leading the group was a young man, his son, who doubtless in all matters of daily life showed himself to be far-sighted and intelligent, but who now, with a mind blinded by heathenism, sought to impress upon the torturers the fact that he was in a position to buy off his father's doom by such large sums of mock-coinage as any god might be flattered to receive. The smoke rose, and the spirit-treasure passed out of sight. The gods would doubtless now see to it that part, at least, of the debtor's bill was paid!

Our immediate business was to let the people of 527
Suchow know of our arrival, and very soon, by means of posters, the news was spread, and the words: 'The Christians have come!' were on the lips of all. It was greatly to our advantage that the whole city happened

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77 RELIGIOUS BELIEFS--general statements about several types of religious beliefs and ideologies. The behavioral and organizational aspects of religion are treated, respectively, under 78 and 79.

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

771 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among
795 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

771 A. Shamanism
756 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving
[787] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-
[273] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-
[276] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer
[158] from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the
[428] position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of
[787] accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which
[292] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and
77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his
171 soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic
776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

one can hide from his all-seeing eyes, nor flee his judgment.

This was the autochthonous religion of the Central Asiatic steppe regions. It has been proved that Shamanism appeared among the Hsiung-nu of the third century B.C., as a cult idolizing heaven and certain holy mountains. The T'u-ch'üeh of the sixth century A.D. worshipped the originator of heaven and earth as their highest god, and sacrificed horses, cattle and sheep to him. This ancient so-called Tengri cult looks upon the world as a construction of layers. The upper seventeen layers form the realm of heaven, the world of light, and in the uppermost layer resides the Supreme Being, whom heaven and earth must obey. The lower seventh to ninth layers constitute the world of darkness, the place of damnation for sinners. Virtuous souls, on the other hand, are received into the world of light. Between these upper and lower realms is the world of the living.

Turkic mythology tells of a child-protecting diety, Umai, and good genii who populate the soil and water (yer-sub), especially fountains and mountains, holy places (idug). This cult became legalized and later was regulated by the Jassa (code) of Chingis Khan. The veneration and adoration of air and water played an important role, and was a distinctive phenomenon. For this reason, the Jassa forbade the Islamic ritual washings of body and clothes except in certain cases. Priests prophesied the future. The Kül Tegin inscriptions (one of the oldest Turkic runic written monuments) reflect the Turco-Mongolian cosmogeny and the concept of morality: The order of heaven is the subjecting and peaceful ordering of the peoples of the "four corners of the earth."

This same Tengri cult was carried to Europe by the Chazars and Avars. The Shamanism of the latter is evident in the practices handed down to posterity by Theophylaktos Simokatta, a Byzantinian historiographer of the seventh century. In China, which was conquered by the Ju-chen in the twelfth century A.D., a large part of the influence of the Ju-chen statesman, Wan-yen Wu-shih, was due to his Shamanistic "brotherhood."

More precise information about the Mongols' religious concepts prior to the thirteenth century is not available. Even in later times, Mongol Shamanism remained essentially unchanged and the major religions had only a negligible influence upon it. Mongols hide from thunder, they are careful to avoid muddy streams and springs, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and they take refuge on holy mountains. According to Islamic writers and Nestorian missionaries, the object of such ascents is to come nearer to Tengri. Doffing the cap and belt is a sign of humility before the omnipotence of Tengri. Thus, when he was pursued by the Merkits, the young Chingis Khan fled to Burkhan Khaldun, an especially holy mountain today called

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771 **GENERAL CHARACTER OF RELIGION**--conception of what constitutes religion; differentiation of the sacred and the profane; distinctions drawn between religion and superstition; relation of religion to the unknown and the unpredictable; relative prominence of magical and anthropomorphic elements; evidence of the expression of projective mechanisms in religious beliefs; primary orientation of the religious system (e.g., ancestor worship, nature worship, totemism, ritualism, mysticism, redemptive religion); social and individual role of religion (e.g., services and disservices); incidence of faith, indifference, and skepticism; existence of nonsupernatural ideologies supported with a faith akin to that in religion (e.g., ethical systems, political philosophies); etc. See also:

Personality	15	Magic	789
Integration of religion with other aspects of culture	182	Religious sects	795
		Philosophy	812
Ethical ideals	577	Ideas about the social role of religion	829
Ancestor worship	769	Inculcation of religious beliefs	869
Extended discussions of theological systems	779		

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

I. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

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563 all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging
[795] together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification
SN and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only
563 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say
668 what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous
177 culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who, for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

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IV. Dominant Social Motives.

181 The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who
SN cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on.
181 In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious
771 ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced
[769] it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods, but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.

The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and government, can be described as the average conception of the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.

Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, of course, the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia, became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep inclination towards Communism.

In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

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V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. K S 563 181 Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

N S 563 181 As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, S N 563 181 771 114 and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

N 563 992 Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361] There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal social stability of family and community at the expense of personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

I. The Physical Setting

A. Location and Importance.

Lanchou, the capital of Kansu, is the geographic center of China. If one draws a horizontal line from west to east and a vertical line from south to north, he finds that the northwest quarter of China just covers the whole area of Sinkiang, Kansu, and Chinghai or Koko Nor. Owing to scanty rainfall, a great part of the area is a vast desert, dotted with oases and strips of cultivation, It is generally classified as the interior continental desert and steppe region of China.

From the viewpoint of geographic location, Northwest China, especially Kansu Province, is a transitional zone of cultural variations. Religions, for example, are different. From Kansu northwestward to Sinkiang, the majority of the inhabitants are Mohammedans. Contrarily, southeastward to China proper, there is more Buddhism and Christianity. Again, Kansu furnishes a natural boundary for economies. From the eastern end of Kansu southeastward the area is mainly agricultural, while the area northwest from Kansu is largely a pastoral region. People there are adapted to a nomadic life with a relatively self-sufficient economy. As a result, the trading activity is small. It is limited to a small village or an isolated oasis.

The area is adjacent to the Mongolian People's Republic on the north and northwest and the Tibetan Plateau on the southwest. Moreover, it lies in the path of direct communication with Soviet Russia through the narrow plain of the Kansu Corridor by way of Sinkiang in the extreme northwest. It is an important part of China as a strategic pivot linking Asia and Europe and it is the great joint between Inner Asia and the Pacific coast.

B. Surface Features.

The physical features of northwest China generally may be classified as plateaus. However, viewed in terms of the present relief of Kansu, the high lands are all located along the southern border of the province. They are generally called the Ch'i-lien-shan, the Nan-shan, or the Southern Mountains. This mountain range forms the natural boundary between Kansu to the north and Chinghai to the south. There are a few passes situated in this mountain range with an average height of 12,900 feet. The length of the Chi-lien-shan is roughly estimated at 570 miles. Its east end is dissected by the streams of the upper Yellow River into a few isolated

V. The Chinese Moslems

A. Population

*563 795 [162] According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

*563 795 144 142 The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses. *563 795 181 Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans) also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies. Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or: "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concordantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers [441] and innkeepers. They are known for their skilled salesmanship "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram) [505] The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

*563 795 771 Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exercise Sufism (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

a. Chinese

*563 795 186 The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village units would not have been so important in the local administrative system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper, the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here as they do in other parts of the country.

In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some peculiar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways. One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past. At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

The village or community theatrical is another communal activity. Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun. In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities. Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

RELIGION

1. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

A. Shamanism

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one can hide from his all-seeing eyes, nor flee his judgment.

This was the autochthonous religion of the Central Asiatic steppe regions. It has been proved that Shamanism appeared among the Hsiung-nu of the third century B.C., as a cult idolising heaven and certain holy mountains. The T'u-ch'üeh of the sixth century A.D. worshipped the originator of heaven and earth as their highest god, and sacrificed horses, cattle and sheep to him. This ancient so-called Tengri cult looks upon the world as a construction of layers. The upper seventeen layers form the realm of heaven, the world of light, and in the uppermost layer resides the Supreme Being, whom heaven and earth must obey. The lower seventh to ninth layers constitute the world of darkness, the place of damnation for sinners. Virtuous souls, on the other hand, are received into the world of light. Between these upper and lower realms is the world of the living.

Turkic mythology tells of a child-protecting diety, Umai, and good genii who populate the soil and water (yer-sub), especially fountains and mountains, holy places (idug). This cult became legalised and later was regulated by the Jassa (code) of Chingis Khan. The veneration and adoration of air and water played an important role, and was a distinctive phenomenon. For this reason, the Jassa forbade the Islamic ritual washings of body and clothes except in certain cases. Priests prophesied the future. The Kül Tegin inscriptions (one of the oldest Turkic runic written monuments) reflect the Turco-Mongolian cosmogeny and the concept of morality: The order of heaven is the subjecting and peaceful ordering of the peoples of the "four corners of the earth."

This same Tengri cult was carried to Europe by the Chazars and Avars. The Shamanism of the latter is evident in the practices handed down to posterity by Theophylaktos Simokatta, a Byzantinian historiographer of the seventh century. In China, which was conquered by the Ju-chen in the twelfth century A.D., a large part of the influence of the Ju-chen statesman, Wan-yen Wu-shih, was due to his Shamanistic "brotherhood."

More precise information about the Mongols' religious concepts prior to the thirteenth century is not available. Even in later times, Mongol Shamanism remained essentially unchanged and the major religions had only a negligible influence upon it. Mongols hide from thunder, they are careful to avoid muddy streams and springs, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and they take refuge on holy mountains. According to Islamic writers and Nestorian missionaries, the object of such ascents is to come nearer to Tengri. Doffing the cap and belt is a sign of humility before the omnipotence of Tengri. Thus, when he was pursued by the Merkits, the young Chingis Khan fled to Burkhan Khaldun, an especially holy mountain today called

Ken-tai, on the headwaters of the Onon River, and there implored Tengri for grace and mercy. According to Vladimirsov, the name "Chingis Khan" should be traced back to Chinggis, the god of light. His elevation and promotion to the position of Great Khan (Khagan) of all the Turko-Mongol peoples of Central Asia was confirmed by religious omens, circumstances and conditions. For example, there was Mu-kua-li's prediction that a revenging hero would be chosen (Chingis Khan) in the same place (Kharaqorum) in which the last Mongol received the title of Khan, i.e., "receiver (recipient) of the mandate of the blue heaven." The superstitiously feared Shaman, Kökču, could ride his dapple-gray horse into the heavens and converse with the spirits. It was he who announced to the assembly (Qurultai) empowered with making the decision that the "eternal blue heavens" had ordained Chingis Khan as Khagan of the world, and that, henceforth, he would be known as "Khagan through the eternal heavens." Even the Mongol banner of the nine yak tails, which is the symbol of the house of the spirit of the "golden chains" (altan uruq), expressed the religious mission of conquering the world. Later Chingis Khan had Kökču, as well as his own blood brother, Jamuga, murdered. The deed was accomplished, however, without the spilling of blood, because, according to Shamanism, the soul resides in the blood. Before starting out on the decisive campaign against North China, Chingis Khan remained in his tent for three days with his belt loosened. When he emerged on the fourth day, he proclaimed to the worshipping people that Tengri had accorded victory to him.

Chingis Khan and all his successors were Tengri's representatives on earth; their command was his command; rebellion against them was rebellion against him. When Güyük prepared to invite the Pope through his emissary, John of Plano Carpini, he called upon heaven (as highest representation of divinity and as the arbitrator among all religions) to bear witness to his divine power.

The worship of Tengri did not rule out attempts by the Mongols to placate other representations of the godhead. This wish for double insurance led to the lenient and favorable treatment accorded to the priests of foreign religions and to the famous Mongol tolerance. After a thousand-year process of penetration, Shamanism was finally overcome by the major religions of the bordering states. It is, however, still alive among the Tungus tribes of Manchuria and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, among the Alashan Mongols, among the Tibetans of South Chinghai and finally, among those Turks who live in the mountainous regions of Sinkiang. It is noteworthy that, to a certain degree, Shamanism is compatible with Islam and Buddhism.

According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been connected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been transformed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of service to its members and had a much stronger control over them than did the local government. To a great extent it had trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had created considerable resentment and suspicion among the authorities and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

Though subscribing to all important religions in varying proportions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. However, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary significance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their memory always present. Those living now are only the present custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household together with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

"At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be, is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely correct order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulously observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon, in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices, to the Queen of Heaven.

"The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relationships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act according to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi Desert, 165-166.)

Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin, almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

A. Islam

When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the years following World War II and when they first came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support. Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950, which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools, provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Moslems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized, however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is , "the religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law. The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,... We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic world outlook... The youths should thus be given an ideological foundation... to make them into...atheists and the heroic fighters of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

The Communists believe that by turning the young people against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expediency. In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lamaism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Moslems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First Field Army, Pleng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well. In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen, (see above).

Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist Constitution are restricted. Mao Tes-tung's statements in his "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this point.

E. Practices

Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls of rice to eat, you will not have peace." Because of this, Vice-Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Education of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party magazine, Hsüeh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious purge took place.

4. Cultural corps

In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army) in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21 acts before the audience in the capital.

The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd members to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13 after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou, seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than 439,000 people.

IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives, circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meeting is another form. No matter what the main target of a particular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A., the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day, whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as well as for denouncing germ warfare.

A. Festivals

Festivals are always good opportunities for promoting propaganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist government. For instance, during their celebration of the three major Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i, was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the position of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks: First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

in the Lumi kingdom. (5) In this, they say, perfect happiness is to 771

5. Lumi or "Rumi guo" to the Chinese Mohammedans means Turkey, the Oriental Rome.

to be found even on earth and from there you can without effort ascend to heaven. In the Lumi kingdom a great emperor reigns,they say, who is emperor of all Mohammedans; pillage and murder never occur there and, neither the emperor and his subjects nor the officials there are ever guilty of injustice. "The emperor of Lumi is our emperor, too," say all the Hui hui in Kansu, and they began their countless uprisings so that they might really belong to him.

In the year 1895, at the instigation of a few wealthy Moham- 563
medans, there was no fighting carried on around the city of Ho tschou. [346]
Thus, there are still a great many mosques preserved here; the oldest and largest of them were, however, already destroyed after the uprising in the '70s. But in the territory of the Salar a little farther to the northwest, through which I came on my further journey, there was a good deal of fighting in 1895. These Salar, remnants of a /162/ Turkish group which last emigrated to China from the West - in the Ming period, it seems - allegedly under the leadership of a mullah who is buried west of the city of Hsün hoa, are said to
come from what is today Russian Turkistan. The center of their 631
country and the place from which their eight gun (1) into which

1. Community or district. This gun is a word that I heard only the Salar use. It is said to be Chinese (?). Besides the eight chief gun of Hsün hoa, there are a few wai (outer) gun. Altogether there are only two or three dozen Salar villages. Probably gun means "aggregate of a thousand" (see also p. 165). The names of the eight chief gun are: Keitse (Geitse) gun, Tsa tscha gun, Su dsche gun, Tsaghan gun, which lie west of Hsün hoa; and Tsching schui gun, Man da gun, Nei man gun, Tschang ga gun, east of Hsün hoa.

from ancient times they have been divided, are ruled by the Chinese, is the city of Hsün hoa, the residence of a ting. (2)

2. To the Hsün hoa ting also belong large Tibetan territories and the large Tibetan monastery of Labrang with its large district which reaches a distance of a many-days' journey

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772

772 COSMOLOGY--conception of the universe; cosmological systems (e.g., heavens and hells); universal categories (e.g., dualism of nature); etc. See also:

Realm of the dead . . . . 776 Ideas about cosmic phenomena 821
Conception of a moral order of the universe . . 812

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
#563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive
and negative, strong and weak.
N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
#563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
563 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
753 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
772 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
826 yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
S N principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
[278] the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.
N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
#563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
S 563 turbed, disease follows.
751 These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
753 lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
772 In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
N [184] the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
S N Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
[212] than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into
the larger part of the population.
S N Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
114 rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
163 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
165 Handbook.

N C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese
#563 The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
164 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
364 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
S 563 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
164 area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
364 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day

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778 colossal Warrior-Guardians, who, javelin in hand, offered defiance to any visitor that might question the supremacy of the gods within. '*What? So you have come too?*' were the words which confronted us, and which seemed even to be audible, so startling was the impression made. Yes, we had come; and we knew full well it would be a battle to the blood between the forces here represented and those for which we stood.
772 It was, therefore, with a sense of solemnity that we
775 entered,[1] to find ourselves at once in 'the Courts of
532 Hell'—for that is the name given to this shrine where the horrors of the Buddhist Place of Torment are realistically portrayed in clay-modelled figures, crudely coloured, but astonishingly vigorously done. The story begins by the spirit of a man, who having just died, finds himself divested of all fleshly covering, and must now in consequence start on his weary peregrination through the Underworld, where, for each sin committed in the body, the soul must now receive an exact retribution. In the next scene various other discarnate individuals knelt before the presiding Deity, while the doings of each one during their earth-life were weighed in accurately-adjusted scales. Around, more hapless beings underwent different tortures; some being dipped in a sea of blood, others sawn asunder between two planks, while others again were crushed like grain between upper and nether millstones. The covetous eyes were gouged out; the slanderous tongue was torn from the roots; and grappling-hooks fastened into the flesh of the lustful, peeled off the skin in ribbons. Here and there slender bridges, hanging over fearful chasms, were crossed by trembling pilgrims, whose escape from unknown consequences depended on the poise earned by former self-denials, and everywhere the minions of the merciless Judge gloatingly watched the sufferings of

[1] [a temple in Suchow -- Analyst]

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their victims, whose every attitude expressed the very 772
acme of agony. At last, having received its due, the 775
spirit was seen preparing for a new incarnation, as the 532
Wheel of Life revolving had now a fresh rebirth to distribute. This time the protagonist is to enter the body of a pig; and here the artist reached the highest degree of plastic talent. Though it were but to wallow in the mire, the prospect of once more breathing the fresh air, of basking in the kindly rays of the sun, and of living the familiar life of earth, filled the hunted spirit with untold joy, marvellously indicated by the glance thrown over the shoulder, as the porcine snout descended like a mask upon the features.

An old priest was superintending a party of wor- 769
shippers, who had come to burn gold and silver paper 782
folded to represent money, this being considered suitable to be offered as votive-sacrifices for the dead. These people had lately lost a father, and picturing him as wandering through such an abode of pain, were now doing all they possibly could to come to his assistance. Leading the group was a young man, his son, who doubtless in all matters of daily life showed himself to be far-sighted and intelligent, but who now, with a mind blinded by heathenism, sought to impress upon the torturers the fact that he was in a position to buy off his father's doom by such large sums of mock-coinage as any god might be flattered to receive. The smoke rose, and the spirit-treasure passed out of sight. The gods would doubtless now see to it that part, at least, of the debtor's bill was paid!

Our immediate business was to let the people of 527
Suchow know of our arrival, and very soon, by means of posters, the news was spread, and the words: 'The Christians have come!' were on the lips of all. It was greatly to our advantage that the whole city happened

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773 MYTHOLOGY--cosmogony (e.g., theories and accounts of the creation of the world and of man); mythical epochs (e.g., golden age, age of the gods, age of animals); cataclysms (e.g., mythical floods and conflagrations); culture myths (e.g., accounts of a culture hero, mythical explanations of culture traits); myths about the origin of evil and death; nature myths; totemic myths; theogonic myths; ancestor myths; etc. For texts of myths see 539. See also:

Historical traditions 173

the muleteers now came to the rescue ; and in a short time all was in order, so that, apart from the fact that the feet and legs of man and beast were encased in a sheath of thick mud, which gradually hardened to the consistency of plaster of Paris, no damage was done.

The Sian plain is a fertile land, with vast wheat-fields, where in late autumn the persimmon groves make a beautiful picture. The widespreading foliage of dark glossy leaves, symmetric in form, together with the golden fruit hanging in profusion from the bending boughs, are very distinctive features. The wayside food, also, was the best we had met with in China, and before long we entered the pear-growing district around Pinchow, where extensive orchards stretch for miles on all sides. Here, besides filling every chink of our luggage with the pears, we considerably added to that elastic quantity known as 'hand-baggage,' and for several days we pillowed our heads on lumpy sacks of the fruit.

A few hours before entering the border of Kansu, we passed a number of booths in which were sold numerous small articles carved from the wood of the jujube tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), which supplies a fine quality of dark, red wood pleasing to the eye, and so hard as to be almost indestructible. A plantation of these trees surrounds a temple backed by enormous rock, on which has been carved the figure of a gigantic sitting Buddha. After wandering around and between its huge feet, we climbed the many flights of steps leading to a gallery on a level with the prodigious face. This Buddha forms one of a group of three colossal images, the chief of which, within Tibetan fastnesses, stands—with foot thrust forward—waiting for the appointed hour when he must move towards his sleeping brother, reposing outstretched, in a temple of distant Kansu. Him he must

rouse, and together they will then join the Shensi sitter, when, their band being complete, they will accomplish their long-appointed mission of raising mankind.

At nightfall we passed the Kansu border. The first incident which made us aware of this fact was an official proclamation with the two Chinese ideographs, meaning Kansu, heading it. Simultaneously the character of the road changed, and we found ourselves moving in the darkness through an avenue of stately trees, our hearts beating high, for we had now reached the Province indicated on our 'Sealed Orders,' although we knew not as yet the locality to which we were going.

That night, our first in Kansu, our bed was in a stable. Merely a cave hollowed out of the loess-cliff, it held a little mud *kang*,[1] on which the travelling carter was wont to sleep while the mules fed at his side. The walls were black with the dirt of generations, the floor was littered with damp stable-manure, and our hand-luggage was laid in the manger. The door was a low, irregular aperture ; no opening had been left for a window ; the flicker of the linseed-oil lamp filled the cave with heavy shadows, and though the night was very cold the *kang* had not been warmed.

We had often tried to picture the real conditions of the inn at Bethlehem, and it seemed to us that night that we had come much nearer to their realisation.

By the side of our cave, raised three feet from the ground, was a small hollowed recess, about the size of a large baker's oven. The opening was screened by a filthy, hanging rag, and within lay three men, tasting the sensuous enjoyment of the opium pipe. The space was so small that the feet of the smokers were thrust outside, and though the night was bitter and their

[1] A brick or mud bed heated with a fire.

Here the Akkas live and pray, and communicate with the rest of the world only in winter when the lake is frozen over. It is an island that rises up in rock formations with hills that are covered with grass pastures. In the clear winter air the island seemed very near and it seemed to me I could see everything that was on it from the road I was on. It is supposed to be eight li around.

Nine kilometers from the south shore of the lake and 18 kilometers to the west of the large island of Ts'o ning there are still more cliffs rising up over the surface of the lake. They are white in color and are called Tsaghan khada by the Mongols. Among them is the rock which, according to the legend, one of the bad spirits, named Tscheger sämo, threw toward Ts'o ning in order to destroy the island or at least move it from the spot.

It was, so the story goes, around the time when unsuccessful attempts were made to erect temples and monasteries in Lhasa. The buildings always collapsed and the Tibetan king therefore sent his vassals all over the world in order to discover the reason for this misfortune. One of the lamas that had been sent out met an old, blind holy man in the plain now covered by the Koko Nor. The old man, in senile loquacity, said that at the spot where the king was trying to erect his temples there was a large subterranean sea. The latter would flow from Lhasa over into this direction as soon as an emissary of the king would find out about it. Scarcely was the secret revealed when the two heard the surging of the water and the emissary of the king could barely escape on his horse, while the old man was swallowed up by the waves. The water would even have flooded all the mountains if some divinity had not had mercy and taken a huge rock and stopped up the hole out of which the water was flowing. This rock is the sacred island Ts'o ning. However, the bad Titan was angry /81/ that the water did not cause more destruction and he wanted to throw stones to move Ts'o ning and re-open the hole. Fortunately for all mankind he did not hit Ts'o ning. The stones which he threw toward Ts'o ning from the shore, all fell into the water half way to the island and there they can still be seen.

According to a Chinese version a woman once wanted to fetch water from a well where the island is today and forgot to put the lid on the well. So the water rose up and covered the entire plain. A god, Wo fo (Buddha), finally had mercy and threw a slab, the island, onto the magic spring.

There were magnificent grass pastures covering the entire south shore of the lake from the water's edge up to the rounded peaks that

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775 ESCHATOLOGY--conception of the survival of the soul; career of the soul after death (e.g., mode of departure from the body, temporary sojourn near place of death, indefinite sojourn as a disembodied soul or ghost, journey to a realm of the dead); notions about ghosts, specters, apparitions, and phantoms (e.g., shape, substance, propensities); behavior of departed souls or ghosts (e.g., haunting of houses and cemeteries, visitations); spiritualistic beliefs; conception of a realm of the dead (e.g., place, mode of life, rewards and punishment); duration of afterlife; belief in immortality; ideas of transmigration and reincarnation; conception of the survival of the body (e.g., resurrection); etc. See also:

Belief in witches, vampires, and werewolves. . 754
Cult of the dead 769
Communication with spirits 787
Notion of death and rebirth in initiation ceremonies 881

outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal social stability of family and community at the expense of personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh,only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

361 701 563 Today the city of Ho (1) tschou itself consists mainly of the

1. Pronounced like H'e with a very sharp guttural sound.

southern suburb of Nan kwan. That is where the mosques and the large Mohammedan shops are. The actual city of Ho tschou, on the other hand, is pure Chinese. The Mohammedans are forbidden, under penalty of death, to live inside the city. There are always many hundreds of soldiers garrisoned on the city wall (Plate XXXVI), and one finds there stables for the horses of officers and men. The wall is kept in excellent repair. But since not very many Chinese live here, there are large areas inside the walls that are deserted. All the life goes on outside. There we find closely built-up streets, for the most part with two-story houses as in Di dao, surrounded by a wall which today is destroyed. I estimate that Ho tschou proper and its suburb has a population of 30,000 and of these over two-thirds are Mohammedans. (2) There is not another city within the 18

2. The entire district is said to have had 85,526 families, according to the census of 1831.

provinces of the Chinese empire that has a similarly strong Moham-
771 medan aspect. And yet there are many things that are entirely
[782] different here from other genuinely Mohammedan countries. In Ho tschou and environs I never saw a Hui hui who spread out his prayer rug in a courtyard or out in the open to pray when the muezzins (3)

3. The muezzins like the mullahs are always called ah'un in Kansu. The word comes from East Turkish where ahon means the scholar. Even these Ahun are not always circumcized. Most Chinese Mohammedans do not know anything about circumcision.

called out. The Ho tschou Mohammedans, like the ones that have become still more Chinese, are very superficial in their religion and can scarcely execute the prescribed ablutions without making a mistake. It seldom happens that one of them makes a pilgrimage to Mecca. Only a few of them even know the name of the city. Most of them only know about "Kerbe" (4) and that this is a place

4. Kaaba, the cubiform holy of holies in the mosque at Mecca.

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

795 'P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaq-
171 tu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code
175 of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple
and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The
"Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a
chain of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhab-
itants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism.
Buighabu Bätur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a re-
ward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red
Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-
Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church.
After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having
adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In
contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos
prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the
world but with the conquest of souls.

175 C. The Lamaism of Chinghai

795 The province of Chinghai, or Amdo as the Tibetans refer to
it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of
792 Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Bud-
dhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Lang-
darma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect,
the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate ex-
cuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been sup-
plied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen
Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in
one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Cen-
648 turies ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was insti-
775 tuted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed
reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south
of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting
place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also
played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters con-
cerning Mongolia and China.

795 Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that
792 the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall
(1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk.
Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this
region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various
unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have con-
tinued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kum-
792 bum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had
held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer
669 Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last
century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until re-
cently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

city, and making a fiendish racket. Behind the priests came a 764
sedan chair on the seat of which was a board with the name of the 775
deceased. The sedan chair was followed by a table with all kinds of offerings and behind this tottered the son and the grandson in a stooped position, dressed in coarse white hemp mourning clothes and supported by friends and hired servants. They were still obliged to look for the gui, i.e., the soul of the deceased. For this purpose they halted at all corners and crossroads, called his name and searched the ground industriously. For the Chinese imagine that death sets in because the soul has left the body, and that the body would be able to go on living if only the soul or gui would or could find its way back. The gui is politely invited to return. (1)

1. It is doubtful whether gui (kwei) can be translated "soul" in our sense, for the ordinary folk-philosophy of Kansu teaches that a human being has three gui and seven schen (spirits). The three gui are thought of as having substance and belonging to the Yin principle (see page 33, footnote 1), whereas the seven schen are without substance and belong to the Yang principle. One of the three gui stays with the bones after death while the second, with the help of the Taoist priests, clings to the death tablet bearing the name of the deceased. In time these two vanish. /243/ The third gui is the only one that is immortal. It is also used by the Chinese in a Buddhistic way, it must pass through hell and is later, on occasion, reborn. But because many Chinese do not know anything about Buddhistic teachings of reincarnation, it is often said that this third soul lives on unseen with the family; it "haunts" the living and can bring them harm or be useful to them.

/243/ On the third day the corpse was placed in the coffin which 764
was over 2 meters long and constructed of beams 2 1/2 inches thick. Like the shroud, the coffin had been bought many years before and stored in a corner of the house. The feet of the corpse were tied together and its head placed on a brick. Every day after sunrise the relatives with their wives now gathered together in the death chamber around the coffin for half an hour and wailed so loud that all the neighbors heard it. At the same time tea and sweets were laid out on a table covered with a white cloth in front of the coffin, liquor was poured out and candles and incense burned. When the half hour

764 was up the howling and wailing ceased as suddenly as it had begun, tears were dried, and people went about their business or began eating, and after another twenty-four hours the lamentations were taken up again.

[793] On the sixth day the Taoist priests again came to the house and set up tents and canopies in the courtyard outside my door. (1)

1. I did not observe that the Chinese of Northwest China used Buddhistic priests in this connection. Lama priests are used only in places where Chinese are intermingled with Tibetans. But Hsining fu is a Chinese city in which, besides Chinese, there are only a few Manchu and Tu ren living.

Musicians appeared and also cooks who had to cook for the many guests and relatives who came to express sympathy. Meanwhile the priests had prepared a passport to the kingdom of the dead, a written eulogy on gray paper, and this was now sent after the dead man into the world of spirits, that is, it was burned amid all kinds of invocations. There were also a few paper dolls representing servants, one-half life size, burned and large paper silver coins and much copper money which was also stamped out of paper, so that the deceased was given a very good dowry to take along. (2)

775 2. De Groot, The Religious System of China, Vol. I, p. 80, reports that in the province of Fu kien in South China which is largely Buddhistic, the Chinese assume that each birth means the release of some poor soul from Hades. There souls always were obliged to pay a large ransom to the god of death and his executioner before they could be freed. In order to be able to pay this sum the souls have to borrow money from other souls and therefore the soul of every person who has died, as soon as it returns to Hades, is hounded by its creditors to pay its old debts, for the creditors were also trying to get the ransom money together so that they could return to earth as soon as possible. They also believe it is very useful to send copper coins along immediately, for of course a poor soul just returning from the earth does not know the current exchange in Hades copper money and is therefore cheated by the money changers down there and suffers great losses before he can get change! This

conception enables us to get an insight into Chinese 775
folk psychology.

The monotonous sing-song and reciting of prayers and invoca- 764
tions lasted three days, and with each word the leading priest who [533]
appeared in a yellow gown embroidered with blue dragons, beat upon a "fish head," a hollow wooden globe with a slit in it, while his companions produced an ear-splitting noise with gongs, bells and drums, /244/ which was far inferior to the lamaistic music of the Tibetan monasteries and compared more nearly with caterwauling or with the noise accompanying the Upper Bavarian practice of meting out to offenders of the public morals summary punishment by masked private citizens. Under the supervision of the priests there were more gifts placed on a table in front of the coffin which stood in the open door of the house. Food was also placed on the table, a whole slaughtered pig, a cock, a jug of liquor, loaves of bread filled with vegetables and sweets. Later the priests ordered the tea and liquor to be poured on the ground.

It would lead me too far afield if I were to give a detailed description of the circumstantial ceremony which lasted three days. In the main, funerals are very much alike in the various parts of the Chinese kingdom. One of the souls of the deceased was conjured by the priest into a piece of wood about 1/2 meter long and very narrow and then the coffin was closed. A great many people appeared, acquaintances and strangers, and kowtowed before the coffin while lay musicians with one-string fiddles and small trumpets produced a different kind of racket, if possible even more woeful. The members of the family dressed in white coarse mourning clothes made of sacking and in mourning hats with their bare feet in sandals, knelt on either side of the coffin and each time a kowtow was offered in condolence they acknowledged it by touching their foreheads to the ground. Each person who expressed his sympathy by a kowtow and a small present was handed food and liquor by the relatives of the deceased, and the whole procedure: service to the spirits, kowtows, lay music and the partaking of food, took place in the court in front of the door of my room. All the street beggars, even the convicts from the yamen with their heavy iron chains and stakes and their wide, collar-like wooden kang came into the courtyard, made their kowtow and were thanked by being given food.

Thus, the funeral cost the family much more than they had in cash. I was not at all surprised, therefore, when on the very first

776

776 SPIRITS AND GODS--conception of supernatural beings of a higher order than disembodied souls; indications of their genetic relationship to ghosts; prevalent types of supernatural beings (e.g., guardian and familiar spirits, tutelary divinities, tribal gods, nature spirits and gods, angels, animal and totemic divinities, fairies and sprites, demons, mythical monsters, deified heroes and saints, divine tricksters, occupational or functional deities, creator gods, rulers of the spirit world, high god or supreme being); attributes of individual deities and of categories of divine beings (e.g., name, sex, form, character, powers, functions, symbols); hierarchical arrangement (e.g., polytheistic pantheon, dualism, henotheism, monotheism); etc. See also:

Totemic beliefs associated with kin groups . . . 61 Hero worship 769
Religious practices 78

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

There is more rigidity about the village organization. The sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village headman. But again the council of elders has considerable authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit, nor is it uncomm on for villages and encampments to be joined together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically. Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horoscope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases. From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the community's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground, the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals. A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

/The Tibetans/

are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

4. Popular beliefs

When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

5. Recreation

The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

H. The Western Mongols or Torguts

Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike character, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

771 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among
795 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

771 A. Shamanism
756 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving
[787] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-
[273] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-
[276] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer
[158] from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the
[428] position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods
[787] of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which
[292] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and
77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his
171 soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic
776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

one can hide from his all-seeing eyes, nor flee his judgment.

This was the autochthonous religion of the Central Asiatic steppe regions. It has been proved that Shamanism appeared among the Hsiung-nu of the third century B.C., as a cult idolizing heaven and certain holy mountains. The T'u-ch'üeh of the sixth century A.D. worshipped the originator of heaven and earth as their highest god, and sacrificed horses, cattle and sheep to him. This ancient so-called Tengri cult looks upon the world as a construction of layers. The upper seventeen layers form the realm of heaven, the world of light, and in the uppermost layer resides the Supreme Being, whom heaven and earth must obey. The lower seventh to ninth layers constitute the world of darkness, the place of damnation for sinners. Virtuous souls, on the other hand, are received into the world of light. Between these upper and lower realms is the world of the living.

Turkic mythology tells of a child-protecting diety, Umai, and good genii who populate the soil and water (yer-sub), especially fountains and mountains, holy places (idug). This cult became legalized and later was regulated by the Jassa (code) of Chingis Khan. The veneration and adoration of air and water played an important role, and was a distinctive phenomenon. For this reason, the Jassa forbade the Islamic ritual washings of body and clothes except in certain cases. Priests prophesied the future. The Kül Tegin inscriptions (one of the oldest Turkic runic written monuments) reflect the Turco-Mongolian cosmogeny and the concept of morality: The order of heaven is the subjecting and peaceful ordering of the peoples of the "four corners of the earth."

This same Tengri cult was carried to Europe by the Chazars and Avars. The Shamanism of the latter is evident in the practices handed down to posterity by Theophylaktos Simokatta, a Byzantinian historiographer of the seventh century. In China, which was conquered by the Ju-chen in the twelfth century A.D., a large part of the influence of the Ju-chen statesman, Wan-yen Wu-shih, was due to his Shamanistic "brotherhood."

More precise information about the Mongols' religious concepts prior to the thirteenth century is not available. Even in later times, Mongol Shamanism remained essentially unchanged and the major religions had only a negligible influence upon it. Mongols hide from thunder, they are careful to avoid muddy streams and springs, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and they take refuge on holy mountains. According to Islamic writers and Nestorian missionaries, the object of such ascents is to come nearer to Tengri. Doffing the cap and belt is a sign of humility before the omnipotence of Tengri. Thus, when he was pursued by the Merkits, the young Chingis Khan fled to Burkhan Khaldun, an especially holy mountain today called

has persisted to this day. The Koran and Hadith were the basic foundations on which the Shari'a evolved. The law was developed by Moslem jurists who, by different rational devices (e.g. analogy, consensus), adapted the principles of the Koran to fit many new situations, and supplemented the law when the Koran could not suffice.

B. The Principles of Islam

The whole of the religion of Islam is briefly summed up in the shahada, or the profession of faith (which is considered the primary duty of every Moslem)—La illaha illallah, i.e., there is but one God; Muhammadun rasulu-llah, i.e., Muhammad is the Apostle of God. The shahada is not found in this composite form anywhere in the Koran, but its two halves occur separately and are its constant theme. "O you who believe, believe in God and His Apostle and the Book which He has sent down formerly. Whoever denies God and His Angels and His Books and His Apostle and the Last Day has strayed far from Truth." (Sura iv, v. 135).

One of the essential elements of Islam is an uncompromising monotheism. The true belief demands ikhlas, the giving of one's whole and unmixed allegiance to God. Its opposite, which is considered the gravest sin that Moslems can commit, is shirk, the ascribing of partners to God and the worship of any other than him. Of the different forms of shirk, idolatry is denounced as the gravest.

Islam conceives of God as existing at all times and to eternity. "Call not any other God but Allah; there is no God but He. Everything shall perish except His Being. To Him belongs the rule and to Him you shall be brought back for judgment." (Sura XXVIII, v.88.) Along with the terrible and majestic aspects of God as Creator, Supreme Power, Judge and Avenger, the Koran also stresses His bounty and loving kindness.

The doctrine of angels also exists in the Koran. In the imagery of the Koran, the angels are represented generally as God's messengers. They are, like men, His creatures and servants and worship Him constantly; they bear up His Throne, descend with His decrees on the Night of Power, record men's actions, receive their souls when they die, and witness for or against them at the Last Judgment, and guard the gates of Hell.

With the doctrine of angels there is also the doctrine of devils although the devils are represented as rebellious Jinn rather than fallen angels. The Jinns, like men, are created out of fire instead of earth; there are believers and infidels among them, and the unbelievers will be judged with men and condemned to Hell. The rebellious Jinns are called shaitans; they lead men astray, oppose the Prophets and try to overhear what is dis-

779 cussed in Heaven. They teach men sorcery and will serve men
776 who can rule them by these devices. The leader of these evil
spirits is called "The Shaitan" or Iblis. His fall from a place
among the angels was due to his refusal to worship Adam on
God's command; for this he was accursed till the Day of Resur-
rection and given authority over those of mankind whom he
seduced.

779 Next to the unity of God, the doctrine of the Apostles, as the
shahada indicates, is the central doctrine of the Koran. Mos-
776 lems are required to believe in the Apostles without distinction
792 The last of the Prophets is Muhammad, who is God's Apostle to
all mankind. The doctrine preached by all the Prophets is es-
sentially one and the same, although in matters of detail there
has been a gradual evolution in their messages toward the final
and perfect revelation.

As for Muhammad himself, the Koran repeatedly disclaims on his behalf anything that is superhuman. He was but a mortal man, commissioned with the sole duty of conveying God's warning and message of salvation. He had no knowledge beyond what was revealed to him, and he had been granted no miraculous powers.

779 Faith in life after death is the last of the basic principles of
775 Islam. The word usually used to indicate it in the Koran is al-
akhira. The Koran does not speak only of a life after death, but
impresses on believers the importance of life on earth as a
basis for the future life. The Last Day, the Day of Resurrec-
tion and Judgment, will be the time when men's future fate will
be decided by God. This day will come suddenly at a time known
only to God. On that day the graves will open and men will be
called to account for their deeds. Each man's angel shall bear
witness to his record, his deeds will be weighed in the balance,
and his book will be placed in his hand, the right hand of the
blessed and the left hand of the damned.

Then the blessed, the God-fearing men and women, the humble and the charitable, the forgiving, those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake, those who have fought in the way of God, shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise, where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers, praising God, reclining on silken couches, enjoying heavenly food and drink and the company of dark-eyed maidens. Those who have sinned against God and men are condemned to eternal punishment in the flames of Hell.

779 C. The Rituals of Islam
788 a. Prayer (Salat). The observance of the ritual prayers is re-
peatedly emphasized as one of the essential religious duties.
782 Although neither the ceremonies nor the five set times of prayer

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

795
559 apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and
485 more lucrative business." (p. 73).
114 Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much con-
cerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life
is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures,
842 one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This
775 is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems
771 cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian
177 faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend
upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul
*563 or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her
563 book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to
understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one
excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her
life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an
entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just
stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in
these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are
for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of
their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way
*563 of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability
177 to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They
181 alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the
[669] Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in
the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the
563 the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the sus-
177 picion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change
181 their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese
[669 population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the
Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang
563 were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and
642 speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah.
643 This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Gov-
ernment took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the
177 succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's
son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urum-
chi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and
Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him.
This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word
came from the capital that the young prince had been made a
prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many
changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars re-
turned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company
with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business --
and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the
administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

778 colossal Warrior-Guardians, who, javelin in hand, offered defiance to any visitor that might question the supremacy of the gods within. '*What? So you have come too?*' were the words which confronted us, and which seemed even to be audible, so startling was the impression made. Yes, we had come; and we knew full well it would be a battle to the blood between the forces here represented and those for which we stood.
772 It was, therefore, with a sense of solemnity that we
775 entered,[1] to find ourselves at once in 'the Courts of
532 Hell'—for that is the name given to this shrine where the horrors of the Buddhist Place of Torment are realistically portrayed in clay-modelled figures, crudely coloured, but astonishingly vigorously done. The story begins by the spirit of a man, who having just died, finds himself divested of all fleshly covering, and must now in consequence start on his weary peregrination through the Underworld, where, for each sin committed in the body, the soul must now receive an exact retribution. In the next scene various other discarnate individuals knelt before the presiding Deity, while the doings of each one during their earth-life were weighed in accurately-adjusted scales. Around, more hapless beings underwent different tortures; some being dipped in a sea of blood, others sawn asunder between two planks, while others again were crushed like grain between upper and nether millstones. The covetous eyes were gouged out; the slanderous tongue was torn from the roots; and grappling-hooks fastened into the flesh of the lustful, peeled off the skin in ribbons. Here and there slender bridges, hanging over fearful chasms, were crossed by trembling pilgrims, whose escape from unknown consequences depended on the poise earned by former self-denials, and everywhere the minions of the merciless Judge gloatingly watched the sufferings of

[1][a temple in Suchow -- Analyst]

their victims, whose every attitude expressed the very 772
acme of agony. At last, having received its due, the 775
spirit was seen preparing for a new incarnation, as the 532
Wheel of Life revolving had now a fresh rebirth to distribute. This time the protagonist is to enter the body of a pig; and here the artist reached the highest degree of plastic talent. Though it were but to wallow in the mire, the prospect of once more breathing the fresh air, of basking in the kindly rays of the sun, and of living the familiar life of earth, filled the hunted spirit with untold joy, marvellously indicated by the glance thrown over the shoulder, as the porcine snout descended like a mask upon the features.

An old priest was superintending a party of wor- 769
shippers, who had come to burn gold and silver paper
folded to represent money, this being considered suit- 782
able to be offered as votive-sacrifices for the dead. These people had lately lost a father, and picturing him as wandering through such an abode of pain, were now doing all they possibly could to come to his assistance. Leading the group was a young man, his son, who doubtless in all matters of daily life showed himself to be far-sighted and intelligent, but who now, with a mind blinded by heathenism, sought to impress upon the torturers the fact that he was in a position to buy off his father's doom by such large sums of mock-coinage as any god might be flattered to receive. The smoke rose, and the spirit-treasure passed out of sight. The gods would doubtless now see to it that part, at least, of the debtor's bill was paid!

Our immediate business was to let the people of 527
Suchow know of our arrival, and very soon, by means of posters, the news was spread, and the words: 'The Christians have come!' were on the lips of all. It was greatly to our advantage that the whole city happened

846 The position of women is probably most clearly expressed in the fact that for forty days after a woman has given birth she is considered unclean. She may not leave her hut for ten days and may not even sit out in her yard, for she is unworthy for the sun to shine upon. During the first ten days even the husband is considered impure and may not associate with anyone. If he is a shopkeeper, custom forces him to close his shop during this interval or, if he does not wish to do this, to hire a substitute for this period /242/ but he himself may not enter his shop or his place of business. For this reason many Chinese husbands quickly set out on a journey when a birth in the family is imminent, in order to avoid the suspicion of uncleanness.

764 Only a few days after my return from the Gum bum monastery my landlord in whose spacious buildings I had rented the third and last courtyard with its adjoining small house, died. His body was laid out for the next few days directly in front of my separate courtyard entrance, and there all the various funeral ceremonies took place so that I could view the entire proceeding at leisure. The
[609] family of the deceased had immigrated only a few generations before from Shensi, and so they were still considered strangers, they came from "down below," as the people of Hsining say. Thus, there were not many relatives and the family was not wealthy, so that everything was relatively simple and was done as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, according to our conceptions the ceremoni-ousness was tremendous.

763 The man had reached a ripe old age and had then died very quickly. But his relatives had succeeded in observing the etiquette of putting on his shroud, a long, padded silk gown, while he was still alive and also in moving him from his bed beside the stove onto a small bench and laying him out in the center room of the main house, so that his soul might more easily find its way out into the open. Thus, at the very last minute his sons had proved
764 themselves pious children. Immediately after the man died money
775 was placed in his mouth, so that he should not be mute when reborn, but he was neither washed nor were his eyelids closed. During the first few days he lay in the death chamber as though he had been forgotten, and the doors and windows of the room were wide open. All I heard during the day was the man's name being called and the words "father" and "grandfather," and on the first evenin a long train of Taoist priests set out from the house, bearing many lanterns, and gongs, triangles and drums through the streets of the

779 cussed in Heaven. They teach men sorcery and will serve men
776 who can rule them by these devices. The leader of these evil spirits is called "The Shaitan" or Iblis. His fall from a place among the angels was due to his refusal to worship Adam on God's command; for this he was accursed till the Day of Resurrection and given authority over those of mankind whom he seduced.

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Then the blessed, the God-fearing men and women, the humble and the charitable, the forgiving, those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake, those who have fought in the way of God, shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise, where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers, praising God, reclining on silken couches, enjoying heavenly food and drink and the company of dark-eyed maidens. Those who have sinned against God and men are condemned to eternal punishment in the flames of Hell.

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782 Although neither the ceremonies nor the five set times of prayer

778 According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is
776 Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical
823 creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been con-
nected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary
[782] records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu,
who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain;
but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory
in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions
make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade
Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation
of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and
valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of
the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots
of all China.

346 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most
712 magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been trans-
178 formed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

771 In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-
called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and
Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In
specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church,
has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the
people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture,
scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor
worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the
blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist
principles predominates in the religious complex of the local
[177] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by
the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Bud-
dhistic observance and practice in their religious activities.
They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious
matters, but they devote their time and money to the perform-
ance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these
areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more
typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this
all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and
aberrant forms of philosophy.

797 Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and
established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the
national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the
Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes
in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated
[211] record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 abandonment of the sick, is very strong, and to some extent helps
164 limit the spread of contagious disease. (Cf. also Rijnhart, 1902).
[758] The Tibetans are apt to attribute diseases to spirits, such as
*563 the sa-ndre, (earth-spirits), demons and wrongdoing in this or
164 previous lives. The sa-ndre are especially feared, because they
753 afflict those who disturb the ground with leprosy; hence, the high
776 incidence of that dread disease among the farmers and its absence
among the nomads. Demons or devils are the sources of the epidemic diseases and the reason for the imposition of the strict quarantine of their victims. Like their diseases the devils are highly contagious. But, except for these ailments that have known
[759] causes, the Tibetan will consult a doctor or someone whose home remedies have proved successful. Under the latter category would be included the various Christian missionaries and explorers, traders, etc., who frequented Chinghai.

759 C. The Local Doctors

757 "...the treatment given by the native doctors generally means an increase of agony to the sufferer. For headaches large sticking
*563 plaster are applied to the patient's head and forehead; for rheumatics often a needle is buried in the arm or shoulder; a tooth is extracted by tying a rope to it and jerking it out...; a sufferer with stomach-ache may be subjected to a good pounding, or to the application of a piece of wick soaked in burning butter grease; or if medicine is to be taken internally it will consist probably of a piece of paper on which a prayer is written, rolled up into the form of a pellet, and if this fails to produce the desired effect another pellet is administered, composed of the bones of some pious priest." (Rijnhart, 1902, p. 34).

75 Actually, Tibetan medical science is one of the ten major subjects that, according to Buddhist classification, constitute the
*563 whole of human knowledge. One of the nation's main medical schools is located near Lhasa. Some of the major academic monasteries also have medical schools and the person with the title of manpa (sman-pa, doctor) is respected as highly learned. The medical lore that is studied is that of ancient India. It is primarily scientific, in that it is based on rational explanations of physiology and pathology. The religious aspects are superficial additions that do not affect too seriously the basically scientific approach. There are different categories of disease apportioned according to whether the sickness is the result of something wrong in this life, in the previous life, or a combination of previous lives and the present; whether the patient is male, female, child or desexed. Then there are afflictions common to all regardless of sex or age. These number 404 categories, 101 being attributed to each of the four major elements, organs or vices, depending upon the interpretation. (The original Brahmanical medicine had only 101 cate-

through a sort of local government. In other parts of China 000
the Mahomedans are mostly indistinguishable externally 142
from the rest of the Chinese population; but in Kansu, apart from the Salas, who are of a distinctly Central Asiatic type,
my experience was that the faces of most of the Mahomedans 291
are somehow different from the Chinese; they are in any case usually rendered noticeable by their white caps. Foreign scholars attach importance to the early Arab intercourse by sea, but all the Chinese with whom I discussed the question of Islam in China agreed that it came overland from Central Asia, and this is probably true of the North and North West at any rate, which, apart from Yunnan, are the regions where Mahomedanism counts.

The Mahomedan population of Kansu, decimated by 797
the great rebellion, is now recovering and increasing again 162
as the result of many years of comparative peace. Apart from natural increase by births and, after the Chinese fashion, by adoptions, there are a certain number of conversions; these are due rather to expediency than to religious conviction, but the converts having once adopted Islam, appear usually to become good and zealous Moslems. The Chinese as a race seem to require stiffening by a virile religion of some kind, and the effects of Mahomedanism on the characters of those among them who embrace it appear remarkable, and give rise to curious speculations.

It may briefly be stated here that the Mahomedans of 186
North West China, in spite of their religious connection with Turkey and the intrigues of enemy agents, have throughout the War remained absolutely loyal to the Chinese Government.

The relations between the Moslems and the foreign 797
missionaries are comparatively good, so long as religious 776
questions are not concerned. Even in religious matters they agree with the foreigner up to a certain point, since they consider that both they and the missionaries worship the only true God, in contrast to the idolatrous Chinese. It is only when the divinity of Jesus, whom they regard as a prophet but not divine, is raised that they join issue with
the foreigner, and then they become inexorably hostile. The 797
early history of Protestant missions in China contains many references to assistance received from the Mahomedans

which permits of a more solid structure than elsewhere. 361
The collapse of these mud dwelling-houses is frequent; 346
we ourselves were roused one morning by an ominous 342
thud, and ran out just in time to see Molly, with an injured air and covered with dust, led from the ruins of her stable which had fallen down around her.

Among the temples[1] none is so highly valued by the 346
citizens as the Hall of the Sleeping Buddha. The figure 778
is one hundred and twenty feet in length, about forty 532
feet high, and is firmly believed by the Kanchow populace to be the largest image of Buddha in the world. It is made of earth and plastered with a composition of lime and paper pulp. Entirely devoid of artistic merit, it is merely a colossal figure, reclining with the head resting on the right hand, and enormous, outstretched feet with huge, round toes of regular form. A gallery runs round the upper part of the hall from which a downward view can be obtained. The city also contains a Chorten (relic tomb) about one hundred and fifty feet high, which holds the remains of a noted Living Buddha who died in the locality. The Chorten is considered to symbolise the five elements into which the body is resolved at death—earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

In another temple is a brass horse and rider of great 346
antiquity. This statue is viewed with reverence, as it 778
is believed to have been miraculously conveyed to 532
Kanchow by a great flood of the Black River. Outside 776
this temple is a splendid, bubbling spring of water, called the Ih Chuan, and said to be the first spring of sweet water to the west of the Yellow River. It feeds a tank where sacred goldfish disport themselves, and has been venerated for centuries. Close to our own residence was the beautiful Temple of the Spacious Hills. We often walked there in the evening, when the

[1] [at Kanchow -- T.J.G. Analyst]

flowery trees and shrubs, roses and peonies, made the garden fragrant. The temple held a fine set of china figures representing the Pa Hsien. These are the Eight Genii, the men of the hills, who once lived on earth, but now, free from the grosser claims of the flesh, still retain the capacity for such minor delights as strolling leisurely in beautiful surroundings, or even those of eating and drinking. When in the flesh, although they practised asceticism, it was not to such a degree as to secure complete etherisation. They are not immortal, but enjoy a prolonged and easeful life. The little figures look their best standing on the old lacquered table in the sombre shrine, and the gay gardens provide an appropriate setting to these unaspiring beings.

Above the porch was a fresco which showed—hanging in graceful attitude over a balcony rail—the form of the Kwan in—Goddess of Mercy—with an infant in her lap. The pose, coiffure, and background were so Western that it might have been a fresco in the porch of an Italian Church. This was not the only place in which we saw pictures which bore a distinct trace of Nestorian tradition and influence, and this is not surprising considering that in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo still found groups of Nestorian Christians, both in Kanchow and in Suchow.

Close by the Temple of the Spacious Hills was a quiet courtyard, where ten Buddhist nuns lived in community. They were all deficient, either physically or mentally, blind, deaf or short-witted. Their feet were unbound and their hair cropped. They were in receipt of a pension, and gave themselves up to reciting long liturgies. Their services were valued at funerals, where they intone prayers for the departed. We often called in and sat for an hour, and they loved to see our Scripture pictures, and listen to the Bible stories.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

The floor was of very loosely trampled earth, and there was no ceiling, the roof being merely of pine-wood rafters, boarded on the outside. Strange to relate, even these bright premises were not free from the universal hauntings, for on the verandah stood a sedan-chair which inspired such terror to the whole family that none would venture to sit in it. Some months previously Mr. Chang had celebrated his birthday with a banquet, to which he had invited all his relatives and friends. Having feasted not wisely but too well, he sat down in this chair, and throwing out his chest disported himself with the typical gestures of a Chinese Mandarin. While the younger men of the party carried him joyously to and fro, he made suitable faces, saying: 'Now do I look like a Mandarin?' After a few minutes of this sport he stepped out from the chair, when, to the horror of the whole party, it was found that his mouth remained permanently twisted on one side; and as an added terror a few days later his wife developed a similar affliction.

It was most unfortunate that the time of our moving in coincided with the prolonged period, during which the god controlling the element of Earth forbids mankind to disturb his dominion. We were therefore implored not to build our kitchen stove, not to plaster a wall, nor even to mix the mud necessary to stop the crevices through which the wind was whistling, until this season expired. Courtesy demanded that we should not outrage the feelings of our kind host, but we decisively informed him that as Christians we were entirely freed from the power of demons, and the bondage of such superstitions.

His reply was: 'That is true and right, and I know that none of these things can harm *you*, because you are under the complete protection of your God. I, on the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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other hand, am under the power of these influences, and it would be highly dangerous for me, or for you, to take a midway position, for then we would be removed from protection, and consequently exposed to the assaults of both forces.'

The whole time of our residence in Suchow, Chang-si-yeh's pavilion remained our home, and we became much attached to it.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHALLENGE

OUR new home was situated in the best residential quarter of the town. Most of the neighbouring families had beautiful gardens like our own, and between us and the western city wall stood all the most important temples, to which plantations of young trees added a great charm. The neighbourhood was quiet, and free from business traffic, Suchow possessing no gate on the western side. Twenty miles distant is situated the frontier fortress of Kiayükwan, where the Great Wall ends, and of which the popular saying is: 'Kiayükwan is the West Gate of Suchow.' As the deities of wind and water (Feng shui) would be deeply insulted if the wall were pierced, the inhabitants of Suchow would be terrified at such an action, fearing the destruction of the city by flood.

Our first walk was to a temple standing in large grounds, and approached by a splendid poplar avenue. We were discussing, as we proceeded, the details of the new life ahead, when our eyes were riveted by an inscription over the temple door, hanging between two

and reports there the way things have gone for the family throughout the year. Thus, this day is very important and is called the Little New Year. On this day he is offered sweets, rice and other things and while his picture is being burned in the fire the entire family calls after him: "Sir Kitchen God, Sir Kitchen God, do not report anything bad about us!" In the real New Year's night he returns from heaven and that is when people again paste his picture on their walls. 776 782

a little epigram or a Chinese symbol of luck and wealth on all my chests as well as my saddles, on the baskets, bags, hammers, on my camera, in fact even on the broomstick which I had bought two days before and on the shovel, in short, on everything I possessed. Even in the rubbish heap there was a special piece of paper for the important god of rubbish. My three horses had red ribbons braided into their manes and wore a piece of wide red cloth on their foreheads; all this was part of the New Year's greeting of my servants. And everyone exchanged wishes of "Fa ts'ai ba! fa ts'ai ba! may you be rich!" 527 777

My New Year's call to the amban was undertaken together with Mr. Ridley, and on this occasion I saw the old gentleman for the first time. As is customary in China, he greeted us in the vestibule and then led us, amid many bows and the most ingratiating smiles, into his guest room. From the moment we arrived he talked incessantly and it was perfectly obvious that he made every effort not to give us a chance to speak. He did not trust us. He was afraid of a complaint which would have lowered him in the eyes of his men. We were scarcely able to give him our New Year's greetings. He avoided any kind of dialogue and kept repeating how sorry he was that I had been attacked in his territory and that the hsiē dia did not take better care of me. It was all their fault. He would have our guide severely punished. His soldiers were on their way to fetch my things. (2) And he said if I were going to travel again in his 574

2. As a matter of fact, they did set out three days later for the Koko Nor and brought back all my animals, but unfortunately none of the irreplaceable equipment.

province I should by all means let him know in time so that he could give me a military escort. "I shall give you soldiers to take along. I ding wo ba ni sung. You may depend on it, I shall have you

777

777 LUCK AND CHANCE--concept of good and bad luck; ideas about chance and probability; things associated with good or bad luck (e.g., lucky objects, luck-bringing formulae, lucky and unlucky numbers, propitious and unlucky days); techniques for controlling luck (e.g., wearing of luck amulets, reciting of lucky formulas); conception of fate; etc. See also:

Insurance	456	Divination	787
Gambling	525	Pattern numbers	801
Protective amulets	751	Calendar	805
Theory of accidental injuries	752	Scientific theory of chance	813

ably become detached, and had then fallen down. Such an incident would, of necessity, be viewed by the Chinese with dismay, the only possible course open, in order to avoid calamity, being to spread a feast before the gods, and then restore the tablet to its place of honour. The gentleman had, however, in the meantime become a Christian, and on making enquiry found that the day on which he first entered the Mission premises at Suchow was the self-same day on which the tablet had fallen. His answer, therefore, to the priest was as follows: 'You may act as you please with your own temple, but as for me and my house we will serve the Lord.' 000

On the evening of our departure from Chikinpu, so as to shorten the journey, we decided to follow a side-path leading over rough ground, and also across a river, before rejoining the main, desert track. When we had gone about three miles our servant suddenly discovered the loss of a large packet of books, which had, apparently, fallen from the back of the cart. Ineffectual search was made until sunset, by which time the carters became reluctant to pursue a strange path by the fading light, so they suggested that, by adding five miles to the journey, we could follow another route which was more frequented than the shorter one. We, however, decided to return to the inn, although we knew that by so doing we should violate every Chinese instinct, the popular idea being, that to retrace one's steps is to court ill-luck. But the next day, both Christians and heathen alike recognised the fact that we had been protected by a Divine Power, for we then learnt, that had we proceeded on our way we must inevitably have arrived at a certain spot just when a band of brigands, sweeping down from the hills, had attacked the caravans travelling that night. We were 484 777 579 000

426 then my friends, too, appeared dressed in silks and velvets and all their children, as good breeding demanded, wore new shoes. I now learned that the man had been cautious enough to store a few chests of his belongings in my little courtyard, with the help of my servants, and he had now brought them back to his apartment again. Nor was the man by any means bankrupt. All he lacked at the moment was cash to cover all his debts.

527
574 At the first cock's crow, long before day, my servants came back from the New Year's celebration with their families and offered me their New Year's kowtow for which one's employees always receive a major gift of money. The first official callers, among them the hsien and a few officers of the city who were acquaintances of mine, also stood at my door at six in the morning just as the sun was rising. They were on their way back from the temples where they had delivered offerings and congratulations to the official state deities and the emperor. In China I learned the meaning of New Year's calls on acquaintances, and good luck wishes. Surely no Chinese would be impressed by our European manner of doing this. Beginning with the first day of the new year, the inhabitants of China are on their feet from morning till night and hasten from one to the other of their acquaintances in order to express their good wishes in the form
527 of a kowtow. On the morning of New Year's day everyone washes
777 his face and appears in holiday garb which should be new if possible, and all doors, all door posts and implements are freshly pasted with luck-bringing words and sayings. The paper which is used for this is fire-red, unless the family happens to be in mourning. (1) Thus,

1. Like the color of the Yang, see footnote to p. 33.

on New Year's in China everything looks pretty and orderly, and above all, indescribably gay. On my house, too, the servants had during the night pasted new pictures of the gate deities on the outside of all the doors, and over the hearth they had put a fresh picture of the kitchen /207/ god Ts'ao ye (1), and when I awoke there was

776
782 1. Also called Ts'ao wang ye. This is the chief deity of the family. He is below the city god and the almighty god of heaven, the supreme Chinese deity, and of course, also below the emperor, the son of heaven. He guards the fire and the domestic hearth. On the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of the last calendar month he ascends to heaven

and reports there the way things have gone for the family 776
throughout the year. Thus, this day is very important and 782
is called the Little New Year. On this day he is offered sweets, rice and other things and while his picture is being burned in the fire the entire family calls after him: "Sir Kitchen God, Sir Kitchen God, do not report anything bad about us!" In the real New Year's night he returns from heaven and that is when people again paste his picture on their walls.

a little epigram or a Chinese symbol of luck and wealth on all my 527
chests as well as my saddles, on the baskets, bags, hammers, on my 777
camera, in fact even on the broomstick which I had bought two days before and on the shovel, in short, on everything I possessed. Even in the rubbish heap there was a special piece of paper for the important god of rubbish. My three horses had red ribbons braided into their manes and wore a piece of wide red cloth on their foreheads; all this was part of the New Year's greeting of my servants. And everyone exchanged wishes of "Fa ts'ai ba! fa ts'ai ba! may you be rich!"

My New Year's call to the amban was undertaken together with 574
Mr. Ridley, and on this occasion I saw the old gentleman for the first time. As is customary in China, he greeted us in the vestibule and then led us, amid many bows and the most ingratiating smiles, into his guest room. From the moment we arrived he talked incessantly and it was perfectly obvious that he made every effort not to give us a chance to speak. He did not trust us. He was afraid of a complaint which would have lowered him in the eyes of his men. We were scarcely able to give him our New Year's greetings. He avoided any kind of dialogue and kept repeating how sorry he was that I had been attacked in his territory and that the hsiё dia did not take better care of me. It was all their fault. He would have our guide severely punished. His soldiers were on their way to fetch my things. (2) And he said if I were going to travel again in his

2. As a matter of fact, they did set out three days later for the Koko Nor and brought back all my animals, but unfortunately none of the irreplaceable equipment.

province I should by all means let him know in time so that he could give me a military escort. "I shall give you soldiers to take along. I ding wo ba ni sung. You may depend on it, I shall have you

778

778 SACRED OBJECTS AND PLACES--conception of sanctity (e.g., possession by an indwelling or frequenting spirit, infusion with impersonal supernatural power); idols and fetishes; extraordinary objects (e.g., bezoar stones, albino animals, mandrake roots); sacred places (e.g., shrines, altars); places of asylum and sanctuary; notions of impersonal supernatural power (e.g., mana, soul-stuff); animatism; beliefs and practices of consecration and desecration; etc.

See also:

Churches and temples	346	Luck amulets	777
Heirlooms	523	Notions of uncleanness	783
Asylum	696	Taboos	784
Protective amulets	751	Phallic rites	786
Relics	765	Conception of magic force	789
Conception of the sacred and the profane	771	Holy men	793

morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to 494
a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst
indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, 484
we discovered that we were expected at this house; and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper; 'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen) 'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two 361
hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in 166
Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, 346
is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple 177
frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of
Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had 532
strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu. The dome of the tower is said to have originally been covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals 796
in honour of their respective gods, and we were in 776
Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

796 town) was carried into the country in a sedan-chair.
Here he was required to bless the sown fields, and also
776 to call in his subordinate demons, whom he holds in check while the grain is ripening, lest they work mischief on the peasants, but whom he again releases after all the crops are gathered in. He was escorted by a big official procession, to the sound of pipes and cymbals; but so soon as the idol was safely deposited in the village shrine, where it was to spend a few days, the whole company made a rush for the courtyard, where we were staying, and listened attentively for over an hour to our singing and preaching.

000 One other afternoon was spent in the house of a man whom we had first met at Suchow, at the New Year's festival. He had then heard us speak, and being much interested had bought a copy of the New Testament. On learning that we had now arrived at Kinta, he invited us to his home in order that we might meet the women of his family. We were received by them with a deference that was almost reverential, the younger members of the house, dressed in their festive garments, being ordered to kneel before us; and it was with the greatest difficulty we prevented their doing us homage as to 'Holy Women.' Mrs. Ma, the wife, was a vegetarian of the third generation; neither her grandmother nor her mother having ever broken the vow of a most rigid asceticism, which forbade their tasting any condiment to relieve the insipidity of the dough-string diet, or even the refreshment of a cup of tea. We found her to be extraordinarily understanding in spiritual things, and she responded with an alert mind to the story of the suffering Saviour.

She showed her confidence in us to a remarkable degree, by consenting to take a meal with us the following day, when she returned our call, feeling sure

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

we would give her nothing that was forbidden by her 000
vow.

The day before we left Kinta, the temple of the 776
Goddess of Mercy was crowded with women worshippers, 782
—young brides beseeching the gift of a son; while
mothers who had received a child during the past 796
year, now brought it to be placed under her protection. The baby, covered by a red scarf, was held in its mother's arms under an immense iron bell, when she produced her offering, namely, a handkerchief full of mixed grain. The bell was then struck; the priest took out some of the grain and scattered it over the child's head, with the words, '*May the Goddess of Mercy protect thee; may the God of Plenty endow thee;*' then, yellow paper having been burnt, and its ashes smeared over the child's forehead, the priestly incantation was ended, and the mother went away, satisfied that all that could be done to protect the little life from ill-luck and demons had been successfully carried out.

A few days later we visited a famous group of temples 788
known as Wenshu Miao—'The Halls of Learning'— 778
situated only twenty miles from Suchow, at the mouth
of the main Pass through the Southern Hills, and where 796
festivals are held for both Chinese and Tibetans during the spring months. Hundreds of shrines stand on the mountain-side and numerous guest-houses have been built to accommodate the thousands of pilgrims who gather each year, on the first day of the fourth moon. From early dawn carts full of women, followed later in the day by military processions, escorting the chief officials of the town, followed one another up the stony valley in unbroken succession.

The shrines are connected by a labyrinth of small, steep paths which wind in and out around and over the hillside, at each turn of the road revealing a temple,

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S /Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/
563 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents
585 lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's
S relatives.

563 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning
586 the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

N IV. The Chinese Moslems

121 Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations,
59 as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated
(779) by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese
N
769 Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such
*563 an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem
778 religious objects.

N
*563 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems oc-
582 curs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is
797 even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems
*563 appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Mos-
585 lem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In
586 addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will
793 recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an
184 additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common
*563 with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists.
184 The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

792 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic
871 monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more complete systems of education and organization than are to be found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage. Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's
[778] birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries
[423] own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious.
[651] Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries, these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

792 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the monasteries perform many functions for their subjects and believ-
701 ers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies
[669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem rebellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely
795 in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 782 796 779 203 any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the S N 795 735 431 Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 775 788 Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 776 Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 262 In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 769 177 The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. N 795 288 778 The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

/Chinese Moslems/

referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

H. The Salars

The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

A. Sites of Religious Traditions

The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

(eighth century A.D.) and a Sung edition of the Tripitaka. It gained its name through the Buddhist monk Wei-ko (Sung times) who used to stay there overnight and was called the Sleeping Dragon.

Another one is the K'ai-yüan-ssu, built in 713 A.D., which is adorned with many famous inscriptions and also was once famed for its library. Few religious relics are left now at this place, which has become a center of high-class girl entertainers instead.

One of the landmarks of Sian is the Glazed Tile Pagoda, Hua-t'a, built during the times of the Five Dynasties. Other famous pagodas in the neighborhood are the Great Swallow Pagoda, Ta-yen-t'a, belonging to the temple Ta Tz'u-en-ssu, in which the pilgrim Hsüan-tsang was active, and the Small Swallow Pagoda, Hsiao-yen-t'a, built in the beginning of the eighth century.

The best-known Taoist temple was the Ying-hsiang-kuan, which was made the main center of Taoist devotion by Emperor Jui of T'ang in 708 A.D. at a period when the Imperial house of T'ang showed pride in its alleged descendence from Lao-tzu, the great patriarch of Taoist religion. In Kuomintang times the temple was converted into a school.

The plain around Sian is dotted with many tombs of past emperors. These artificial hills are held in great reverence by the local population and many myths have taken their origin here even though it is not known whose august remains these hills cover.

Shensi is also the site of one of the Five Sacred Mountains of China, which formed part of the Imperial cult and to which regularly Imperial sacrifices were offered. The worship of these mountains belongs to the oldest religious traditions of China. All through historic times down to and including the last dynasty, the Emperors went there in person for regular services or at least had themselves represented by topmost officialdom. At least since T'ang times large temples were erected to the spirit of these mountains. They were, however, not only depositories of memories of this official cult, but as pilgrimage centers of organized groups and individuals, they have accumulated religious traditions and historical relics devoted to all sections of the population.

Even though the Western Peak, Hua-shan, has to cede priority to the Eastern, T'ai-shan, it always was, and still is, one of the most important centers of pious activities. Numerous temples, shrines, caves and pavillions testify to this fact. Most of them are outside institutionalized Imperial ritual, but are maintained by local religious groups or sects and by the donations of visiting pilgrims in search of delivery from some bodily or spiritual troubles.

According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been connected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been transformed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

ness" of this road, and certainly what with the ravages of brigands and the natural infertility of the soil, the few inhabitants were poor to the verge of starvation. Yenan seems to be the centre of the most desolate area, by far the poorest region I have traversed in China outside the actual deserts.

Chungpu, a poor little third class district city half in ruins, lies on the side of a hill, with a sacred grove of very ancient trees behind it, which present a remarkable sight in this treeless country. Near by is a small temple containing the tomb of the Emperor Huang Ti, who reigned some 4000 years ago, which illustrates the great antiquity of these little Shensi towns.

The next day's stage to Loch'uan Hsien is a trying march through the loess. The track follows down the valley to the east for 20 li, and then turning north climbs up through a gully on to the plateau a few hundred feet above, across which it runs for an hour's march to the hamlet of Antzu T'ou, whence it drops into the valley of the Lo River. This stream resembles the Ching Ho, a muddy torrent twenty yards wide, and flows in a narrow valley some hundreds of feet below the level of the loess plateau. It is crossed by a ferry at the hamlet of Chiaoho K'ou, and the path then climbs steeply out of the valley again and runs across the plateau in a N.E. direction for three hours' march to reach the district city of Loch'uan. The latter is the usual little third class Hsien city of Northern Shensi, but appeared to be rather more prosperous than its neighbours and to show less signs of the ravages of brigands. It lies on the loess plateau, intersected as usual by colossal rifts, the heads of some of which are so close to the city that they threaten to engulf it in a few years time. These towns and villages on the loess plateau are quite unapproachable except by the existing roads owing to the rifts which open up all around, and could be held by a few men against an army; perhaps that is why Loch'uan appeared comparatively immune from brigand raids.

From Loch'uan to Fu Chou is another exhausting march in the loess of 75 li. The track runs N.E. across the plateau for an hour's march until it is held up by a huge cañon with the usual perpendicular walls. Climbing in and out of

arranged that we should spend July among them under canvas, in Tibetan territory.

CHAPTER IX

A SPRING CAMPAIGN

Marco Polo wrote of the city of Kanchow, where he made long residence, and once held office as Governor, as the 'city which holds more gods than men.' This local saying is still constantly on the lips of its inhabitants, who take great pride in the fact that its temples and shrines are so numerous as never to have been accurately numbered.

The town is beautifully placed and abundantly watered. It contains several lakes, which being overgrown with reeds supply material for an important mat-plaiting industry. Besides these larger expanses of water, there are a number of ponds fed by underground springs, dependent upon the melting snow from the Tibetan mountains. In these ponds the water rises and falls in a most unexpected way, so that sometimes their banks are surrounded by children fishing, while at others they become the highway of city traffic. The streets are bordered with fine poplar, acacia, and willow trees, which flourish splendidly, throwing their roots deep into the hidden sources.

As one would expect, the people are in all things superstitious and religious. All the wealthy homes have a private shrine, which is often a handsome hall, where the ancestral tablets are preserved, and where incense is burned to the family idols. At sunset each day the sound of bells rises on every side, as the woman of each household touches the rope which sets in motion

which permits of a more solid structure than elsewhere. 361
The collapse of these mud dwelling-houses is frequent; 346
we ourselves were roused one morning by an ominous 342
thud, and ran out just in time to see Molly, with an injured air and covered with dust, led from the ruins of her stable which had fallen down around her.

Among the temples[1] none is so highly valued by the 346
citizens as the Hall of the Sleeping Buddha. The figure 778 •
is one hundred and twenty feet in length, about forty 532
feet high, and is firmly believed by the Kanchow populace to be the largest image of Buddha in the world. It is made of earth and plastered with a composition of lime and paper pulp. Entirely devoid of artistic merit, it is merely a colossal figure, reclining with the head resting on the right hand, and enormous, outstretched feet with huge, round toes of regular form. A gallery runs round the upper part of the hall from which a downward view can be obtained. The city also contains a Chorten (relic tomb) about one hundred and fifty feet high, which holds the remains of a noted Living Buddha who died in the locality. The Chorten is considered to symbolise the five elements into which the body is resolved at death—earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

In another temple is a brass horse and rider of great 346
antiquity. This statue is viewed with reverence, as it 778
is believed to have been miraculously conveyed to 532
Kanchow by a great flood of the Black River. Outside 776
this temple is a splendid, bubbling spring of water, called the Ih Chuan, and said to be the first spring of sweet water to the west of the Yellow River. It feeds a tank where sacred goldfish disport themselves, and has been venerated for centuries. Close to our own residence was the beautiful Temple of the Spacious Hills. We often walked there in the evening, when the

T.J.G. B
[1] [at Kanchow -- Analyst]

346 flowery trees and shrubs, roses and peonies, made the
• 778 garden fragrant. The temple held a fine set of china figures representing the Pa Hsien. These are the Eight
532 Genii, the men of the hills, who once lived on earth, but
776 now, free from the grosser claims of the flesh, still retain the capacity for such minor delights as strolling leisurely in beautiful surroundings, or even those of eating and drinking. When in the flesh, although they practised asceticism, it was not to such a degree as to secure complete etherisation. They are not immortal, but enjoy a prolonged and easeful life. The little figures look their best standing on the old lacquered table in the sombre shrine, and the gay gardens provide an appropriate setting to these unaspiring beings.

Above the porch was a fresco which showed—hanging in graceful attitude over a balcony rail—the form of the Kwan in—Goddess of Mercy—with an infant in her lap. The pose, coiffure, and background were so Western that it might have been a fresco in the porch of
[177] an Italian Church. This was not the only place in which we saw pictures which bore a distinct trace of Nestorian tradition and influence, and this is not surprising considering that in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo still found groups of Nestorian Christians, both in Kanchow and in Suchow.

792 Close by the Temple of the Spacious Hills was a quiet courtyard, where ten Buddhist nuns lived in community. They were all deficient, either physically or mentally, blind, deaf or short-witted. Their feet were unbound and their hair cropped. They were in receipt of a pension, and gave themselves up to reciting long liturgies. Their services were valued at funerals, where they intone prayers for the departed. We often called in and sat for an hour, and they loved to see our Scripture pictures, and listen to the Bible stories.

other hand, am under the power of these influences, 776
and it would be highly dangerous for me, or for you, to take a midway position, for then we would be removed from protection, and consequently exposed to the assaults of both forces.'

The whole time of our residence in Suchow, Chang-si-yeh's pavilion remained our home, and we became much attached to it.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHALLENGE

OUR new home was situated in the best residential 361
quarter of the town. Most of the neighbouring families had beautiful gardens like our own, and between us and the western city wall stood all the most important temples, to which plantations of young trees added a
great charm. The neighbourhood was quiet, and free 776
from business traffic, Suchow possessing no gate on the western side. Twenty miles distant is situated the frontier fortress of Kiayükwan, where the Great Wall ends, and of which the popular saying is: 'Kiayükwan is the West Gate of Suchow.' As the deities of wind and water (Feng shui) would be deeply insulted if the wall were pierced, the inhabitants of Suchow would be terrified at such an action, fearing the destruction of the city by flood.

Our first walk was to a temple standing in large 778 •
grounds, and approached by a splendid poplar avenue. We were discussing, as we proceeded, the details of the new life ahead, when our eyes were riveted by an inscription over the temple door, hanging between two

778 colossal Warrior-Guardians, who, javelin in hand,
offered defiance to any visitor that might question the
supremacy of the gods within. '*What? So you have
come too?*' were the words which confronted us, and
which seemed even to be audible, so startling was the
impression made. Yes, we had come; and we knew
full well it would be a battle to the blood between the
forces here represented and those for which we stood.
772 It was, therefore, with a sense of solemnity that we
775 entered[1] to find ourselves at once in 'the Courts of
532 Hell'—for that is the name given to this shrine where
the horrors of the Buddhist Place of Torment are
realistically portrayed in clay-modelled figures, crudely
coloured, but astonishingly vigorously done. The
story begins by the spirit of a man, who having just
died, finds himself divested of all fleshly covering, and
must now in consequence start on his weary peregrination through the Underworld, where, for each sin
committed in the body, the soul must now receive an
exact retribution. In the next scene various other
discarnate individuals knelt before the presiding Deity,
while the doings of each one during their earth-life were
weighed in accurately-adjusted scales. Around, more
hapless beings underwent different tortures; some being
dipped in a sea of blood, others sawn asunder between
two planks, while others again were crushed like grain
between upper and nether millstones. The covetous
eyes were gouged out; the slanderous tongue was torn
from the roots; and grappling-hooks fastened into the
flesh of the lustful, peeled off the skin in ribbons. Here
and there slender bridges, hanging over fearful chasms,
were crossed by trembling pilgrims, whose escape from
unknown consequences depended on the poise earned by
former self-denials, and everywhere the minions of the
merciless Judge gloatingly watched the sufferings of

[1][a temple in Suchow -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

we would give her nothing that was forbidden by her 000
vow.

The day before we left Kinta, the temple of the 776
Goddess of Mercy was crowded with women worshippers 782
—young brides beseeching the gift of a son; while
mothers who had received a child during the past 796
year, now brought it to be placed under her protection.
The baby, covered by a red scarf, was held in its
mother's arms under an immense iron bell, when she
produced her offering, namely, a handkerchief full of
mixed grain. The bell was then struck; the priest took
out some of the grain and scattered it over the child's
head, with the words, '*May the Goddess of Mercy
protect thee; may the God of Plenty endow thee;* then,
yellow paper having been burnt, and its ashes smeared
over the child's forehead, the priestly incantation was
ended, and the mother went away, satisfied that all
that could be done to protect the little life from ill-luck
and demons had been successfully carried out.

A few days later we visited a famous group of temples 788
known as Wenshu Miao—'The Halls of Learning'— 778
situated only twenty miles from Suchow, at the mouth
of the main Pass through the Southern Hills, and where 796
festivals are held for both Chinese and Tibetans during
the spring months. Hundreds of shrines stand on the
mountain-side and numerous guest-houses have been
built to accommodate the thousands of pilgrims who
gather each year, on the first day of the fourth moon.
From early dawn carts full of women, followed later in
the day by military processions, escorting the chief
officials of the town, followed one another up the stony
valley in unbroken succession.

The shrines are connected by a labyrinth of small,
steep paths which wind in and out around and over the
hillside, at each turn of the road revealing a temple,

788 and anyone following the maze will pass hundreds of shrines in the course of his pilgrimage. The ambition
778 of each worshipper is to visit as many idols as possible,
796 and to light a stick of incense and burn paper before each. It is an amazing feat for women who are crippled by bandages and tiny shoes, and many of whom are no longer young, to climb these precipitous paths, sometimes even on hands and knees, in order to reach an apparently inaccessible rock-shrine, yet this is accomplished even over roads made slippery by rain.

Some of the chasms are crossed by rickety wooden bridges which bear such names as 'The Heavenly Road,' or 'The Short Cut to Paradise,' and here old women are helped by husband or son who carries the basket of incense and a pile of votive-paper.

Most of the shrines are modern, but the original cluster of buildings dates from the time of the Emperor Chien Lung, and there are a very few, excavated in the hill, of a much older date, which contain frescoes similar to those found in the famous 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' at Tunhwang. At dark on the last evening, bonfires are lighted on every prominence, in which all the remaining incense and paper is burnt, in honour of the gods of the earth, spaces, and mountains.

000 The crowds were by this time accustomed to the sight of the white tent, and the people streamed in and out, listening to the addresses and buying the books. In preparation for the festival the students posted carefully selected passages of Scripture in each of the many shrines, and twelve months later, when we revisited Wenshu Miao, not one of these had been defaced or destroyed.

563 A week later was the Tibetan gathering,[1] and we drove out once more over that stony road. We had

[1] [at Wenshu Miao, see p.107-- Analyst]

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778
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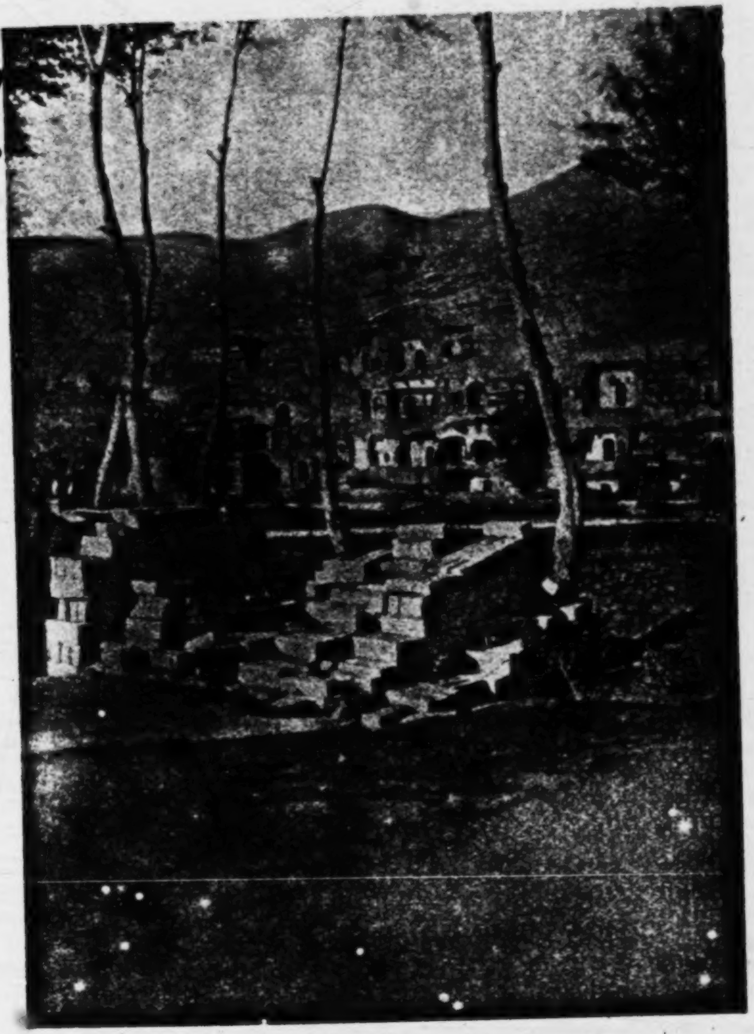

THE CAVES OF THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS.

"Many of the upper shrines have now no frontage at all, so that they can be seen from the valley below."

To face page 134.

[FACING p. 134]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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The self-appointed guardian of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas is an interesting man, who by his own unaided efforts has enormously improved the place—a Taoist priest, from the Province of Hupeh, he came twenty-eight years ago on a begging pilgrimage to Chienfutung, which in those times was nothing but a barren waste with a trickling brook losing itself in the sand. Wang-tao-shi—for that is his name—soon utilised this water for irrigation ; he planted all the trees with his own hands, and sowed enough crops for his maintenance and that of his acolytes. He also erected a large, commodious rest-house, containing a lofty, cool hall surrounded by sleeping-cells, all spotlessly clean ; while he himself occupied one small room adjoining a tiny kitchen. In order to repair the caves he has made frequent begging expeditions, and has also from time to time received large sums in exchange for certain old manuscripts, now in the possession of various museums ; but he has never enriched himself, all being spent on the upkeep of the temples. The caves have been hollowed out by hand from the almost perpendicular cliff, which they have honeycombed, and each contains some particular representation of Buddha, by whose name it is distinguished ; such as, 'The Temple of the Precious Three' ; 'The Hall of the Solitary Buddha' ; 'The Shrine of Sakimuni.' The walls are all frescoed, and extraordinarily well-preserved owing to the dryness of the climate ; and as the façade has broken away in places, many of the upper shrines have now no frontage at all, so that they can be seen from the valley below. The atmosphere is marvellously clear, and they present an exceedingly fine effect. This breaking-away has also had the advantage of letting in the brilliant daylight to the shrines, some of which would be wholly inaccessible if it were not that small doors of communi-

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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cation have been opened through a long vista of grottoes; one could, therefore, wander on almost interminably. The paintings cover a great period of time, some dating back to the Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 265), others to the Sung (A.D. 960–1280), and many of the best to the Tang period (A.D. 618–905).

A good number have been covered over by more recent stencil-work, the various layers of the colouring being clearly visible where the doors have been cut through. A very usual pattern for covering the walls is made by the use of innumerable small clay medallions, which viewed from a distance seem to present a geometrical design, but which on inspection are found to consist of a draped figure of Buddha sitting in an attitude of contemplation.

Most of the large idols were in raised alcoves, sometimes approached through an ante-chapel, in which were life-sized figures in flowing garments, their heads outlined against gilt haloes, or flame-bundles. The most delightful decorations represented family scenes in Paradisaic Gardens, where dainty ladies leant over lakes, or stood on camel-back bridges, watching the birds circling round the lotus tanks, while happy children ate ambrosial fruits.

Episodes from the life of Buddha recurred in many forms, as also illustrations of the delights awaiting those who attain to the joys of the Buddhist heaven. The ceilings were not arched, as one would expect in cave-dwellings, but were cut out to a square, the sides of which sloped upwards about five feet to form a smaller square. Anyone accustomed to the Chinese measure used for grain will understand that this is the shape of an inverted '*dou.*' We saw several colossal figures nearly a hundred feet high, one of which is enclosed in a roofless hall with head open to the elements, and another

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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is an unusual representation of the Buddha reclining in the final state of Nirvana. A detailed account, as well as splendid pictures of these wonderful caves, can be seen in Sir Aurel Stein's record[1] of his visit to Tunhwang in 1907, when in company with the old guardian, Wang-tao-shi, he opened up a temple containing a mass of manuscripts of priceless value. These were written not only in the Chinese, Tibetan and Sanskrit languages, but also in Uigur script, which is a derivative of Syriac writing, in Runic Turki, and in a peculiar form of Syriac script as employed in Manichaean writing. The variety and quantity of these manuscripts showed they must have formed part of some ancient monastic library. Specimens of hand-painted silk banners brought from Chienfutung by Sir Aurel Stein may be seen in the British Museum, and many extremely ancient and interesting records of Tunhwang find their place to-day in the King's Library of that building.

On entering one of the larger temples, we were startled by the appearance of a Figure so totally unlike those which surrounded it as immediately to rivet our attention. It was that of a man standing by a tree, the face of which wore an expression so benign, sorrowful, and strikingly human as to cause us to remark to one another that it might have been intended to represent the Lord Jesus Christ. We were therefore particularly interested, on returning to Tunhwang, when we were asked the question by the students if we had noticed that they had given our Jesus a place in their Pantheon.

At the extreme southern end the caves contained more modern work, and the terrifying grotesques of the Chinese temple came into evidence once more. Here we entered a shrine whose deity was surrounded by a banner proclaiming it to be 'The Pitiless One.' On

[1] *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, Sir Aurel Stein.

172 either side stood an attendant, one of which was a gaunt
778 brown shape of terror sent forth to induce men to
commit suicide by taking opium. His was a dread
346 figure indeed, but not to be compared with the second,
532 which represented the female instigator of suicide, by means of cutting the throat. She carried no emblem to make her mission clear, but every line of her insinuating face and bold, compelling eye, suggested the Power of Evil, able to break down the last hesitation in the mind which contemplated this dreadful deed; and Chinese women have since told us that many a bride has cut her throat after a visit to that shrine. The consummate horror of this representation so impressed us, that we can well believe it.

788 Chienfutung habitually stands solitary, but for the visit of an occasional pilgrim, except during one week of the year, when thousands of worshippers crowd its temples, and the air is heavy with burning incense. Streams of small-footed women risk their necks on the precipitous, crumbling paths leading to the upper galleries, nor will they, in spite of the utmost fatigue, leave one single temple unvisited, lest having done so much, they should fail to conciliate that last, final deity whose malice might be incurred by neglect!

CHAPTER XXV

THE LAKE OF THE CRESCENT MOON

133 WE returned to Tunhwang so enthusiastic about the
491 art treasures of 'The Hall of the Thousand Buddhas' that our visitors urged us to make a second expedition to another beauty spot of the locality, Yüehyachüan—'The Lake of the Crescent Moon.' 'Chienfutung is

133 rest-house in the midst of a group of trees, the whole
137 picture being reflected in the water, wherein numbers of little black ducks with white beaks disported themselves, dipping and reappearing continually. The little divers found the current to be so strong, that as soon as they reached the western extremity they rose above the water and trusted to their wings for the return journey rather than battle against the stream.

133 There is another curious phenomenon,[1] the facts of
823 which we were able to test. We were told to slide down
778 the sandhill propelling ourselves by movements of our hands. This we found to be a very simple and effective way of descent, as the whole warm dry surface moved with us. At a certain point a loud, clear, vibrating sound responded to our movements, resembling the twang of a mighty musical instrument, which sound seemed to proceed from the very centre of the hill.

Another name for the locality is 'The Door of Thunder,' from the extraordinary sounds that sometimes are heard, when the whole valley echoes and re-echoes with a noise like that of rolling drums, and when the sand, moved by the vibration, starts rolling, and continues to roll for hours on end. It is most amazing that this little lake and its surrounding temples should not long ago have been buried under the sandhills. Certain it is that, however fierce the wind, it always carries the sand away from the surface of the water; were it otherwise one windy season must be enough to alter the whole aspect of the scene.

'The Side Door of Paradise' is a name frequently used by Buddhist pilgrims when speaking of this lake. Only a few hundred yards from the rest-house is a sand-choked depression, with temple buildings almost wholly submerged by drifting sand, and here was formerly a sheet of water as clear as that of the Crescent

1 [At the Lake of the Crescent Moon --Analyst]

Lake itself. Its purity was offended by the act of two 133
women, who determined to force an entrance to 823
Paradise by the crystal gate of these pure waters. 778
Throwing aside their garments they plunged beneath the surface and were never seen again, but the lake immediately receded and allowed the shifting dune to cover it!

The popular idea of buried buildings and great subterranean caverns, which account for all these mysterious effects, are probably correct, nor is it surprising that many tales are related to account for them. The whole neighbourhood is full of interest, and some day, doubtless, will be called upon to give up its secrets to scientific excavators.

Just when we were leaving the rest-house, a lama 800
came towards us, having travelled barefoot from the sacred mountain of Shansi, prostrating himself at every few steps. It was near sunset; his red and yellow robes were soiled, and he himself weary and travel-stained, so that he was now calling in at this temple for a night's shelter. We stopped and spoke to him, and then all sat down by the wayside to talk.

'From what Province do you come, lama?' we enquired.

'From Utai Mountain, in Shansi,' he answered, 'and the road is long; it has taken me six months to reach here.'

'And where are you going?'

'To Lhasa, through those mountains,' waving his hand in the direction of the Southern Hills.

'What is the purpose of your pilgrimage?'

'To fulfil a vow made many years ago.'

We handed him a copy of St. John's Gospel, in which he at once read aloud the opening words: *'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and*

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI 1~~

more we prepared to enter on a stage which was completely new to us, and which we were warned held difficulties greater than any which we had already faced.

CHAPTER XXXII

VIEWING BLACK GOBI

EACH afternoon of our stay at Ansi we wandered out through the North Gate to a little bridge which spanned the irrigation canal, and looked over the limitless expanse of grey grit mixed with small black pebbles, across which the next stage of the journey must be taken. This was Black Gobi, a plain so windswept as to have lost its sandy surface, which has been carried away by the gales and deposited elsewhere. When the hour of our departure arrived and our carts rolled out by that same North Gate, leaving behind us the last city of Kansu, we knew that we must prepare ourselves for a series of arduous stages, and that we should not see another walled town until we reached Hami. It was 5.30 p.m. when we left the inn, and though we had tried to make it an easy day, the number of callers had added to the inevitable fatigue of repacking, and we were weary before we started. As soon as we were out of the oasis we realised that the black, gritty surface was not as resisting as we had hoped, and the cart-wheels dragged heavily from the first. 133 494

Three miles from the town gate we passed a temple, and as was our custom got down from the carts in order to visit it, as well as the priest in charge. To our surprise we found the door fastened from within by a heavy stone, and were unable to get an answer to our knocking and calling. Our carters refused to be balked 778

778 by a disobliging priest, and between them succeeded in dislodging the boulder. We entered a spacious and well-kept temple-court containing a well, by the side of which stood a bucket and well-rope. We passed from shrine to shrine without discovering any sign of life, but a few moments later a call from one of the men brought us to a little outhouse, where we found the guardian lying on his *kang* in the grip of raging fever, too weak to move, and being quite alone, had no means whatever of communication with the city. All that our men could do was to draw a bucket of water, which with a few loaves of bread we left within his reach, and later on, when we passed the postman, we sent a message back to the Ansi postmaster telling him of the priest's predicament, and begging for help to be sent.

133 494 491 We travelled all the night, and dawn found us at a landmark where a few arid mounds broke the landscape. The place was called Siyaotz—'Four Caves'—the name indicating four caverns which had been hollowed in the hillside, such as might serve to save a traveller's life in the event of high winds or blizzards. There was no point in delaying here more than a few moments to breathe the animals, which were already showing signs of fatigue, although we had accomplished little more than half our stage. But there is no possibility of delay on these hard marches, for the energy produced by the last feed soon ebbs, and consequently the Gobi roads are all marked by the bleaching bones of mules and camels, abandoned by their owners when too exhausted to keep up with the caravan.

The second half of the journey was now made doubly hard by the burning rays of the sun, added to which the grit was looser than before, so that after each short pull of twenty steps the flagging animals would stand still, needing to be urged again and again to make fresh

624 se of the so-called Tu jen (2) living in the city. Every day he places

2. A Chinese word, literally: "earth-people," meaning oldest inhabitants.

the insignia of his power in front of the door of his house, like a
685 petty Chinese official or a police officer. Everyone who passes the houses sees two kang (3) and a stick for administering bastinadoes

3. The kang. Chinese kia (popularly known as dia-dia in Kansu) is the rectangular piece of wood, weighing 20 pounds and about 60 centimeters in length, through which the head of a convict is stuck. The Chinese fear it less as a punishment than as a mark of shame, and it is used primarily in cases of petty thievery. The conviction lasts from one to two months, and this collar often may not be taken off at night. But the convicted person may go walking with it if he feels like it and if he has been granted bail or is a property owner.

which are used as punishment or to extract confessions. This represents the power which the li tu se still exercise over their subjects,
346 the Tu jen. The yamen of these tu se is very small. But close be-
178 side it under a three-tiered roof (Plate L) sits a colossal clay Buddha in the midst of a rambling group of buildings which have long since crumbled except for the foundation walls. In any case this structure stems from ancient times (perhaps Ming?) and was the temple of the Tu jen. A large part of the property around the temple still belongs to the Tu jen. There are many inhabitants of Hsining who maintain that the building containing the giant Buddha was not built as a temple but as a palace of the li tu se when they were still independent, around the time of the Sung Dynasty (11th
624 century). A rather large part of the city belongs to the Tu jen who
651 pay taxes to their kings and not to the Chinese officials.

The holder of the position of li tu se in Hsining was a young man in his early twenties who, in complete contrast with his father, enjoyed very little esteem. And rightly so! For, within a few years /171/ he had spent his father's entire fortune in drinking and gambling, and was now heavily in debt. Even his father had little power left over his subjects; the Chinese mandarins have now become even more the rulers. They now gather a tenth of the produce

778
755

Fig. 13. A Yidam, one of the tutelary gods, holding a prayer bell and Dordyi (bronze). The figure is placed upon the mouth of a sick person who takes his medicines through the mouth of the god.

The object of worship is as everywhere in the kingdom, a life-size model of a bullock made of clay, and beside it stands the figure of a woman made of paper. After the mandarins have kowtowed to this latter image, it is always driven back as quickly as possible to the hsien yamen. But people try to break the image of the bullock and every farmer tries to get a piece of it; anyone who is lucky enough to do so may be sure that his harvest will be good that year.(1)

1. See in this connection: De Groot, Fêtes annuelles d'Emoui (Vol. I, p. 90): "The reception of spring. The origin of the custom of carrying the spring ox to the fields has become lost in the night of the times."

The people of Hsining fu know almost nothing about the meaning of this ancient custom. In fact, the ordinary Chinese can tell you very little about their mythology and most of it is confused. The bullock, so the people of Hsining fu say, was formerly an emperor of China and the girl at its side, the emperor's younger sister. The emperor was carried away by his sister's charms and married her, and as a punishment for that the gods turned him into a bullock, while his sister was obliged to follow him as his driver all her life. The people seek to destroy the bullock because of the emperor's shameful behavior. But because the bullock represents an emperor, the yamen servants must guard it.

After this festival which, by the way, is not celebrated on the same day each year, the larger businesses again open their shutters. The Chinese like to have wealthy people as their first customers. This means good luck for the rest of the year. I was again forced to admire the Chinese on the afternoon and evening of this holiday. In spite of all the commotion of the festival, there was no excess anywhere, not a case of noisy drunkenness anywhere. Even the uncultivated Chinaman has much better manners than we usually assume, if there does not happen to be a famine or the confusion of war to make life difficult for him.

* * * * * *

ribbon is decorated with white shells, deep-red corals, silver discs and pieces of amber sewn on it. Like the Tibetan women, they wear a caftan that opens on the side, and the men, too, dress like their neighbors, the Tibetans. The faces of the Mongols are rather different from those of the Tibetans. They are broad and their noses are also wide. My men thought they were much better looking than the Fan tse. I, however, did not agree with this. Even with my taste which was corrupted as a result of my Asiatic environment, I could not admire these faces that looked as though they had been flattened out with a roller.

July 6. The Mongols are very devout Buddhists. Near the very first yurts on Schang territory there stood mani rdyayu - they looked very gay like our May poles - consisting of four tall poles forming a large square around a taller /338/ center pole. There were garlands of cloth shreds, red, blue, green, yellow and white, completely covered with prayers, stretching from pole to pole (Plate LXXVIII). At the top of the center one cedar twigs swayed in the wind, and their resinous fragrance pleases the heavenly ones. Next to this there was an altar on which today, the day of the full moon, cedar- and thuja-leaves and tsamba were being burned. At noon the family lama blew his horn; a procession of men, women and maidens approached the altar, fell down before it, prayed, circled again and again around the mani rdyayu, clockwise, according to the rules of the yellow sect, "the way the moon rotates around the earth," and prostrated themselves countless times after each time around, hoping to obtain peace, release from demons, and for their herds, freedom from disease and death.

For this exorcism my nearest neighbor in Camp 51, a well-to-do Mongol, (1) had invited the incarnation from Tangsker, a monastery

1. A man is here considered well-to-do if he has 8 to 10 horses, including mares and foals, 20-30 yak cattle and 400 sheep, whereas near Dankar a man is not considered well off unless he has 40 horses, 60-70 yak cattle and close to 1,000 sheep and goats.

of which I learned for the first time here, and which lies far off on the Hwang Ho, many travel-days farther than the oft-mentioned Rardscha gomba. The journey of the holy man from his lamasery to Tsaidam lasted many months, but he had been undertaking it for several years already, and he stayed two or three months each

/340/

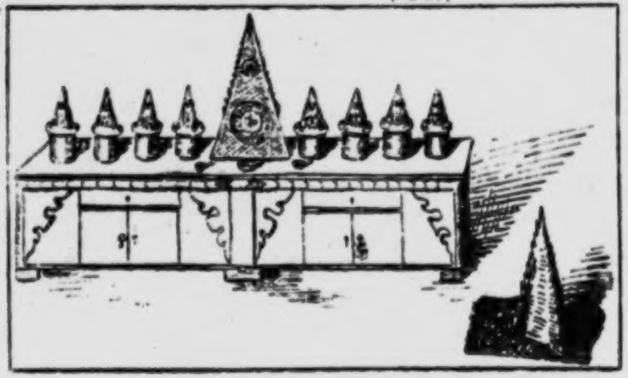

Fig. 20. Sacrificial table with Yidam, Smonlam hkor and gTorma (made of tsamba dough and butter).

not be carried off by evil spirits. There were other boys whose parents had arranged their hair like that of girls in order to deceive the evil spirits, for in China not even the devil bothers about a poor little worthless mite of a girl. The important thing for humans and therefore also for the forces of evil is the son and heir who will offer prayers and sacrifices on the future grave of his still-living father.

We passed little wooden boxes that reminded us of European mail boxes. But nobody thought of mail at that time in Dankar. The boxes bore the label: "Remember paper with writing on it!" and were set up - as everywhere in the kingdom of 18 provinces - so that people would not commit the sin of stepping on printed or written paper which is sacred, as everyone knows. There was a huge proclamation stuck to the first Chinese house we passed. It was signed by the ting of Dankar and proclaimed to the people that the Dalai Lama of Urga had moved to Gum bum. The people should willingly pay the required contributions /83/, and if the Fan tse accompanying the Lama should be impudent, they should not immediately pay them back in kind.

Life in the city of Dankar had changed very much. It was the time when the nomads were in the habit of trading in their year's supply of grain. Besides, at the news of the arrival of the Dalai Lama, hundreds and thousands of pilgrims had arrived who were following him to Gum bum. Day by day the largest yak- and camel-caravans arrived in the suburbs and again departed from the large market place as fast as they could. Once 60 camels marched by on the way to Lhasa, bearing gifts which the high priest had received in Mongolia. Most of the gifts consisted of silver, guns and cartridges. On the backs of the animals gay yellow flags fluttered, bearing the Chinese insignia of Hsi tien (western heaven), that is to say: Central Tibet, and with that everything crossed the border duty-free. The lofty lord seemed to have made good use of his time.

The Dalai Lama lived in the Gum bum monastery, but a large part of his retinue stayed in the city of Dankar where the Lhasa government in any case always had resident commissars. It is difficult to say whether the latter represent largely commercial or political interests.

Around this time a younger brother of the Dalai Lama died in the city of Dankar. His body was cremated in a desolate mountain gorge north of the city, and everything was carried out with the greatest luxury, fit for a real prince. He was bound together in a

THE FAMILY

1. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S
563 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents
585 lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days.
These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the
bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away
to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's
S relatives.

563 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning
586 the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the
nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among
the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be
very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for
extremely grave reasons.

N IV. The Chinese Moslems

121 Little information is available on the family structure and
relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations,
59 as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated
[779] by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well
known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great
care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced
by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the
meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese
N Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such
769 an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they
*563 possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem
778 religious objects.

N Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems oc-
*563 curs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is
582 not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is
797 even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over
to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem
women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith.
The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially
converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs
to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and
beliefs.

N The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems
*563 appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Mos-
585 lem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In
586 addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will
793 recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an
184 additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common
*563 with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists.
184 The law and traditions of the country play a more important part
in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

sculpture by Arghun. Under Özbek Khan (1312-1340) and Jani Bek (1340-1357) Islam conquered the "realm (empire) of the Golden Horde" of southern Russia. Later there followed the Inner Asian Khanac Chaghatai which stuck longest to the Jassa Laws of Chingis Khan.

As far as Central Asia was concerned, the conversion of the masses occurred under Tughluq (1347-1363) and Chingis Khan's greatest successor, Timur (Tamerlan), who wanted to recreate the Great Mongolian Empire and who founded his empire completely on Islam. However, his plans for the invasion of China never materialized.

II. The Position of Islam in Northwest China

A. The Sources of Islam

The original source from which all principles and ordinances of Islam are drawn is the Koran, the Holy Book which, according to Moslem belief, was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad by God through his Angel Gabriel. Although the Koran does not contain a systematic exposition of Moslem beliefs or rituals, yet taken as a whole, there emerges from it a consistent body of doctrine and of practical obligations. Through the ages these have remained the core and inspiration of Moslem religious life.

The Koran is not the only source of the Islamic religion. The sunna (custom) of the Prophet and the interpretation of his different ways of behavior also constitute an extremely important source for the religion. At first the sunna of the Prophet was handed down in the form of a short narrative, called a hadith (story), told by his Companions. The whole corps of sunna collected and handed down soon received the general name of hadith. The hadith was first transmitted orally. Later it was collected and written down. The tradition was invaded on a vast scale by forgeries. However, the serious students of the hadith became aware of the danger of incorporating many of these tales which contained elements foreign to Islam. They established different methods of control by which to attempt to sift out the genuine traditions from the mass of forgeries.

The Shari'a is the third important source of Islam. It embodies Islamic juristic studies and doctrines, which evolved into a rather coherent body of laws and regulations. The law contained in the Shari'a is not restricted to religious regulations, but envelops all phases of life. Yet it is considered a part of the religious doctrine, for one of the characteristics of Islam is that law is considered part of the religion, and there is no clear distinction between the two. In the Koran, both legal and religious aspects were interwoven. The connection between law and religion established by Muhammad and adopted by his followers

779 has persisted to this day. The Koran and Hadith were the basic
671 foundations on which the Shari'a evolved. The law was developed by Moslem jurists who, by different rational devices (e.g. analogy, consensus), adapted the principles of the Koran to fit many new situations, and supplemented the law when the Koran could not suffice.

779 B. The Principles of Islam

The whole of the religion of Islam is briefly summed up in the shahada, or the profession of faith (which is considered the primary duty of every Moslem)—La illaha illallah, i.e., there is but one God; Muhammadun rasulu-llah, i.e., Muhammad is the Apostle of God. The shahada is not found in this composite form anywhere in the Koran, but its two halves occur separately and are its constant theme. "O you who believe, believe in God and His Apostle and the Book which He has sent down formerly. Whoever denies God and His Angels and His Books and His Apostle and the Last Day has strayed far from Truth." (Sura iv, v. 135).

779 One of the essential elements of Islam is an uncompromising
776 monotheism. The true belief demands ikhlas, the giving of one's whole and unmixed allegiance to God. Its opposite, which is considered the gravest sin that Moslems can commit, is shirk, the ascribing of partners to God and the worship of any other than him. Of the different forms of shirk, idolatry is denounced as the gravest.

Islam conceives of God as existing at all times and to eternity. "Call not any other God but Allah; there is no God but He. Everything shall perish except His Being. To Him belongs the rule and to Him you shall be brought back for judgment." (Sura XXVIII, v.88.) Along with the terrible and majestic aspects of God as Creator, Supreme Power, Judge and Avenger, the Koran also stresses His bounty and loving kindness.

The doctrine of angels also exists in the Koran. In the imagery of the Koran, the angels are represented generally as God's messengers. They are, like men, His creatures and servants and worship Him constantly; they bear up His Throne, descend with His decrees on the Night of Power, record men's actions, receive their souls when they die, and witness for or against them at the Last Judgment, and guard the gates of Hell.

With the doctrine of angels there is also the doctrine of devils although the devils are represented as rebellious Jinn rather than fallen angels. The Jinns, like men, are created out of fire instead of earth; there are believers and infidels among them, and the unbelievers will be judged with men and condemned to Hell. The rebellious Jinns are called shaitans; they lead men astray, oppose the Prophets and try to overhear what is dis-

S N
563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
779 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
155 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

S N
563 If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individ-
153 ual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
185 certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads
[158] as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

S N
563 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
538 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

S N
563 The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
775 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
771 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought
[827] as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

S N
563 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
771 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

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/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

533 "Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
535 People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
179 Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
668 Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

N

A. Introduction

*563 177 53 Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in Northwest China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper, although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cultural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monas- N [792] teries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

N

B. Tibetan Literature

*563 538 779 Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in character. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings. N [792] There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

N *[175] The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tan-gyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

/The Tibetans/

*563 mandment," is so called because it was translated from the
538 ancient Indian language. The code extends to one hundred and
• 779 eight volumes of about a thousand pages each. The Kah-gyur is
divisible into three great sections: the Dul-va (Discipline), the
Do (sermons), and the Ch'os-non-pa (metaphysics). These
three sections are considered to be the antidotes for the three
original sins; thus the discipline cleanses from lust, the ser-
mons from ill will, and the wisdom from stupidity.

The Tibetan commentary or Tan-gyur is a great cyclopedic
compilation of all sorts of literary works, written mostly by
ancient Indian scholars and some learned Tibetans, in the first
few centuries after the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet.
There are two hundred and twenty-five volumes. It is divided
into two classes, the rGyud and mDo. The rGyud is mostly on
rituals and ceremonies and the mDo on science and literature.

The indigenous works composed in Tibet are for the most
part devoted to sacred subjects. The secular books exist, as a
rule, in manuscript form, as the printing is in the hands of the
monks. The sacred books can be divided into (a) apocryphal and
(b) authentic and quasi authentic. The apocryphal works are the
most numerous and most popular. Chief among them are the
fictitious "revelations" or Terma books. Other common apocry-
phal works are the manuscripts possessed by the monasteries
which gave a more or less legendary account of the history of
the monastery.

The authentic books include many religious chronologies and
records. Most of these biographies and records are legendary,
especially those of the earlier Lamas and Indian monks. Some
of the later ones dealing with more modern personages are of a
somewhat more historical character, but are also overloaded
with legends.

The leading ritualistic manuals of the various sects are of a
more or less authentic character and small pocket editions of
these prayer books and hymns are very numerous.

*563 By looking outside the monastic circles, little can be found:
538 on the one hand, the elaboration of chronicles and genealogies of
noble families, on the other, sacred plays, arbitrarily adapted
to the people's psychology, temperament and understanding, by
actors always ready to modify their literary origin. Folk songs
and epics also originated by the people outside the monasteries.
A collection of proverbs and drinking songs can be found in "The
Precious Rosary" (rin-ch'en-p'ren-wa). The folk tales of the
people (sgruns) are fabulous. The best known of these is that of
Gesar. (Waddell suggests a possibility that the name may be
derived from Caesar, or from Czar.)

Among the secular works of Tibetan literature, the most
popular is the epos of Gesar, the national epic poem of the

Those
873 students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies
875 may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustādh (honorary
794 title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these
[554] teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like
"ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school
teacher).

Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a
• [779] teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in
public places (hānūt) with big windows, so the community can
watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as ser-
vants or engage them otherwise except in school work without
the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents
have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the
regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Med-
rese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when
Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul
and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmetulla Akhun,
the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The
Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-
known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Med-
rese, it was founded by Baisi Bük, the hākim (judge or physi-
cian) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and
Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the
medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present
because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan
who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in
Cairo.

792 2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest
871 China and their enormous monk population of course colored the
794 whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries
were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also
served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-
erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was cus-
* [563] tomary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second
son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted
after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the
following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphro-
dite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever
treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you
ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these
questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which hence-
forth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a
tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained
[875] lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

792 family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon
794 the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families
871 who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial
[875] work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass
carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the
792 novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where
794 the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to
872 learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this
time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter
792 the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a
794 novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his
home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there
873 are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he
chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become
a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious
yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college
of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical
literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the
philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of
church service and occult sciences, and must go through these
two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical
literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the
[158] school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or
other abnormality.

792 The philosophical college (Tib.: tsan-nyid) offers the study
794 of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes sub-
873 divided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to
• 779 thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming
(Tib.: dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks.
The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajnā-
pāramitā, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the
"other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcen-
dental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through
which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries,
antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all cate-
gories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become
silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes
thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas,
volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the
Precious Stones, and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six con-
tain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-
seven to ninety-eight contain the tantrus and dharanis, sentence
of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are
the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

The philosophical college does not procede according to the

792 arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with
794 the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.:
873 C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each
[779] student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult
passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

An important part of instruction is frequent disputations be-
[876] tween the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan ṅags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next
[554] college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

[779] To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery
[179] showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural byproducts. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

658 The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that
871 the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational sys-
179 tem as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Educa-
*563 tion became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

779

779 THEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS--elaborated systems of religious beliefs (e.g., totemism, pantheism); state religions; revealed religions (e.g., Buddhism, Christianity, Mohammedanism); sacred books; content of complex systems of dogma and theology; association of theological systems with ethics and philosophy; etc.
See also:

Totemic kin groups 61
Ethical ideals 577
Ancestor worship 769
Statements on the general character of religion.771
Sects. 795
Theologians. 812

deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a trans-logical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

779 cussed in Heaven. They teach men sorcery and will serve men
776 who can rule them by these devices. The leader of these evil spirits is called "The Shaitan" or Iblis. His fall from a place among the angels was due to his refusal to worship Adam on God's command; for this he was accursed till the Day of Resurrection and given authority over those of mankind whom he seduced.

779 Next to the unity of God, the doctrine of the Apostles, as the
776 shahada indicates, is the central doctrine of the Koran. Moslems are required to believe in the Apostles without distinction
792 The last of the Prophets is Muhammad, who is God's Apostle to all mankind. The doctrine preached by all the Prophets is essentially one and the same, although in matters of detail there has been a gradual evolution in their messages toward the final and perfect revelation.

As for Muhammad himself, the Koran repeatedly disclaims on his behalf anything that is superhuman. He was but a mortal man, commissioned with the sole duty of conveying God's warning and message of salvation. He had no knowledge beyond what was revealed to him, and he had been granted no miraculous powers.

779 Faith in life after death is the last of the basic principles of
775 Islam. The word usually used to indicate it in the Koran is al-akhira. The Koran does not speak only of a life after death, but impresses on believers the importance of life on earth as a basis for the future life. The Last Day, the Day of Resurrection and Judgment, will be the time when men's future fate will be decided by God. This day will come suddenly at a time known only to God. On that day the graves will open and men will be called to account for their deeds. Each man's angel shall bear witness to his record, his deeds will be weighed in the balance, and his book will be placed in his hand, the right hand of the blessed and the left hand of the damned.

Then the blessed, the God-fearing men and women, the humble and the charitable, the forgiving, those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake, those who have fought in the way of God, shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise, where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers, praising God, reclining on silken couches, enjoying heavenly food and drink and the company of dark-eyed maidens. Those who have sinned against God and men are condemned to eternal punishment in the flames of Hell.

779 C. The Rituals of Islam

788 a. Prayer (Salat). The observance of the ritual prayers is re-
788 peatedly emphasised as one of the essential religious duties.
782 Although neither the ceremonies nor the five set times of prayer

779 788 782 are precisely stated in the Koran, it is certain that they were well established before Muhammad's death. Each consists of a fixed number of bowings (rak'ah), the bowing itself consisting of seven movements with their appropriate recitations: (1) the recitation of the phrase "Allahu akbar" (God is most Great) with the hands open on each side of the face; (2) the recitation of the Fatihah or opening sura of the Koran followed by another passage or passages, while standing upright; (3) bowing from the hips; (4) straightening up; (5) gliding to the knees and a first prostration with the face to the ground; (6) sitting back on the haunches; (7) a second prostration.

The set times are at daybreak, fajr (two rak'ahs); noon, zuhr (four rak'ahs); midafternoon, asr (four rak'ahs); after sunset, maghrib (three rak'ahs), and in the early part of the night, isha (four rak'ahs). At these times, prayers should be said and the ritual observed by every believer wherever he may be. By preference they should be performed congregationally in a masjid (mosque) under the leadership of an imam. The imam and the worshippers face toward the qibla, the prescribed direction, which is toward Mecca.

The Koran also mentions the noon prayer on Friday as the principal congregational prayer of the week, and enjoins the suspension of work during its performance. At this time a special ceremony (kutba) is delivered, usually by the imam. (The deliverer of this ceremony is called the khatib. He is not necessarily the imam, but may be one of the leaders in the community.)

779 782 783 Tahara, the ablution before prayer, is strictly enjoined and the ritual is defined in Sura v, v. 9: "When you rise up to prayer, wash your face, and your hands to the elbows and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles." This is the lesser ablution, to be performed before every prayer. The greater ablution is a complete washing of the body, which should be done before the Friday service or special holiday service, and after becoming unclean (incidents of uncleanliness are defined specifically).

779 735 431 b. Alms (Zakat). With the observance of prayer the Koran regularly enjoins the giving of alms (zakat) as the outward sign of piety and as a means of salvation. A distinction is made between sadaqat, which is a freewill offering, and zakat, the obligatory contribution, presumably at the rate of one-fortieth of the annual revenue in money or kind. The zakat is to be exacted from all who enter into the brotherhood of Islam; but it is not a tax. The objectives on which the revenue from zakat is to be spent are defined (in Sura ix, v. 60) as being: the poor, the needy; those employed in its collection, debtors, wayfarers, and the "Way of God."

779 785 c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

[796] Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

779 788 d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael. [175] In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

[783] [302] [292] As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the territory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to Mecca.

e. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations mentioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to "strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general terms in Sura ii, v. 186., between the regulations of the fast and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . . Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans, on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

"Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those who have received the Book, *until they humbly pay tribute out of hand*." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not dead but living in the presence of their Lord their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura iii, vv. 163-4]

Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obligations, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gambling and usury are forbidden along with the making of images or representations and a number of the practices of pagan Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans, and inheritance are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an institution, but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined. Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely condemned, and rules of social behavior are laid down in several passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

D. The Sects of Islam

The two major sects of Islam are the Sunna and the Shi'a. Both of these camps are divided internally into numerous subsects, a discussion of which will not be included in this chapter.

The schism between the Sunna and Shi'a occurred first on the political question of the legitimate succession to Muhammad's leadership in the Islamic world. The Sunnis claimed that the Caliphs were the legitimate heads of the Islamic community. The Shi'a followers repudiated the first three Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar and Uthman, as usurpers, and declared Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, to be the true successor, and his house to be the only source for the selection of future Caliphs.

The Shi'a sect seceded on a purely political basis, but it also began to develop its own characteristics in matters relating to religious doctrine. It spread widely in Persia and Iraq and assimilated a great amount of the esoteric non-Moslem doctrines which prevailed among the newly converted Moslems.

In particular, a special doctrine concerning the nature of political leadership of Islam divides the Sunnis and the Shi'is. The Shi'is attribute to the Imam (the political leader) a spiritual function which the orthodox Sunni theologians never granted to their Caliphs. This doctrine of the Imamate gradually crystallized into definite theological form. The Imams acquired a superhuman character and their decisions on both political and theological questions are not to be contested.

The mystical movement in Islam, Sufism, found followers in both camps, and is popular mainly among the masses of the people.

E. The Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang

The majority of the population of Sinkiang is Moslem by religion. The Moslems include the Eastern Turkis, the Kirghiz and Kazakh nomadic tribes, a small number of Chinese Moslems and a few Afghans, Indians and Tajiks, most of whom reside only temporarily in Sinkiang.

The Turks of Sinkiang are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. Unlike the Chinese Moslems, they have maintained close ties with the rest of the Moslem world. The idea of the cohesiveness of all believers is very strong in Islam. The Turks of Sinkiang not only feel strong national ties with their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan, but they also consider themselves an integral part of the Moslem world community. In the past they recognized as the chief of all believers (emir el mu'minin) the Khan of Bukhara, and they looked to the Sultan of Constantinople as the political leader of Islam.

Sinkiang can be called a Moslem country, but it has features which are peculiar to it, and which have greatly changed the

779 which varies according to one's wealth. This food must be
431 donated by every Moslem in the community who is not poor,
735 and distributed among those who need it. The second institution
794 is that connected with Id al-Adsha, on which occasion the poorer
members of the community are fed with the meat of the sacrificed animals, and the skins of those animals are sold, and the sum thus realized spent on the propagation of Islam.

These then are the concepts applied to welfare work among the Moslems of the Northwest. As has been seen: the impetus toward welfare activities is entirely religious. This religious basis of welfare work was somewhat modified among the Chinese Moslems (Hui) particularly in those provinces, such as Ninghsia and Chinghai, where the secular power was in the hands of Moslem leaders. In these cases welfare activities would be supported strongly and with a certain efficiency by the worldly arm, but would pertain in most cases to the Moslem population only.

With regard to the handling of welfare cases among non-Moslem Chinese, reference is made in the section on Public Welfare of the General Handbook.

III Welfare Among Lamaists

The concept of charity is alien to original Buddhism; it has no part in its ancient teachings. Almsgiving (dāna) is the only charitable activity that is occasionally mentioned in earlier writings. It is there termed as one of the "lucky things," with which to promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning the attitude in which alms should be given were worked out, the theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of the donee. The best gift of all, however, was the gift of Dharma (truth). The only entity who practided charity in anything like our sense of the word was the Bodhisatva, for whom, and for whom only, compassion was the cardinal principle. Every consideration is laid aside and even meditation neglected for its sake.

These basic doctrines have not prevented later schools of Buddhism in China from developing charitable and welfare work both through the temples themselves and through Buddhist sponsored or co-sponsored laymen's associations (see China General, Public Welfare). The Lamaist church, however, has stuck closer to the original concepts and hardly a trace of charitable or welfare work emanating from or sponsored by the lamaseries can be detected.

574 There exists, though, one concept common to both Lamaist
794 peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the
485 concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and
792 welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

from the Chinese way, but the clothes of the men were different. 563
They preferred small octagonal blue, white or black caps and long garments which were worn like a caftan. It became more and more evident in all the faces we saw that foreign blood predominated here. The color of their skin had grown lighter. More and more often I saw red cheeks, brownish mustaches which were trimmed somewhat, hooked and somewhat narrower noses, eyelids with an at least horizontal axis and a much more pronounced arcus superciliaris than in the Mongolian type. The region around Ho tschou is densely popu- [361]
lated; countless villages are scattered all over and in all of them the Mohammedans strongly predominate. (1) And no wonder! For I

1. Today no Mohammedans are permitted to live in and around the city of Di dao tschou; their settlements begin on the other side of the Tao Ho. On the way from Di dao to Ho tschou I saw many goiters, otherwise North China does not have many cases of it. Goiters begin to appear in the valleys of the Tsin ling, and in certain places there they are so frequent that almost every adult and especially all women carry around such an appendage.

was now nearing the stronghold of Mohammedanism in China proper.
What stories the Chinese soldiers who escorted me knew about the 563
towns along the way and the year 1895 when the Hui hui had re- 579
belled! What hair-raising deeds had been committed on both sides! Whenever they fell into each other's hands, no matter what age or what sex, they killed one another. Whole communities were exterminated. The rebellious bands of Mohammedan farmers moved along from village to village. But the leading mullahs acted thoughtlessly. Their troops were so poorly armed that even smaller town walls stood firm if they were half-way decently defended.

It is astonishing that there are still so many Mohammedans in 563
existence after all the rebellions which were always quelled amid 779
rivers of blood. /161/ When I approached the city of Ho tschou itself I thought I was in a Mohammedan country. From the tops of the many minarets the muezzins were calling the hour of prayer. Well-spoken Arabic syllables reached my ear; countless old mosques /dscha mu (Arabic-Chinese)/ stood among groups of beautiful trees and many bearded mullahs without pigtails moved about in the throng.

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one
god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the
way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small
loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail
exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with
142 gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very
difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a
Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They
may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the
Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of
different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and
by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the
opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in
physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

563 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for
the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them
(allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the
number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their
subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings
with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the
fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their
Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their
tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao,
Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan
dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mo-
hammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da
tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among
Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

782

782 PROPITIATION--practices reflecting a sense of dependence and a desire to ingratiate or influence the supernatural; repudiation and intimidation; obeisances (e.g., bowing, genuflection); laudation; prayer; sacrifice (e.g., libations, food sacrifices, animal and human sacrifice, symbolic and vicarious sacrifices); vows; burning of incense; decoration of religious edifices; endowing of shrines and temples; etc. See also:

Philanthropy 73, 74
Hymns 533
Etiquette 576
Mortuary sacrifices 764
Desecration and consecration of sacred objects and places 778
Stereotyped prayers 788

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The
621 sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village
[622] headman. But again the council of elders has considerable
[623] authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit,
[632] nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined
together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to
[792] have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly
nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary
[622] Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond
that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-
t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu,
Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability
of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the
border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of
any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organiza-
tion, economically and politically, as well as physically.
[423] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual
families, but the grazing lands and forests are community
property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the
village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of
timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their
621 encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary
241 Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the
[787] village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horo-
scope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual
[292] fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simul-
taneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field.
And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be com-
pletely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field
to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are
too large one hires extra help. During the course of the
growing season all the villagers periodically parade through
the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These com-
munal activities have both religious and economic bases.
[787] From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been
selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the communi-
[776] ty's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground,
the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated
[782] that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks.
From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been
plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a
community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals.
[625] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that
[486] the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through
[651] their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

cussed in Heaven. They teach men sorcery and will serve men who can rule them by these devices. The leader of these evil spirits is called "The Shaitan" or Iblis. His fall from a place among the angels was due to his refusal to worship Adam on God's command; for this he was accursed till the Day of Resurrection and given authority over those of mankind whom he seduced.

Next to the unity of God, the doctrine of the Apostles, as the shahada indicates, is the central doctrine of the Koran. Moslems are required to believe in the Apostles without distinction The last of the Prophets is Muhammad, who is God's Apostle to all mankind. The doctrine preached by all the Prophets is essentially one and the same, although in matters of detail there has been a gradual evolution in their messages toward the final and perfect revelation.

As for Muhammad himself, the Koran repeatedly disclaims on his behalf anything that is superhuman. He was but a mortal man, commissioned with the sole duty of conveying God's warning and message of salvation. He had no knowledge beyond what was revealed to him, and he had been granted no miraculous powers.

Faith in life after death is the last of the basic principles of Islam. The word usually used to indicate it in the Koran is al-akhira. The Koran does not speak only of a life after death, but impresses on believers the importance of life on earth as a basis for the future life. The Last Day, the Day of Resurrection and Judgment, will be the time when men's future fate will be decided by God. This day will come suddenly at a time known only to God. On that day the graves will open and men will be called to account for their deeds. Each man's angel shall bear witness to his record, his deeds will be weighed in the balance, and his book will be placed in his hand, the right hand of the blessed and the left hand of the damned.

Then the blessed, the God-fearing men and women, the humble and the charitable, the forgiving, those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake, those who have fought in the way of God, shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise, where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers, praising God, reclining on silken couches, enjoying heavenly food and drink and the company of dark-eyed maidens. Those who have sinned against God and men are condemned to eternal punishment in the flames of Hell.

C. The Rituals of Islam

a. Prayer (Salat). The observance of the ritual prayers is repeatedly emphasised as one of the essential religious duties. Although neither the ceremonies nor the five set times of prayer

are precisely stated in the Koran, it is certain that they were well established before Muhammad's death. Each consists of a fixed number of bowings (rak'ah), the bowing itself consisting of seven movements with their appropriate recitations: (1) the recitation of the phrase "Allahu akbar" (God is most Great) with the hands open on each side of the face; (2) the recitation of the Fatihah or opening sura of the Koran followed by another passage or passages, while standing upright; (3) bowing from the hips; (4) straightening up; (5) gliding to the knees and a first prostration with the face to the ground; (6) sitting back on the haunches; (7) a second prostration.

The set times are at daybreak, fajr (two rak'ahs); noon, zuhr (four rak'ahs); midafternoon, asr (four rak'ahs); after sunset, maghrib (three rak'ahs), and in the early part of the night, isha (four rak'ahs). At these times, prayers should be said and the ritual observed by every believer wherever he may be. By preference they should be performed congregationally in a masjid (mosque) under the leadership of an imam. The imam and the worshippers face toward the qibla, the prescribed direction, which is toward Mecca.

The Koran also mentions the noon prayer on Friday as the principal congregational prayer of the week, and enjoins the suspension of work during its performance. At this time a special ceremony (kutba) is delivered, usually by the imam. (The deliverer of this ceremony is called the khatib. He is not necessarily the imam, but may be one of the leaders in the community.)

Tahara, the ablution before prayer, is strictly enjoined and the ritual is defined in Sura v, v. 9: "When you rise up to prayer, wash your face, and your hands to the elbows and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles." This is the lesser ablution, to be performed before every prayer. The greater ablution is a complete washing of the body, which should be done before the Friday service or special holiday service, and after becoming unclean (incidents of uncleanliness are defined specifically).

b. Alms (Zakat). With the observance of prayer the Koran regularly enjoins the giving of alms (zakat) as the outward sign of piety and as a means of salvation. A distinction is made between sadaqat, which is a freewill offering, and zakat, the obligatory contribution, presumably at the rate of one-fortieth of the annual revenue in money or kind. The zakat is to be exacted form all who enter into the brotherhood of Islam; but it is not a tax. The objectives on which the revenue from zakat is to be spent are defined (in Sura ix, v. 60) as being: the poor, the needy; those employed in its collection, debtors, wayfarers, and the "Way of God."

/Chinese Moslems/

acter Hui signifying "to return."

The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

778 According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is
776 Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical
823 creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been connected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary
[782] records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

346 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most
712 magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been trans-
178 formed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

771 In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local
[777] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

797 Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated
[211] record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had cre
ated considerable resentment and suspicion among the authori-
ties and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying pro-
portions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other
provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is
there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize
both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. How-
ever, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of
communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are
usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary sig-
nificance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the
gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people
of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the
New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
771 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
769 home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
[353] tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their
memory always present. Those living now are only the present
custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
[592] er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
[614] a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

"At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
771 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
796 rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
592 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
782 ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for
days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon,
in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old
rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices,
to the Queen of Heaven.

lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only
makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It 439
evidently owes its importance to its position as the most
westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like
Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans
going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important
element in the trading community. There was no civil
official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of
soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be
expected in a frontier town.

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we 133
hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, 487
distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li,
T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng
80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated
plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north.
Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have
to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known
Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having
to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly [484]
busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than
any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all 563
Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the
owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could
only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol
population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, 792
which from its appearance might equally well have been
situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are 796
very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the
accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called 535
Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in
Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the
Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It
represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing
of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism,
by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before
the King in the costume shown in the photographs, con-
cealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photo- 796
graphs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the
same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan 782
ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

796 devils, and the circumambulation of the monastery by the
figure of the coming Buddha seated in a car drawn by an
[782] elephant, in this case a mock one. The extent of Asia covered
by that curious form of Buddhism known as Tibetan
Lamaism is very large, stretching as it does from the
northern frontiers of India to the southern borders of
Siberia, and from Ladak to the confines of Manchuria.

[361] Kueihua Ch'eng is another busy commercial town
serving a hinterland extending to Kashgar, Kobdo, Ili, and
438 Uliassutai. Near by lies the old Manchu garrison fortress
of Suiyuan, which gives its name to the new territory of
Suiyuan; the latter includes parts of Inner Mongolia and
Northern Shansi, and has its counterpart further east in the
territory of Chahar, comprising portions of Eastern Inner
136 Mongolia and the Kalgan and Jehol regions of Chihli. These
territories are administered on military lines. Kueihua is a
good starting-point for a big-game shooting trip into the
mountains further north, where remarkably fine sheep, a
sort of *Ovis argali*, and wapiti can be secured, as well as
the roe-deer and goral common in North China. With the
Kalgan railway extension pushing on towards Kueihua, this
is some of the best and most accessible big game ground
in China nowadays.

487 We changed our carts at Kueihua Ch'eng and hired new
ones to take us through the mountains to railhead at Feng
133 Chen, distant four long marches. The first stage is a march
of 90 li to the mountain village of Shihjen Wan, the trail
continuing east across the plain for six or seven hours and
then running up a shallow valley for the rest of the way.
Many of the higher mountain slopes were snow-clad, though
the season of the year was only late September. On the
following day another long march of 90 li up a valley and
over a low pass brought us to the hamlet of Wuli Pa, lying
on a sort of plateau of moorland country, the beginning of
the grass lands of Eastern Inner Mongolia. It snowed
heavily most of the day and we arrived cold, wet, and tired
[485] to find the roughest of accommodation in a large cart inn.
The third stage is still longer, called 110 li, to the village
of T'iench'eng Ts'un, but the trail lying partly across grass
country one can travel fast. The road descends through
flat open valleys to a lake, where good wild-fowl shooting

which a tiny spring kept overflowing. Green mosses 788
lined the bed of the crystalline rivulet, and the diamond
drops reflected the sunshine. The wheel turned with
a subdued creak, which seemed almost like the murmur-
ing of the prayer inscribed on its lines of chamfered
edges—Om mani padme hum—' Hail thou jewel in the
lotus flower '—the offering of a blinded people to its
undiscerned god.

A mile apart from each other stand two walled 361
cities,[1] the more imposing of the two being the Manchu
town formerly occupied by the pensioners of the ruling
dynasty, but which now consists of a great enclosure of
uninhabited or ruined houses, so that in a space equal
to the area of a large town, at the present hour only
six or eight families are living. Of the remaining
former inhabitants many have been massacred, others
have fled, and the ranks of the beggars have been
replenished by these truly unfortunate people. The 366
Chinese city consists of quiet streets busy only on market
days, the shops of which being so poorly provided with
the necessities of life that vegetables are brought a
three days' journey to be sold here. Its western wall
is flanked by a suburban thoroughfare composed of
inns, wheelwrights' and blacksmiths' shops, which,
together with food-vendors, supply all the necessities
of traveller, carter, and muleteer. Some very fine 563
temples crown the summits of the surrounding hills, and 782
parties of Tibetans riding to and fro on the Sining
road, leave offerings of silken *khada*[1] hanging to the
idols, before which their obeisance has been made.

In the first home which we visited in Pingfan we met 634
a man who was courier to a woman-magistrate of the
aboriginal tribes. Her residence was in Liencheng—
Lotus City—but she constantly visited Pingfan on

[1] Votive scarves.

[1] [Valley of Pingfan -- Analyst]

796 steamed[1] rice containing the fruit of the jujube tree is
265 popular, and dried apricots, macerated in water, are
in demand as a cooling drink. Not far off are long
tables sheltered by an awning, where men will sit for
hours sipping tea and playing cards.

796 Within the temple buildings[1] the idols are dressed up in
782 gay silks, and each family on arrival presents itself at
the various shrines to make obeisance, and burn incense.
Thin sheets of yellow paper, on which are inscribed
petitions to the gods, are lighted at the shrine lamp,
waved in the air, and wafted upwards, the manner and
height of ascent indicating the favour or displeasure of
785 the deities. Some of the older women, who have
796 practised asceticism for a lifetime and are prepared for
any self-abnegation so that they may in the next
incarnation obtain a more auspicious rebirth, perform
elaborate rituals with touching devotion.

796 On such a fête-day all the temple treasures and silken
536 embroideries are on view, as also magnificent peacock-
feather screens and umbrellas. The din of voices from
vendors and visitors is completely overwhelmed when
once the theatrical musicians commence their per-
formance. Cymbals, pipes, and drums sound their
loudest, while above them soars the shrill falsetto voice
of the stage managers, announcing the details of the
performance.

351 The temple grounds are beautifully kept. The
796 fragrant tree-peony opens its blossoms when the peach
and pear trees drop their petals, and all through the
summer months a succession of beautiful flowers
decorates the fancy landscapes of the temple gardens,
miniature lakes and bridges supplying a foreground to
sacred mountains arranged on the same small scale.
796 The whole scene, from the turquoise sky, the snow-clad
mountain ranges and the gorgeous profusion of flowers,

1[of Kanchow on Festival Days--Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

their victims, whose every attitude expressed the very 772
acme of agony. At last, having received its due, the 775
spirit was seen preparing for a new incarnation, as the 532
Wheel of Life revolving had now a fresh rebirth to
distribute. This time the protagonist is to enter the
body of a pig; and here the artist reached the highest
degree of plastic talent. Though it were but to wallow
in the mire, the prospect of once more breathing the
fresh air, of basking in the kindly rays of the sun, and
of living the familiar life of earth, filled the hunted spirit
with untold joy, marvellously indicated by the glance
thrown over the shoulder, as the porcine snout descended
like a mask upon the features.

An old priest was superintending a party of wor- 769
shippers, who had come to burn gold and silver paper
folded to represent money, this being considered suit- 782
able to be offered as votive-sacrifices for the dead.
These people had lately lost a father, and picturing him
as wandering through such an abode of pain, were now
doing all they possibly could to come to his assistance.
Leading the group was a young man, his son, who
doubtless in all matters of daily life showed himself to
be far-sighted and intelligent, but who now, with
a mind blinded by heathenism, sought to impress upon
the torturers the fact that he was in a position to buy
off his father's doom by such large sums of mock-
coinage as any god might be flattered to receive. The
smoke rose, and the spirit-treasure passed out of sight.
The gods would doubtless now see to it that part, at
least, of the debtor's bill was paid!

Our immediate business was to let the people of 527
Suchow know of our arrival, and very soon, by means of
posters, the news was spread, and the words: 'The
Christians have come!' were on the lips of all. It was
greatly to our advantage that the whole city happened

we would give her nothing that was forbidden by her vow.

The day before we left Kinta, the temple of the 776 Goddess of Mercy was crowded with women worshippers 782 —young brides beseeching the gift of a son; while mothers who had received a child during the past 796 year, now brought it to be placed under her protection. The baby, covered by a red scarf, was held in its mother's arms under an immense iron bell, when she produced her offering, namely, a handkerchief full of mixed grain. The bell was then struck; the priest took out some of the grain and scattered it over the child's head, with the words, '*May the Goddess of Mercy protect thee; may the God of Plenty endow thee;* then, yellow paper having been burnt, and its ashes smeared over the child's forehead, the priestly incantation was ended, and the mother went away, satisfied that all that could be done to protect the little life from ill-luck and demons had been successfully carried out.

A few days later we visited a famous group of temples 788 known as Wenshu Miao—'The Halls of Learning'— 778 situated only twenty miles from Suchow, at the mouth of the main Pass through the Southern Hills, and where 796 festivals are held for both Chinese and Tibetans during the spring months. Hundreds of shrines stand on the mountain-side and numerous guest-houses have been built to accommodate the thousands of pilgrims who gather each year, on the first day of the fourth moon. From early dawn carts full of women, followed later in the day by military processions, escorting the chief officials of the town, followed one another up the stony valley in unbroken succession.

The shrines are connected by a labyrinth of small, steep paths which wind in and out around and over the hillside, at each turn of the road revealing a temple,

484 last watch before dawn dragged itself slowly out. There was no telegraph wire to cheer us, there being no line to Tunhwang, so we were dependent for guidance on a landmark erected at each half-stage, and which by daylight was visible for many miles. At last our carter stopped at a tiny hut; the men thundered on the door until an old woman opened it, and in a few minutes a crackling wood fire restored life and hope, as we stood round it in the little hovel reeking with opium fumes. Presently the old dame, seeing how perished we were with cold, threw a handful of dried leaves into a pot of boiling water, and ladled us out an infusion, in whose restorative powers she professed the greatest belief. It may have been the herb, or the fire, or her kindness, or perhaps the combination of all three, but most certainly we were presently able to go on our way with new strength.

It took us six hours to reach the gates of Tunhwang, and in the bitter cold of the hour before sunrise we were fortunate enough to pick up a bundle of straw, dropped from a peasant's cart, to which we set light, 361 and after warming ourselves, went on invigorated. All 245 round the city are large orchards of a park-like character, watered by rushing streams, and planted with thousands of trees, a great proportion being pear trees, for the fruit of which the place is celebrated. The early frosts had already touched the leaves, and the whole scene 776 was ablaze as with golden flames. It was the fourteenth day of the eighth moon (October 1st), the eve of the 782 Moon Festival, when offerings of every description of fruit are made to that luminary, and the street stalls were piled with 'moon cakes,' apples, grapes and nectarines—an attractive spectacle to us after our weary journey.

The geographical position of the city is such as to

charitable deeds, and only the well-earned wealth should be given as charity. Those who give secretly are praised more highly than those who publicize their gifts.

Obligatory charity is collected by officials who are appointed by the community to carry out this task. The individual donator is not at liberty to calculate and spend his zakat in any way he wants, but it is collected by the officials and spent by the community.

Zakat is a charge on accumulated wealth, and particially in this manner redistributes a portion of the accumulated wealth of the few to those who have none in the community. A part of the amassed wealth of every individual is taken away annually and distributed among the poor and the needy. Zakat is payable on all cash hoardings, or hoardings in gold and silver, as well as on any form of capital, whether in the shape of cash or kind.

The items of expenditure of zakat are stated by the Koran to be the following: "Alms are only for the poor and the needy, and the officials appointed over them, and those whose hearts are made to incline to truth, and captives, and those in debt, and in the way of Allah, and the wayfarer; it is an ordinance from Allah, and Allah is the knowing and the Wise" (9;60).

The recipients of the benefits of zakat can be divided into three main categories: (1) those who need help; (2) the officials appointed for the collection and disbursement of the fund; and (3) a part is required to be spent in the way of Allah.

Six kinds of people fall under the first heading: the poor who, on account of some physical and mental defect, are unable to earn their bread because of their deficiencies; the poor who have no resources but when given some help can earn their livelihood; new converts to Islam who are deprived of means of subsistence; those who are captives and are deprived of freedom; debtors who are unable to pay their debts; and lastly, the travellers who are stranded in a foreign country or in a distant place and who are unable to reach their homes.

The second kind of expenditure involves the maintenance of an establishment and office for the collection of zakat, and includes the salaries of those who collect the money and distribute it.

The third heading includes those in the way of Allah, which means usually those who fight a Holy War in the name of Allah against the enemies of Islam.

Besides the institution of zakat, there are two others of similar nature designed to collect obligatory charity. Both of these are connected with Moslem festivals. The idea is that whenever the Moslem is in his happiest mood, he must never forget the distress of his poorer brethren. The first of these institutions is the sadaqat-al Fitr, a charity connected with Id el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year. Every Moslem on this occasion is required to give away in charity a certain amount of food, the value of

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. Introduction

657 Welfare work in China's Northwest has to be conducted for the benefit of two distinct categories of people in need. The poor are composed of those whose problems arose out of inadequate standards of living. They include the aged and disabled, the orphans and other destitute or handicapped people. Marginal cases of this category are the underprivileged groups of society, who might maintain themselves, even though precariously, in years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and charity organizations normally available to this category are discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

657 731 The second category however, the victims of natural disasters, poses a special problem in the Northwest. As has been demonstrated in other Sections of this Handbook, the maintainence of agriculture in the Northwest is more dependent upon conservancy and irrigation projects than in other regions of China. During the last period of the Imperial era, many of these projects have fallen into disrepair, thus exposing the area to more critical inundations and droughts. Reports from the Imperial period reveal that there were fourteen severe inundations in the province of Shensi during the hundred years 1800-1900 and seven in Kansu. The same century brought sixteen severe droughts to Shensi and nine to Kansu. The droughts of 1877 which encompassed both provinces, of 1900/01 in Shensi, and of 1908/09 in Kansu were catastrophes of a national extent.

The frequency and severity of earthquakes in the Northwest adds to the problems of the region, particularly since in many areas of the region people live in loess caves. The great earthquake of 1879 which hit both Shensi and Kansu, the one of 1881 in Kansu and the ones of 1892 in the Kucha district of Sinkiang and the Hsi-ning district of Chinghai are still in everybody's memory, even though the twenties of our century have again brought two devastating earthquakes.

[669] Nor is this all. During the last hundred years the Northwest has been ravaged by rebellions and civil wars almost without interruption. Several of these events left in their wake a vast number of displaced and needy people, who added to the problems of emergency and disaster relief.

II. Welfare Among the Moslems

794 735 A. The Distribution of Welfare Responsibilities

779 Most of the efforts in the field of public welfare among the

794 Moslems of the Northwest were done by the Moslems themselves
735 and not by the Chinese administration. The law of Islam provieds
for a rather extensive system of, and general concepts on the
779 administration of public welfare. It is not so much through a system of government institutions that the needy were taken care of, but by the religious regulations of Islam. The concept of public welfare is found in the Koran and was transmitted to the people through the laws and obligations specified in the religious writings of Islam. In the Islamic law there is no clear conception of the separation of state and religious institutions. The functions in both political and religious realms are merged and interwoven. The provisions for public welfare are an outstanding example for such a merging of state and church functions. Charity and donations to the needy are regarded as a religious duty and the financial resources necessary to sustain those in need are in the form of an obligatory religious donation, the collection of which is administered by officials, which in an Islamic state constitute a part of the administration. A department of public welfare is specified in the Islamic religious laws to be one of the departments of the Islamic State. However, since the majority of the Moslem peoples, including the Moslems of Sinkiang, do not live in an Islamic State, the functions of the state became the responsibility of the local religious community.

B. The Concept of Charity in Islamic Writings

779 Charity towards man, in its widest sense, is laid down in the Koran as the second great pillar on which the structure of Islam stands (the first obligation being that of regular prayers). Benevolence to other people is stressed constantly throughout the Koran, the most frequently recurring words designating charity being infaq (meaning spending benevolently), ishan (doing good), zakat (purification), and sadaqah (derived from the root sidq which means truth and has come to signify a charitable deed). Benevolence to other men includes the feeding of the poor, the emancipation of slaves, the care of orphans who have no kinsmen. Small good deeds such as helping a man load his animal or saying a good word are considered also as charitable.

779 Charity is of two kinds: it can be voluntary or obligatory.
431 Voluntary charity is usually known as sadaqah, while the obligatory
794 charity is mentioned in the Koran as zakat.

Voluntary charity is to be administered so that no idea of
735 the superiority of the giver or the inferiority of the receiver is conveyed: "As for those who spend their wealth in the way of Allah, then do not follow up what they have spent with reproach or injury, they shall have their reward from their Lord." Or, "Kind speech and forgiveness is better than charity followed by injury." Love of God should be the motivation for those who do

> and reports there the way things have gone for the family 776
> throughout the year. Thus, this day is very important and 782
> is called the Little New Year. On this day he is offered sweets, rice and other things and while his picture is being burned in the fire the entire family calls after him: "Sir Kitchen God, Sir Kitchen God, do not report anything bad about us!" In the real New Year's night he returns from heaven and that is when people again paste his picture on their walls.

a little epigram or a Chinese symbol of luck and wealth on all my 527
chests as well as my saddles, on the baskets, bags, hammers, on my 777
camera, in fact even on the broomstick which I had bought two days before and on the shovel, in short, on everything I possessed. Even in the rubbish heap there was a special piece of paper for the important god of rubbish. My three horses had red ribbons braided into their manes and wore a piece of wide red cloth on their foreheads; all this was part of the New Year's greeting of my servants. And everyone exchanged wishes of "Fa ts'ai ba! fa ts'ai ba! may you be rich!"

My New Year's call to the amban was undertaken together with 574
Mr. Ridley, and on this occasion I saw the old gentleman for the first time. As is customary in China, he greeted us in the vestibule and then led us, amid many bows and the most ingratiating smiles, into his guest room. From the moment we arrived he talked incessantly and it was perfectly obvious that he made every effort not to give us a chance to speak. He did not trust us. He was afraid of a complaint which would have lowered him in the eyes of his men. We were scarcely able to give him our New Year's greetings. He avoided any kind of dialogue and kept repeating how sorry he was that I had been attacked in his territory and that the hsië dia did not take better care of me. It was all their fault. He would have our guide severely punished. His soldiers were on their way to fetch my things. (2) And he said if I were going to travel again in his

> 2. As a matter of fact, they did set out three days later for the Koko Nor and brought back all my animals, but unfortunately none of the irreplaceable equipment.

province I should by all means let him know in time so that he could give me a military escort. "I shall give you soldiers to take along. I ding wo ba ni sung. You may depend on it, I shall have you

C
782 see it?

That is where Hoang schang (emperor) burns incense and makes offerings to the mighty spirit. Five or six years ago I was there with Be tschai sche (3). At that place he lighted a few small Chinese

3. The equivalent of Bi tieh sche, commissar, a Chinese form of the Manchurian title bitheschi for the official who was sent from Hsining to Dscherkundo in Yü schu every three years, and who at the same time made an offering at the Sea of Stars in the name of the emperor.

incense candles and burned some yellow sacrificial paper. This must be done every three years at the command of the great emperor in Tsching tsch'eng. (4) Six white sheep are also dedicated to the great

4. Literally, "capital," the most common name for Peking among the Kansu people.

spirit each time, so that he will protect the great lowland in the south of China from floods. Each of us brought along a stone and added it to the obo; then we threw ourselves on the ground facing the Kuenlun Mountain and touched the earth three times with our foreheads, just like our Schu be (5) and like Be tschai sche. But the Mongol leaders

5. Probably corresponding to the officer's rank of captain of the green banner in the Manchu empire.

burned cedar twigs and rode around the obo.

Then we released the six sacrificial sheep. And on we went toward the south. After ten days we came to the first tents of "Those with the Red Hats." (6)

6. Hung mao tse- "those with the red hats" (namely, lama) is what the Hsining-Chinese call the K'am Tibetans who are under the administration of Hsining. (In the Hsining dialect tse equals te.)

T
631 /15/ "South of the obo is an old battlefield," Tschang went on to
c report, "and to this day the Hung mao tse (the red-hatted ones) sing
631 of it:

The great number of stone slabs that were covered 782
all over with Tibetan writing showed that our predecessors had traveled slowly. In the lonely valley were to be seen walls 10 to 20 meters long of mani rdo mgum (mani rdo hbum, i.e., 100,000 mani stones). While their caravan animals were resting, devout monks on their pilgrimage to Lhasa once carved these prayer reliefs, with the crudest implements, but so deep and so painfully neat as though they were afterwards not to be piled one on top of another, but openly displayed for all the world to judge who could do best. Decades of snow and ice have since then continued working on them and the bright colors are almost washed out. (Plate VII)

After my Tsch'eng had seen the prayer stones, he began to look for the Yang tse kiang every day. For the custom of carving these reliefs so laboriously is not common among the Koko Nor Tibetans; they are more often found near the Yangtze River.

We were on the way to the Hsi t'ien, the heaven of the west. For many hours Tsch'eng continued to tell us the story of Tang sen and how it was through him that the mani stones came to the banks of the Yangtze.

The Legend of Tang sen

During the T'ang dynasty in China there lived a petty official by 539
the name of Tsch'eng guan wei, and he had a wife whose name was Yi man t'ang (2). This man had an /24/ elder brother whose name

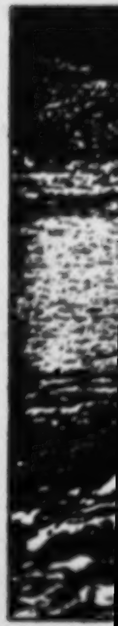
2. I have written the names as my people pronounced them.

was Yi k'ai Shan and who was a very important official. When the couple were transferred to another place they had to travel by boat, and after they had sailed two or three days the boatman attacked the official Tsch'eng at night, bound him, and threw him overboard. But then the rapacious boatman married the woman. She was carrying a child in her womb and for the sake of it she accepted the robber's proposal. Thus they traveled on and after a month they came to the place where the official Tsch'eng was supposed to have entered his new office. With the help of the murdered man's papers, the murderer now got the job.

Four or five months later the woman gave birth to the child of Tsch'eng, but the husband's murderer was not aware of it. Right after it was born, she bit off the child's big toe, packed the child

Pl

Sandsto



-42 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
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ate VII /24 (C)/

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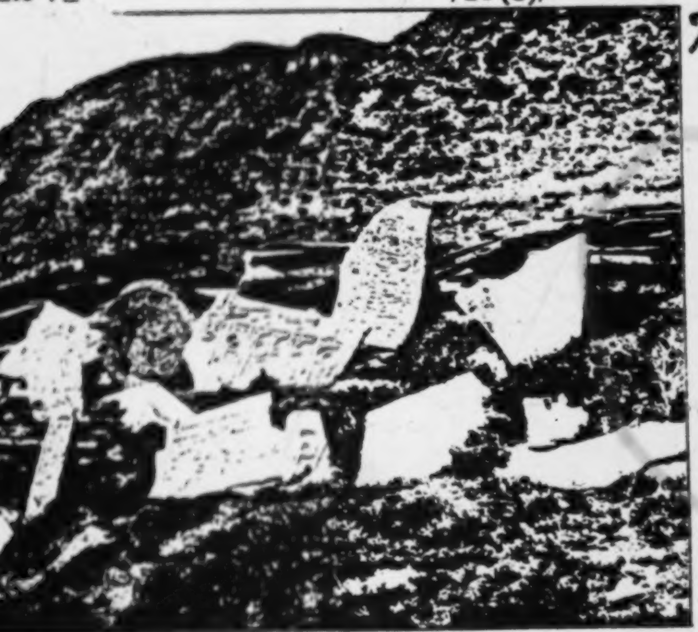

one slabs with prayers and prayer formulas in the Serkoh' Chu Valley.

136

Young wild yak steer on the banks of the Serkoh' Chu.

783

783 PURIFICATION AND EXPIATION--practices reflecting a sense of contamination or guilt; concept of ritual uncleanness; things and persons considered unclean or impure; purification rites (e.g., ritual ablutions and bathing); concepts of sin, salvation, and redemption; riddance of sin (e.g., confession, remission, atonement, penance, scapegoat); etc. (See also:

Elimination	514	Ideas about corpses	764
Personal hygiene	515	Ideas about sexual intercourse	833
Ideas about unclean castes	564	Ideas about menstrual blood	841
Definitions of acts regarded as sinful	673	Ideas about the exuviae of childbirth	844
Punishment of ritual offenses	688		
Conception of pollution, contagion, and loathsome diseases	753		

361
701
563 Today the city of Ho (1) tschou itself consists mainly of the

1. Pronounced like H'e with a very sharp guttural sound.

southern suburb of Nan kwan. That is where the mosques and the large Mohammedan shops are. The actual city of Ho tschou, on the other hand, is pure Chinese. The Mohammedans are forbidden, under penalty of death, to live inside the city. There are always many hundreds of soldiers garrisoned on the city wall (Plate XXXVI), and one finds there stables for the horses of officers and men. The wall is kept in excellent repair. But since not very many Chinese live here, there are large areas inside the walls that are deserted. All the life goes on outside. There we find closely built-up streets, for the most part with two-story houses as in Di dao, surrounded by a wall which today is destroyed. I estimate that Ho tschou proper and its suburb has a population of 30,000 and of these over two-thirds are Mohammedans. (2) There is not another city within the 18

2. The entire district is said to have had 85,526 families, according to the census of 1831.

provinces of the Chinese empire that has a similarly strong Mohammedan aspect. And yet there are many things that are entirely different here from other genuinely Mohammedan countries. In Ho tschou and environs I never saw a Hui hui who spread out his prayer rug in a courtyard or out in the open to pray when the muezzins (3)

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[782]

3. The muezzins like the mullahs are always called ah'un in Kansu. The word comes from East Turkish where ahon means the scholar. Even these Ahun are not always circumcized. Most Chinese Mohammedans do not know anything about circumcision.

called out. The Ho tschou Mohammedans, like the ones that have become still more Chinese, are very superficial in their religion and can scarcely execute the prescribed ablutions without making a mistake. It seldom happens that one of them makes a pilgrimage to Mecca. Only a few of them even know the name of the city. Most of them only know about "Kerbe" (4) and that this is a place

4. Kaaba, the cubiform holy of holies in the mosque at Mecca.

from the tu se fields into their barns. I shall come back to the subject of the Tu jen later when my journey takes me through their country. In and around the city of Hsining there are only a few Tu jen living today. 624 651

The city of Hsining fu is now almost entirely Chinese. Even in the erstwhile very important eastern suburb, the Tung kwan which was destroyed by the Chinese in 1895, Mohammedans are no longer permitted to live with their families; they may only conduct their businesses there. Since 1896 specific sections and valleys in the mountains have been assigned to Mohammedan families. The only thing that is waived today is the decree that was for years carried out very strictly, namely, that Mohammedans wishing to visit the inner part of the city were obliged to have a stamp put on their cheeks as they entered the city gate. 563

The inhabitants still vividly recalled the horrible battles with the Mohammedans. Hsining was therefore also a military city. There were five ying (battalions) stationed here and the largest and most beautiful yamen was that of the general (tschen tai) who had a rather large arsenal. In it incense was lit on the first and fifteenth of every month to the deliverer of the city, an old ko lu pu pau (a Krupp cannon), and officers and soldiers fell to the ground in a kowtow before the rusty cannon. This weapon was the soul of the defense in the year 1895. Human blood was officially smeared around the mouth of the cannon in order to make it voracious and thirst after Mohammedan blood. The natives said: "It has a soul just like a human being," and they undoubtedly had a much more definite image than our native recruits do when we teach them to speak of the "soul" of the axis of a gun or cannon. 701 [782]

The tsch'eng schu ying, the military governor of the city who is also the keeper of the keys to the city gates and commander of the so-called middle battalion, (1) as well as the hsien, the prefect, 701 712

1. The Chinese provincial army consisted only of the green banners, the lü ying. In peace time one seldom heard of the larger associations, the tschen piao (brigades), the hsie (regiments), because the Chinese provincial army (I am not speaking of the troops on the coast) was used as a police troop and was garrisoned in various places. The primary important military unit is the ying camp or battalion that is under the command of a major (yu tschi) or a captain (du se or schu be).

426 then my friends, too, appeared dressed in silks and velvets and all their children, as good breeding demanded, wore new shoes. I now learned that the man had been cautious enough to store a few chests of his belongings in my little courtyard, with the help of my servants, and he had now brought them back to his apartment again. Nor was the man by any means bankrupt. All he lacked at the moment was cash to cover all his debts.

527
574 At the first cock's crow, long before day, my servants came back from the New Year's celebration with their families and offered me their New Year's kowtow for which one's employees always receive a major gift of money. The first official callers, among them the hsien and a few officers of the city who were acquaintances of mine, also stood at my door at six in the morning just as the sun was rising. They were on their way back from the temples where they had delivered offerings and congratulations to the official state deities and the emperor. In China I learned the meaning of New Year's calls on acquaintances, and good luck wishes. Surely no Chinese would be impressed by our European manner of doing this. Beginning with the first day of the new year, the inhabitants of China are on their feet from morning till night and hasten from one to the other of their acquaintances in order to express their good wishes in the form of a kowtow. On the morning of New Year's day everyone washes his face and appears in holiday garb which should be new if possible, and all doors, all door posts and implements are freshly pasted with luck-bringing words and sayings. The paper which is used for this is fire-red, unless the family happens to be in mourning. (1) Thus,

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1. Like the color of the Yang, see footnote to p. 33.

on New Year's in China everything looks pretty and orderly, and above all, indescribably gay. On my house, too, the servants had during the night pasted new pictures of the gate deities on the outside of all the doors, and over the hearth they had put a fresh picture of the kitchen /207/ god Ts'ao ye (1), and when I awoke there was

776
782 1. Also called Ts'ao wang ye. This is the chief deity of the family. He is below the city god and the almighty god of heaven, the supreme Chinese deity, and of course, also below the emperor, the son of heaven. He guards the fire and the domestic hearth. On the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of the last calendar month he ascends to heaven

563 down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood
291 which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored
beads and cowrie shells and sticks out horizontally (Plate LIII). It
is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves
[302] even more beautiful and colorful, the young peasant women
paint a round red disk on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned
a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle
with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan pan is in
point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival
at Gum bum.

527 The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the second
563 Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have been
frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field
work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother
Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the region
gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days
in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meadow
[346] south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There
is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards,
[669] one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temple
has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed dur-
ing the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an
ambush in front of Wei yüan bu and were killed to a man by the
Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-
[211] to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small wooden
tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam
on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the
[782] temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of one
of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it.
He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were in-
cense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan bu itself strikes the visitor as very
worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings,
the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

252 1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and
Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper
pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some
kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up
as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of char-
coal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is
eaten throughout West China

eaten throughout West China. 000

flour, the heads of slaughtered pigs which, according to ancient custom, are set up by the community in front of the picture of the god in the main temple of the fair ground. But there are crowds of people on the square where the eating shops and the booths for the sale of all kinds of bright-colored materials and ribbons have been erected, and where the liquor sellers and the men who rent tobacco pipes are to be found, and especially on the meadow which is several acres large where the gamblers assemble. (Plate LVI). For ten days from early in the morning until late in the afternoon a Chinese theater group performs on a Chinese stage. The Tu ren community makes possible these performances through local assessments and through half-voluntary contributions of the wealthier populace, as is the case with Chinese festivities, and the individual spectator need not pay admission. The part of the theater where the audience gathers is not marked off specially from the rest of the fair grounds. People can come and go as they please, can set up a tent to protect themselves from the sun, or bring chairs and tables. The wives of the more well-to-do, especially the Chinese women who attend the festival view the performance from their private carriages whose large sun roofs cut off the view even more than the largest hats of ladies on European race tracks. The stage is built of tiles with an arched roof, closed on three sides and - exactly as in China proper - is next to the main temple, as though it were a part of it. The stage faces the entrance to the temple, for the Eastern Asiatic is of the opinion that theatrical performances are particularly meritorious and pleasing to the gods, and that therefore the stage must be placed so that the gods can watch the performance. For in Tibet today theatrical performances are a part of the cult - as we saw in the last chapter - and this is the way it was in former times in China. Today, however, the connection is somewhat external. The Chinese theater has for a long time also presented secular plays, pranks and love dramas, and is by no means satisfied as are present-day Tibetan plays, merely with the presentation of horrible images of the gods which, according to the priests, will punish mankind unless they are appeased with gifts and assessments of all kinds.

527 563 563 527 545 [556] [782]

A Tibetan incarnation, an old cozy-looking holy man with a nice pot-belly, who came from a monastery not far from Wei yüan pu, seemed to think there was no harm in sitting for days on end in front of the theater on the open meadow where the festival was held.

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Kalmyk

summer with the Mongols. The holy man came riding up early in 563
the morning, accompanied by three akkas, and for many hours he 792
read prayers, invocations and exorcisms in the Mongol's yurt. When he departed all the members of the family humbly kissed the hem of his garment and the three akkas followed him with a yak and 28 sheep. - Indeed, summer resorts prove lucrative for the holy men!

In our little group it was also a day of prayer and sacrifice. Lao 782
Sung who had recovered along with the rest of us from his illness up 539
at the Tschürnong redeemed a pledge today. He had bought the sheep which he had promised the gods for his recovery. He built an altar of earth and stones behind the tent and before it he sang his daily invocation:

Lama la stiapsumdschiū
Songrdyi la stiapsumdschiū
Tschu la stiapsumdschiū
Ginden la stiapsumdschiū
Guntschok sum la stiapsumdschiū
Yidam tschüngkordye
Lha tsok kordang dye ba
mam la ptscha tsalo-o
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

If he spoke very rapidly he could say the entire prayer in twenty minutes. (2) Thereupon he burned thuja leaves together with cow

2. The beginning of the prayer btsoktschito... and the supplication to the sGrolma. Every little lama novice and every layman or "black man" (Tibetan: mi nag) knows this prayer by heart and is supposed to repeat it if possible 21 times a day. The above lines roughly translated are: I implore all the lamas, /339/ I implore all the priests, I implore all the deities, I pray to all that is holy. I beseech the trinity of the gods. I kowtow in the dust before the lord of the tutelary gods, before the assembly of the gods, all the holy ones and their pupils...

dung. /339/ Meanwhile the slaughtering of the sheep was undertaken. 782
It was first consecrated according to the Tibetan rite and then killed according to Mohammedan rites. While Lao Sung was still praying, Lao Tscheng brought burning cedar leaves on our serving ladle and exposed the animal to smoke with these; according to his own words,

782 he purified the animal. Then the horns and ears were sprinkled with water until the animal shook itself, a sign that the gods accepted it as a sacrifice. Then it was handed over to the Mohammedans. To complete the offering, the Fan tse Me threw clotted scraps of blood into the air with the ladle when the animal was being dismembered. If I had not had any Mohammedans with me, the men from Kue de would have killed the animal according to the Tibetan custom, they would have slowly strangled it with a rope pulled over its nostrils. When the animal was cut up, it did not take long before the sacrificial lamb was converted into blood sausages and sausages for frying.

782
264 It was dark when the meal was served. A ewer of horse-milk brandy had been bought in the neighboring yurt for the occasion. The sky had become more and more overcast, there was only a little light from the resinous cedar wood, and in numerous tents and yurts in the valley friendly fires beckoned. When we had dined Tsch'eng got up and gave a speech, using many high-flown words and similes, and saying that Sung had now paid his wether and that now no one could accuse him of having infected us with his disease up in the highlands. Then the men sang their melodious songs into the night.
782
539 They sang melancholy Mongolian songs and light Tibetan couplets:

"Aláchimo! Maiden!
Like a chain of gold stretched across a river from yonder shore,
Like a chain of gold stretched across a river from the hither side,
Like a bridge with golden arches, heaven has united us with cords of gold." (1)

1. In the dialect of the Koko Nor Tibetans:
Tschü par re sege re
Tso tschü re sege re
Sang song be re se sa tsu tsa re
Li dyen dyi sege tenn da re.

or, a song teasing his beloved:

"Aláchimo! Maiden!
I have a cap of fox fur and a cap of lamb's wool.
If I do not wear the fox fur cap but the lamb's wool cap I am just as happy.
I have a long sword and I have a short sword.
Whether I wear the long sword or the short sword in my belt,

[text continues on p. 569]

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I am equally happy. 782
Once I had a lady love, and now I have a new lady love, 539
I love them both equally well!"

From time to time came an answering long drawn-out trill or a shrill vibration from a reed pipe from some far-off yurt. In between there was the sudden meowing lament of a /340/ wolf from up on the heights. The chorus of dogs in the valley became wild and answered with harsh barks. Nor was the answer to the strong east wind long in coming. At midnight it began to rain and that put an end to our feast to the gods.

But Sung's sacrifice of a sheep was not yet considered adequate. 782
Eight akkas of the Gelugba sect were requested to exorcise all evil 789
and remove it from us through prayer. Before they arrived eight smonlam hkor, cone-shaped figures 10 centimeters high and a yidam (tutelary god), a triangular pyramid, were kneaded out of tsamba dough. Twenty pounds of tsamba were required. Three white solar disks made of butter were stuck to the front of the yidam and the dough for it was colored red so that it looked like bloody meat. The smonlam were white and were finished off by being smeared with butter. When these things were made, a dorma (gtorma) 25 centimeters high was fashioned from dough. It was a slender, three-sided object with notched edges resembling flames and produced by means of a thread (see Fig. 20 and Plate LI).

When the akkas appeared at daybreak, the smonlam hkor with their yidam were placed on a chest to the rear of the tent. The dorma was placed on a rush mat in a corner on the floor. The eight priests read the smonlam prayers all day long, until twelve o'clock at night, to the accompaniment of cymbals and drums, and my Buddhists repeatedly kowtowed and threw barley and spirits over the yidam. On the second day the white tsamba-smonlam were burned upon the altar, together with thuja leaves. The red yidam was divided up among everyone and eaten. The dorma was now carefully lifted up and carried in solemn procession around the corner of the nearest mountain where Sung meanwhile had lit a large fire. When the procession arrived there everyone began to yell wildly and shoot off their guns, and after three vigorous exclamations of "Pfui!" on the part of the priests, Tsch'eng threw the dorma into the blazing fire. Now all the lay people shot their guns into the fire a few times, then everyone quickly ran back to the camp site and the monks were each given a khádar and silver, according to their rank and dignity, because they had rid us of all disease-bringing agents and evil

[text continues on p.571]

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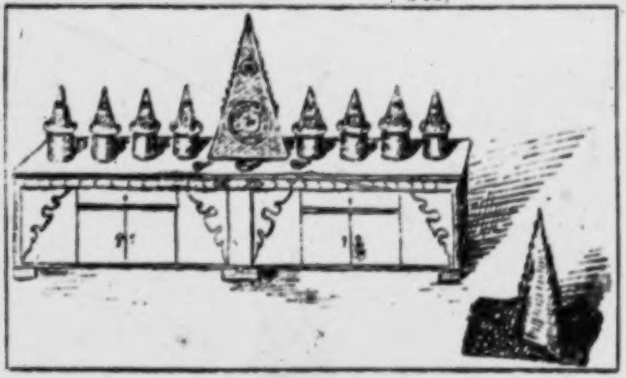

Fig. 20. Sacrificial table with Yidam, Smonlam hkor and gTorma (made of tsamba dough and butter).

782 influences (in Chinese the ceremony is called: sung gui, in Tibetan:
789 derma p'en). (1)

1. Rockhill has already described the end of this ceremony in his Land of the Lamas, pp. 113 and 114. From wealthy Tibetans the priests /341/ demand 50 and more pounds to make the tsamba figures. This offering is carried out once a year mostly at New Year, by each family. In Southeast Tibet a bullock's head of tsamba is also usually placed beside the gtorma (probably to represent Yama). There the bullock's head and gtorma are brought to the fire amid the shooting of guns; at the Chinese frontier "crackers" are shot off. In both places cries of "Pfui" are uttered during the procession.

137 /341/ In the woods of Schang and among the Rengan Fan tse I met for the first time the green da hoang (Chinese), literally: the great yellowness, namely, rhubarb, the mother-plant of our well-known and trusty home remedy. The flower clusters were at this time, the beginning of July, more than 2 meters and in some cases 3 meters tall and covered with pinkish blossoms. The leaves which were deeply slit and tapered off into pointed lobes, had red-speckled stems. Old plants spread their thick foliage over several square meters of ground and from the tangle of leaves which was two-thirds of a meter high and often looked like a bush, arose individual slender, tall flower clusters. If one digs out these stalks one finds rhizomes up to the size of a bullock head, and in with the roots there are still clusters of young, smaller plants.

The plant grows between thickets and limestone rocks and prefers damp places of wooded areas. But I also found it in moist places of sandstone slopes covered only with grass. It is found up to 4,100 meters. The lowest border of its common habitat is 2,800 meters. (1)

1. A few days before my departure from Hsining I received a letter from Professor Tschirch from the Pharmacological Institute of the University of Bern. He called my attention to the fact that there is still uncertainty about the origin of the common medicinal plant, rhubarb, from a botanical as well as a geographical point of view. He asked me to send him bulbs and

643 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted
291 swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats. I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Moham-
78[?] medan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak[1] pretended he understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also implored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the plain 40 kilometers distant.

563 I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He
342 had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen
574 (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbors. I started my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached, the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white beehive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with low bows, until finally I, as the first person, stumbled through the wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mongol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class tschürra, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama.
[576] When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen.
437 He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a
[792] priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

[1] [ie., of Barun. - Analyst]

are eating their mutton and kyang meat raw, and they knead their flour with cold water instead of with butter tea. Even these easily satisfied people find that such a diet lies heavy in their stomachs.

On the evening of the second day, therefore, Tsch'eng laid a huge wild-yak horn on a large pile of white quartz fragments which he had gathered, blew his shell horn and burned fragrant cedar leaves which he had carefully dried and carried with him. Everyone fell to the ground /14/ and prayed to the spirits for clear weather and dry dung that would enable them to have better food. 782

And behold, the local spirit recognized and delighted in the unexpected fragrance; soon after it cleared. Soon all the discomforts of the weather, all teeth-chattering during the two wet days were forgotten when, the following morning, in bright sunshine we were able to cross the last flat pass to the "sea of stars" (Plate V). My grumbling companions of the night before had again become the singing choir of old. The Kuenlun song of my Hsining people sounded gaily across the source waters of the Hwang Ho:

"Whether I stand at the source of the Hwang Ho,
Or pitch my tent on the Kuenlun,
Even to the ends of the earth
I am thine, beloved, and think of thee."

"Hayā!", an exclamation of awe came from the row of riders as we stood on the top of this pass. Tschang who had passed through here in the escort of a Manchu official who was traveling to K'am, explained the region to those who were seeing it for the first time:

"Look, down there where the sun sparkles in all those pools, that is 'skarma t'and' (the plain of stars); my East Tatar (1) master told

1. The Hsining people always referred to the Manchu as dung da da (East Tatar).

me that in our language of the middle garden (2) the place is called

2. In the Hsining dialect tschung yüan was China.

Sing su h'ai (sea of stars).

There in the southwestern part of this plain is the snow-covered mountain of Kuenlun Shan; that is where the spirit of the Yellow River lives.

On the low hill that extends from the east way into the plain of stars, the huge heap of stones, the Obo, do you see it, do you not

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

779 are precisely stated in the Koran, it is certain that they were
788 well established before Muhammad's death. Each consists of a
782 fixed number of bowings (rak'ah), the bowing itself consisting of seven movements with their appropriate recitations: (1) the recitation of the phrase "Allahu akbar" (God is most Great) with the hands open on each side of the face; (2) the recitation of the Fatihah or opening sura of the Koran followed by another passage or passages, while standing upright; (3) bowing from the hips; (4) straightening up; (5) gliding to the knees and a first prostration with the face to the ground; (6) sitting back on the haunches; (7) a second prostration.

The set times are at daybreak, fajr (two rak'ahs); noon, zuhr (four rak'ahs); midafternoon, asr (four rak'ahs); after sunset, maghrib (three rak'ahs), and in the early part of the night, isha (four rak'ahs). At these times, prayers should be said and the ritual observed by every believer wherever he may be. By preference they should be performed congregationally in a masjid (mosque) under the leadership of an imam. The imam and the worshippers face toward the qibla, the prescribed direction, which is toward Mecca.

The Koran also mentions the noon prayer on Friday as the principal congregational prayer of the week, and enjoins the suspension of work during its performance. At this time a special ceremony (kutba) is delivered, usually by the imam. (The deliverer of this ceremony is called the khatib. He is not necessarily the imam, but may be one of the leaders in the community.)

779 Tahara, the ablution before prayer, is strictly enjoined and
782 the ritual is defined in Sura v, v. 9: "When you rise up to prayer, wash your face, and your hands to the elbows and wipe
783 your heads and your feet to the ankles." This is the lesser ablution, to be performed before every prayer. The greater ablution is a complete washing of the body, which should be done before the Friday service or special holiday service, and after becoming unclean (incidents of uncleanliness are defined specifically).

779 b. Alms (Zakat). With the observance of prayer the Koran
735 regularly enjoins the giving of alms (zakat) as the outward sign of piety and as a means of salvation. A distinction is made be-
431 tween sadaqat, which is a freewill offering, and zakat, the obligatory contribution, presumably at the rate of one-fortieth of the annual revenue in money or kind. The zakat is to be exacted from all who enter into the brotherhood of Islam; but it is not a tax. The objectives on which the revenue from zakat is to be spent are defined (in Sura ix, v. 60) as being: the poor, the needy, those employed in its collection, debtors, wayfarers, and the "Way of God."

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

779 c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a
785 spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days
796 of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

779 d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a
788 very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael.
175 In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinity of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so
783 also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the
302 head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the terri-
292 tory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

795 front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in
this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic
563 Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard
the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

784 The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal
in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but
551 not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to
have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge
191 of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and
scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and
563 Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they
consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Govern-
582 ment schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but
the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and
783 internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The
veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other
291 parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two
or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The
356 superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to
housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty
346 and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques
are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church.
634 Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are
Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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that two hundred thousand people had perished in the 731
disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by 491
means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had 741
also been constructed with famine relief funds, and 731
which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled 797
for seven days before touching another Mission station —a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and 583
cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, 292
white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at 533
brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild
snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in
those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose 485
between this man and the others, on the subject of the 563
choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being 783
distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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783 with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious
485 atmosphere created was always most irksome to us,
563 feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the
demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different con-
354 struction from those we had met with elsewhere, this
4?5 being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on
this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were
372 covered with movable boards, under which a hollow
space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which, once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best
291 old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed
from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In
286 every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn,
[88'2] or knitting socks for themselves on two needles; this
is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre
291 of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed
287 boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was
necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to the industry.

361 Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a
maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded,
491 and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

784

784 AVOIDANCE AND TABOO--practices reflecting impulses to escape from fear or anxiety; techniques for avoiding malevolent spirits (e.g., flight, disguise, deception, disparagement); concept of taboo; imposition and removal of taboos; prevalent types of taboos (e.g., food taboos, property taboos, status taboos, word and name taboos, totemic taboos, sex taboos, reproductive taboos, therapeutic taboos, mortuary taboos); systematization of taboos; general discussion of taboos; list of taboos; specific taboos not classifiable elsewhere; supernatural punishments for violations of taboos and other offenses; etc. Since taboos commonly represent the negative aspects of cultural norms, information on taboos may be found under many categories, only a few of which are indicated in the cross-references below.

Totemic taboos	61, 82	Rest days	527
Mortuary taboos	76	Name taboos	551
Sex taboos	83	Avoidance relationships	602
Reproductive taboos	84	Taboos surrounding a chief or king	63, 622, 643
Cultural norms	183	Legal norms	671
Euphemisms	196	Definition of acts regarded as sins	673
Food taboos	263	Social Sanctions for violations of taboos	688

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Government schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church. Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

785

785 ASCETICISM--practices reflecting tendencies of self-abasement or self-torture; mortification of the flesh (e.g., flagellation, hookswinging, bed of spikes); fasting; sexual renunciation (e.g., continence); renunciation of comforts (e.g., vows of poverty, wearing sackcloth); abandonment of worldly affairs (e.g., becoming a beggar or hermit); etc. See also:

Personality	15	Suicide	762
Control of hunger	261	Ascetics	792
Mutilation	304	Idealization of continence and chastity	831

and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt observance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems. Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese village. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village. In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they" As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

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a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael. In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the territory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

/Chinese Moslems/

acter Hui signifying "to return."

The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

a carillon of nine bells, hanging over the shrine. Simul- 788
taneously one catches the monotonous tone of a hollow, wooden drum, shaped like a crab, the beating of which declares, in triple rhythm, that the ultimate issue of earth, matter, and even life itself, is VOID.

'Earth is void! All is void! I am void!' This is the message of the drum to every human heart in that city of unnumbered gods.

The most rigorous asceticism rules the lives of many 262
Kanchow women. Not content with being under a 785
vegetarian vow, as is usually understood, they so fear any subtle indulgence of the appetite, that even onions, garlic, vinegar and red pepper, the necessary condiments to flavour the insipid dough-string diet, are eschewed. During the spring months almost each day 796
sees the recurrence of some festival, which draws the crowds alternately to each temple in the neighbourhood. Theatrical troops move from fair to fair, repeating their [536]
performances to the never-failing concourse of village people, whose bullock-carts are parked in a wide semicircle facing the stage, and in which the women sit the whole day long exposed to the heat of the sun. Most of 796
the younger women and girls adorn themselves for the 302
occasion with paint and powder, until the face is converted into an expressionless mask. Their hair is beautifully dressed and decorated with artificial flowers. Most of the small children are stamped on the forehead, nose, and chin with minute geometrical patterns, traced in red circles.

Just out of earshot of the stage, the food-vendors 796
pitch their stalls, where cooked eatables of all descrip- 265
tions are on sale. Pork fried and stewed in a thick gravy, is served up in small saucers and eaten with chopsticks, as also fried meat-dumplings, garnished with vinegar and red pepper. A large mould of

796 steamed rice containing the fruit of the jujube tree is
265 popular, and dried apricots, macerated in water, are in demand as a cooling drink. Not far off are long tables sheltered by an awning, where men will sit for hours sipping tea and playing cards.

796 Within the temple buildings[1] the idols are dressed up in
782 gay silks, and each family on arrival presents itself at the various shrines to make obeisance, and burn incense. Thin sheets of yellow paper, on which are inscribed petitions to the gods, are lighted at the shrine lamp, waved in the air, and wafted upwards, the manner and height of ascent indicating the favour or displeasure of
785 the deities. Some of the older women, who have
796 practised asceticism for a lifetime and are prepared for any self-abnegation so that they may in the next incarnation obtain a more auspicious rebirth, perform elaborate rituals with touching devotion.

796 On such a fête-day all the temple treasures and silken
536 embroideries are on view, as also magnificent peacock-feather screens and umbrellas. The din of voices from vendors and visitors is completely overwhelmed when once the theatrical musicians commence their performance. Cymbals, pipes, and drums sound their loudest, while above them soars the shrill falsetto voice of the stage managers, announcing the details of the performance.

351 The temple grounds are beautifully kept. The
796 fragrant tree-peony opens its blossoms when the peach and pear trees drop their petals, and all through the summer months a succession of beautiful flowers decorates the fancy landscapes of the temple gardens, miniature lakes and bridges supplying a foreground to sacred mountains arranged on the same small scale.
796 The whole scene, from the turquoise sky, the snow-clad mountain ranges and the gorgeous profusion of flowers,

[1][of Kanchow on Festival Days--Analyst]

787

787 REVELATION AND DIVINATION--practices reflecting anxiety about the future and often also a sense of inspiration; quest for visions and guardian spirits; hallucinatory revelations; communication with spirits (e.g., through spirit possession, through inspired oracles, through mediums); prophecy; clairvoyance; acquiring mystic insight through concentration and contemplation; interpretation of dreams; omens and their interpretation; divinatory practices and techniques (e.g., haruspicy, hepatoscopy, necromancy, scapulimancy, scrying, sortilege, astrology); etc. See also:

Personality disorders 156
Judicial oaths and ordeals 695
Revelation and divination in the treatment of diseases 755
Omens of death 763
Cult of the dead 769
Guardian spirits 776
Diviners, seers, and messiahs 791
Ideas about dreams . . . . [illegible]

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

There is more rigidity about the village organization. The sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village headman. But again the council of elders has considerable authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit, nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically. Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horoscope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases. From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the community's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground, the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals. A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

avoid increased assessments.

The relationships between husband and wife have no religious basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Frequent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are concerned with and derive a living from a common property. They all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan system but they do have some regulations influencing their relationships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind, he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/The Tibetans/

right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door. After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter. The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

/The Tibetans/

are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

4. Popular beliefs

When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

5. Recreation

The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

H. The Western Mongols or Torguts

Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion.

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike character, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

A. Shamanism

Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toadstool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the position of Shaman is hereditary.

The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized. There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cooking preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

Most of the people do not know the different values of the various food products. Although many might wish to improve their daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

S who are recalcitrant in maintaining their reactionary standing and
175 military and government officials of the former Chiang government
668 still cling to the shameful and parasitical way of life without engag-
674 ing themselves in proper employment but commit various practices
of thieft and swindling. Some ruffians indulge in drinking and as-
saulting women. Some illegal prostitutes and professional gamblers
convert their brothels and gambling houses into dens for robbers,
thieves, and ruffians, and into hotbeds for nourishing crimes.
Some unscrupulous second-hand goods dealers and hotel keepers
collude with burglarious elements to dispose of spoils and even act
as chief planner of crimes. More serious still, a batch of habitual
thieves who sneakily move around various places even collaborate
with one another to commit theft and robbery in an organized manner,
using arms to threaten people and to carry out violence. Some cul-
prits refuse to repent during reform through labor and even escape
from jails to continue their crimes. Some burglarious elements
who sneaked into our province from other provinces and who also
belonged to the category of counter-revolutionaries carry out their
counter-revolutionary sabotage activities in the form of criminal
offense or impose themselves as military and government person-
nel to commit extortion and blackmailing. Some ruffians even in-
tensified their activities to rob and rape women."

N 12: "An address delived by Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o, a deputy
*175 from Chinghai, at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National
*668 Congress:
829 "'Recently, in some nomadic areas (in Chinghai) we discovered
rumors spread by the enemies, saying, "To start cooperatives in
nomadic areas is just another form of confiscation of cattle and
sheep." It definitely hurt the productive morale of the people....

N "' Furthermore, there are numerous counter-revolutionary
*175 elements carrying on sabotage under the cover of religion. This
*668 is often discovered in the area of minority groups. For instance
669 in some nomadic areas in Chinghai, people rumored that a Heav-
*563 enly mandate had descended, saying that the world would be de-
• 787 stroyed soon. The people would suffer in great calamities, etc.
It was a disguise of the devil to disturb the common people... But
a lot of those who had faith but were short of wisdom believed it....
They interrupted their productive activities and devoted their time
wholly on chanting Buddhist scriptures every day, hoping that by
doing so they may escape from the disasters....

"'The counter-revolutionists are so active that we cannot afford
to neglect them. We must get rid of the idea that everything is in
order.... We must suppress them.'" (Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955,
No. 8, p. 69.)

N 13. In the Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 197, there
*175 appeared
669 "An address delivered by Sun Tso-ping, a deputy from Chinghai,
*668

493 entirely without iron, even to a single nail, in its whole
322 structure. The great wooden wheels, which were eight feet high, lifted it bodily over the deep rivers, and the hood, which was covered with grass-matting, reminded us of a French peasant's waggon. This distinguished vehicle only cost us about fifty shillings, and was thoroughly satisfactory. Animals to draw it
492 were more difficult to obtain. The cart-mule of Kansu seems chronically aged, lean, and sore of back. It was, consequently, a great prize to secure eventually a shaft-horse lately come from Urumchi, as it was therefore already inured to the medicinal waters of the desert oases, which are too often the cause of death to animals. On such long journeys, mules are generally much to be preferred to horses, since on arrival at the inns the former lie down in the dust immediately to roll themselves dry, and will then quietly go to their feed, requiring no further attention, whereas horses, if they are to be kept in health, demand constant care. As far as Kiayükwan the road was familiar to us, and we spent several days in that place, seeing many
787 acquaintances made during our last visit. Tradition exacts from every traveller a curious custom, namely, that on leaving the Barrier, pebbles should be thrown against the outer side of the Great Wall, portions of which are actually worn away by the constant shower of missiles. If the traveller is to return in safety the pebble should rebound towards the thrower, but if not, it drops into the already high heap, and the man goes his way onward with a heavy heart. Owing to some obscure acoustic property, each pebble, when it hits the Wall, produces a twittering sound, something like the cheeping of little chickens! Every one heard it distinctly, and it is said to occur nowhere else.

000 The stones thrown by our party being satisfactorily

788

788 RITUAL--practices reflecting relief of anxiety through performance of repetitive or obsessionally precise symbolic acts; compulsive gestures (e.g., sign of the cross); repetitive behavior (e.g., tolling of bells, burning of candles, sprinkling with holy water); recital of stereotyped formulas (e.g., blessings); mechanical praying (e.g., with rosary, with prayer wheel); recitation of litanies and liturgies (e.g., credos, masses); processions; making of pilgrimages; etc. See also:

Propitiation 782
Elaboration of rituals into extended ceremonies 796
Ritual numbers 801

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

cussed in Heaven. They teach men sorcery and will serve men who can rule them by these devices. The leader of these evil spirits is called "The Shaitan" or Iblis. His fall from a place among the angels was due to his refusal to worship Adam on God's command; for this he was accursed till the Day of Resurrection and given authority over those of mankind whom he seduced.

Next to the unity of God, the doctrine of the Apostles, as the shahada indicates, is the central doctrine of the Koran. Moslems are required to believe in the Apostles without distinction The last of the Prophets is Muhammad, who is God's Apostle to all mankind. The doctrine preached by all the Prophets is essentially one and the same, although in matters of detail there has been a gradual evolution in their messages toward the final and perfect revelation.

As for Muhammad himself, the Koran repeatedly disclaims on his behalf anything that is superhuman. He was but a mortal man, commissioned with the sole duty of conveying God's warning and message of salvation. He had no knowledge beyond what was revealed to him, and he had been granted no miraculous powers.

Faith in life after death is the last of the basic principles of Islam. The word usually used to indicate it in the Koran is al-akhira. The Koran does not speak only of a life after death, but impresses on believers the importance of life on earth as a basis for the future life. The Last Day, the Day of Resurrection and Judgment, will be the time when men's future fate will be decided by God. This day will come suddenly at a time known only to God. On that day the graves will open and men will be called to account for their deeds. Each man's angel shall bear witness to his record, his deeds will be weighed in the balance, and his book will be placed in his hand, the right hand of the blessed and the left hand of the damned.

Then the blessed, the God-fearing men and women, the humble and the charitable, the forgiving, those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake, those who have fought in the way of God, shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise, where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers, praising God, reclining on silken couches, enjoying heavenly food and drink and the company of dark-eyed maidens. Those who have sinned against God and men are condemned to eternal punishment in the flames of Hell.

C. The Rituals of Islam

a. Prayer (Salat). The observance of the ritual prayers is repeatedly emphasized as one of the essential religious duties. Although neither the ceremonies nor the five set times of prayer

are precisely stated in the Koran, it is certain that they were well established before Muhammad's death. Each consists of a fixed number of bowings (rak'ah), the bowing itself consisting of seven movements with their appropriate recitations: (1) the recitation of the phrase "Allahu akbar" (God is most Great) with the hands open on each side of the face, (2) the recitation of the Fatihah or opening sura of the Koran followed by another passage or passages, while standing upright; (3) bowing from the hips; (4) straightening up, (5) gliding to the knees and a first prostration with the face to the ground; (6) sitting back on the haunches; (7) a second prostration.

The set times are at daybreak, fajr (two rak'ahs); noon, zuhr (four rak'ahs); midafternoon, asr (four rak'ahs); after sunset, maghrib (three rak'ahs), and in the early part of the night, isha (four rak'ahs). At these times, prayers should be said and the ritual observed by every believer wherever he may be. By preference they should be performed congregationally in a masjid (mosque) under the leadership of an imam. The imam and the worshippers face toward the qibla, the prescribed direction, which is toward Mecca.

The Koran also mentions the noon prayer on Friday as the principal congregational prayer of the week, and enjoins the suspension of work during its performance. At this time a special ceremony (kutba) is delivered, usually by the imam. (The deliverer of this ceremony is called the khatib. He is not necessarily the imam, but may be one of the leaders in the community.)

Tahara, the ablution before prayer, is strictly enjoined and the ritual is defined in Sura v, v. 9: "When you rise up to prayer, wash your face, and your hands to the elbows and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles." This is the lesser ablution, to be performed before every prayer. The greater ablution is a complete washing of the body, which should be done before the Friday service or special holiday service, and after becoming unclean (incidents of uncleanliness are defined specifically).

b. Alms (Zakat). With the observance of prayer the Koran regularly enjoins the giving of alms (zakat) as the outward sign of piety and as a means of salvation. A distinction is made between sadaqat, which is a freewill offering, and zakat, the obligatory contribution, presumably at the rate of one-fortieth of the annual revenue in money or kind. The zakat is to be exacted form all who enter into the brotherhood of Islam; but it is not a tax. The objectives on which the revenue from zakat is to be spent are defined (in Sura ix, v. 60) as being: the poor, the needy; those employed in its collection, debtors, wayfarers, and the "Way of God."

c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael. In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the territory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to Mecca.

e. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations mentioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to "strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general terms in Sura ii, v. 186., between the regulations of the fast and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . . Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans, on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

"Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those who have received the Book, until they humbly pay tribute out of hand." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not dead but living in the presence of their Lord their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura iii, vv. 163-4]

Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obligations, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gambling and usury are forbidden along with the making of images or representations and a number of the practices of pagan Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans, and inheritance are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an institution, but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined. Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely condemned, and rules of social behavior are laid down in several passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

(eighth century A.D.) and a Sung edition of the Tripitaka. It gained its fame through the Buddhist monk Wei-ko (Sung times) who used to stay there overnight and was called the Sleeping Dragon.

Another one is the K'ai-yüan-ssu, built in 713 A.D., which is adorned with many famous inscriptions and also was once famed for its library. Few religious relics are left now at this place, which has become a center of high-class girl entertainers instead.

One of the landmarks of Sian is the Glazed Tile Pagoda, Hua-t'a, built during the times of the Five Dynasties. Other famous pagodas in the neighborhood are the Great Swallow Pagoda, Ta-yen-t'a, belonging to the temple Ta Tz'u-en-ssu, in which the pilgrim Hsüan-tsang was active, and the Small Swallow Pagoda, Hsiao-yen-t'a, built in the beginning of the eighth century.

The best-known Taoist temple was the Ying hsiang-kuan, which was made the main center of Taoist devotion by Emperor Jui of T'ang in 708 A.D. at a period when the Imperial house of T'ang showed pride in its alleged descendence from Lao-tzu, the great patriarch of Taoist religion. In Kuomintang times the temple was converted into a school.

The plain around Sian is dotted with many tombs of past emperors. These artificial hills are held in great reverence by the local population and many myths have taken their origin here even though it is not known whose august remains these hills cover.

Shensi is also the site of one of the Five Sacred Mountains of China, which formed part of the Imperial cult and to which regularly Imperial sacrifices were offered. The worship of these mountains belongs to the oldest religious traditions of China. All through historic times down to and including the last dynasty, the Emperors went there in person for regular services or at least had themselves represented by topmost officialdom. At least since T'ang times large temples were erected to the spirit of these mountains. They were, however, not only depositories of memories of this official cult, but as pilgrimage centers of organized groups and individuals, they have accumulated religious traditions and historical relics devoted to all sections of the population.

Even though the Western Peak, Hua-shan, has to cede priority to the Eastern, T'ai-shan, it always was, and still is, one of the most important centers of pious activities. Numerous temples, shrines, caves and pavillions testify to this fact. Most of them are outside institutionalized Imperial ritual, but are maintained by local religious groups or sects and by the donations of visiting pilgrims in search of delivery from some bodily or spiritual troubles.

*668 of Muslim-Hui, Uighurs (Sarigh-Uighur), Kazaks, Usbeks, Tatars,
658 and Tung-hsiang nationalities. (NCNA Peking, August 4, 1952).
*563 A 45 member delegation from 15 different nationalities of
484 Northwest China arrived in Peking yesterday to take part in the
coming October 1st National Day celebrations....

The Northwest delegation, headed by Mainor, an Uigur woman, included the following 15 nationalities: Han, Hui, Uigur, Kazakh, Mongolian, Tibetan, Tunghsiang, (Sarigh-Uighur), Uzbek, Manchu, Tartar, Solon, Khalhas (Kirgiz), Tajik, Sibo and Russian." (NCNA Peking, September 24, 1952).

*668 3. Minority group organizations
*563 Various nation-wide organizations such as the China Buddhist
794 Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, the Chinese Moslem
Cultural Association, and the China-Soviet Friendship Association
were organized with numerous minority and local leaders as members and sponsors. The local chapters also have propaganda departments. For instance, the Tibetan Buddhists in Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o contributed 728,750,000 for the Resist-America Aid Korea movement in the year 1951 alone. Some monasteries signed patriotic compacts and launched programs of propaganda on current events. According to Hsi-jao-chia-ts'os report,

"The next step is to expand the propaganda work, mobilize the lamas to organize propaganda teams, make use of temple fairs or festivals for propaganda activities, and carry the propaganda deep into the rural villages and nomadic regions.... In pushing the autonomous work in the minority region, Buddhism should give more active support and preach the nationality policy of the People's Government." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 23, 1951.)

[788] Besides the Buddhists, the Moslems are used to promote the
[648] Communist programs, not only in Northwest China, but some were
organized into pilgrim groups to visit Mecca and the Moslem nations in the Near East in order to win the friendship of these nations for Red China.

*668 The special effort to create Sino-Soviet Friendship Associa-
648 tions in northwest China can be seen in the following incomplete
figures. By September of 1951, Sino-Soviet Friendship Association organizations had been organized in four provinces, four municipalities, thirty-six administrative districts and 157 hsien in northwest China. There were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations with a total membership of 336,610 of all nationalities. The purpose of this association is to tell the people of the merits of the USSR.

Obviously a special attempt has been made in Northwest China to capture the minorities with propaganda.

can be covered in three long marches. The road, a broad tree-lined cart track, lies up the valley plain of the Wei River, with the great barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan on the left hand and the river on the right. The plain is one vast wheat-field, dotted with peculiar walled farms, each a formidable little fortress in itself; they are relics of the great Mahomedan rebellion and form a characteristic feature of the landscape in most parts of Shensi and Kansu. Nowadays the Mahomedans of Shensi are a negligible quantity, the majority having withdrawn westwards into Kansu, where they form an exceedingly important and powerful element in the population.

Forty li from T'ungkuan the district city of Huayin Hsien is reached, the inns lying in the suburb of Huayin Miao, five li east of the walled town. This latter village is the starting-point for the sacred mountain, the Hua Shan, a portion of the Ch'inling range. Seventy li further on the empty city of Hua Chou is passed, and 50 li beyond that Weinan Hsien, the centre of a particularly rich agricultural district, is reached.

The traffic on the roads of this fertile and populous plain is very great, and it is one of the absurdities of modern China that no railway should yet connect Hsian, the metropolis of the North West, with the coast. Railway construction on the plains of Central Shensi means little more than laying the rails on the necessary embankment and building a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River. And while these rich and populous plains in the centre of China are innocent of every vestige of railway construction, a line has been built at great difficulty and expense through the mountains north of Peking past Kalgan to end in the air beyond Tatung in Northern Shensi. The Hsian line is a section of the Belgian Lung Hai railway referred to above, which has for the moment come to a stop at Kuanyint'ang in Honan. Failing railways the construction of a few good trunk roads fit for motor traffic would be of enormous advantage to the province and could be undertaken, as far as the plains of Central Shensi are concerned, at comparatively small cost. There can scarcely be another civilized country in the world which would be

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF1.

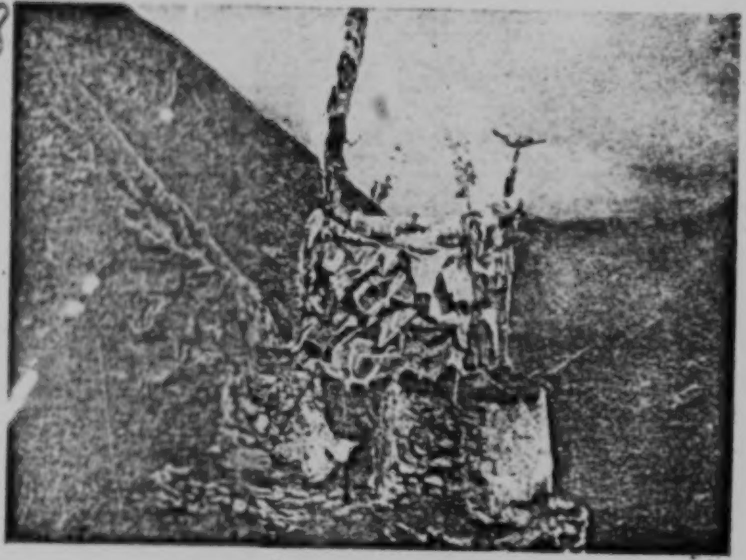
trough below the surrounding level of the valley. Just beyond Hsitachai the path leaves the T'ao River, along which another track runs direct to Choni, and turns up a side valley to the north to reach a semi-Tibetan hamlet called Shanch'a, 80 li from Min Chou, where we passed the night in the house of the headman. Pheasants were abundant in this picturesque and well-wooded valley.

At Shanch'a the path turns up a side ravine leading after an hour's march to an easy pass, whence there is a descent for another hour into a bare valley, followed by a rise over a second low pass, and a descent to New T'ao Chou in another bare open valley, a march of 40 li in all. New T'ao Chou (now called Lintan Hsien) is the official town, as opposed to Old T'ao Chou, distant 60 li, the commercial town, and is an empty shell of a city of no importance. About half the few buildings inside the walls had been destroyed by the White Wolf rebels the year previously. We were accommodated in a temple which the magistrate had fitted up temporarily as his yamen. The city lies in a bare open valley some 20 li or so north of the T'ao River in a region of treeless hills of loess, red clay, and red sandstone. This somewhat dreary belt of bare red hills intervenes practically all along this border between the loess of Kansu proper and the pine forests and grass lands of the Kokonor country, and corresponds roughly to a similar Mahomedan wedge between Chinese and Tibetans. The red hills round New T'ao Chou are cultivated and dotted with villages, mostly Mahomedan. The Moslems extend from here along the border to their real strongholds round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and thence north of the Yellow River to beyond Hsining. We were travelling round the two T'ao Chous during the season of summer thunderstorms (early July), and usually experienced several daily, some very severe and rather alarming in this elevated region. On one occasion hurrying into a Mahomedan farmhouse for shelter we found the inhabitants at prayer as though in a mosque; this custom of using private houses for prayer is, I was told, confined to the followers of the "New Sect," which is very extended and influential in Kansu. Our sudden intrusion was not resented in the least, and on this, as on every other occasion when I met Mahomedans in Kansu, we were

PLATE XL

TIBETAN NOMADS ON THE KOKONOR BORDER

788



TIBETAN PRAYER FLAGS

[FACING p. 171]

502 water was carrying considerable ice-floes, but one day, at a narrow part of the bed some miles further down, they were arrested, and in a few hours the whole river was piled up, mass on mass, with ice. The impact was so powerful that blocks were flung wildly about in all directions, and with one mighty solidifying spasm the iron grip closed upon the waters, and the Yellow River was ice-bound for months.

CHAPTER IV

LANCHOW TO LIANGCHOW

487 THE journey from Lanchow to Liangchow can, under favourable conditions, be accomplished in one week. Half-way between lies the town of Pingfan, at the angle where the cross-roads leading westwards to Sining and Kokonor meet the main North-West road.

133 A few miles outside Lanchow we traversed the dry bed of an ancient inland-sea, circular in form. The high-water mark showed clearly far overhead near the top of the surrounding cliffs, where the stone was worn into the shape of pillars. The bed was strewn with finest sand, and all the water procurable was very salt.
253 It was here that we met the first herd of yak, which was being driven to Lanchow for slaughter, as a large amount of the beef sold in these cities of the North-West is yak meat.

376 The fourth day brought us to the Pingfan valley,
256 down which a watercourse rushed between banks of ice, supplying the power to work a number of flour mills which were grinding, even though their structure
788 was hung with enormous icicles. Here, for the first time, we passed a prayer-wheel, erected below a basin

which a tiny spring kept overflowing. Green mosses 788 lined the bed of the crystalline rivulet, and the diamond drops reflected the sunshine. The wheel turned with a subdued creak, which seemed almost like the murmuring of the prayer inscribed on its lines of chamfered edges—Om mani padme hum—'Hail thou jewel in the lotus flower'—the offering of a blinded people to its undiscerned god.

A mile apart from each other stand two walled 361 cities,[1] the more imposing of the two being the Manchu town formerly occupied by the pensioners of the ruling dynasty, but which now consists of a great enclosure of uninhabited or ruined houses, so that in a space equal to the area of a large town, at the present hour only six or eight families are living. Of the remaining former inhabitants many have been massacred, others have fled, and the ranks of the beggars have been replenished by these truly unfortunate people. The 366 Chinese city consists of quiet streets busy only on market days, the shops of which being so poorly provided with the necessities of life that vegetables are brought a three days' journey to be sold here. Its western wall is flanked by a suburban thoroughfare composed of inns, wheelwrights' and blacksmiths' shops, which, together with food-vendors, supply all the necessities of traveller, carter, and muleteer. Some very fine 563 temples crown the summits of the surrounding hills, and 782 parties of Tibetans riding to and fro on the Sining road, leave offerings of silken *khada*[1] hanging to the idols, before which their obeisance has been made.

In the first home which we visited in Pingfan we met 634 a man who was courier to a woman-magistrate of the aboriginal tribes. Her residence was in Liencheng—Lotus City—but she constantly visited Pingfan on

[1] Votive scarves.

[1] [Valley of Pingfan--Analyst]

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

000 arranged that we should spend July among them under canvas, in Tibetan territory.

CHAPTER IX

A SPRING CAMPAIGN

778 Marco Polo wrote of the city of Kanchow, where he made long residence, and once held office as Governor, as the 'city which holds more gods than men.' This local saying is still constantly on the lips of its inhabitants, who take great pride in the fact that its temples and shrines are so numerous as never to have been accurately numbered.

133 The town is beautifully placed and abundantly
[285] watered. It contains several lakes, which being overgrown with reeds supply material for an important mat-plaiting industry. Besides these larger expanses of water, there are a number of ponds fed by underground springs, dependent upon the melting snow from the Tibetan mountains. In these ponds the water rises and falls in a most unexpected way, so that sometimes their banks are surrounded by children fishing, while at others they become the highway of city traffic. The streets are bordered with fine poplar, acacia, and willow trees, which flourish splendidly, throwing their roots deep into the hidden sources.

353 As one would expect, the people are in all things superstitious and religious. All the wealthy homes have a private shrine, which is often a handsome hall, where the ancestral tablets are preserved, and where
788 incense is burned to the family idols. At sunset each day the sound of bells rises on every side, as the woman of each household touches the rope which sets in motion

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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a carillon of nine bells, hanging over the shrine. Simul- 788
taneously one catches the monotonous tone of a hollow, wooden drum, shaped like a crab, the beating of which declares, in triple rhythm, that the ultimate issue of earth, matter, and even life itself, is VOID.

'Earth is void! All is void! I am void!' This is the message of the drum to every human heart in that city of unnumbered gods.

The most rigorous asceticism rules the lives of many 262
Kanchow women. Not content with being under a 785
vegetarian vow, as is usually understood, they so fear any subtle indulgence of the appetite, that even onions, garlic, vinegar and red pepper, the necessary condiments to flavour the insipid dough-string diet, are eschewed. During the spring months almost each day 796
sees the recurrence of some festival, which draws the crowds alternately to each temple in the neighbourhood. Theatrical troops move from fair to fair, repeating their [536]
performances to the never-failing concourse of village people, whose bullock-carts are parked in a wide semicircle facing the stage, and in which the women sit the whole day long exposed to the heat of the sun. Most of 796
the younger women and girls adorn themselves for the 302
occasion with paint and powder, until the face is converted into an expressionless mask. Their hair is beautifully dressed and decorated with artificial flowers. Most of the small children are stamped on the forehead, nose, and chin with minute geometrical patterns, traced in red circles.

Just out of earshot of the stage, the food-vendors 796
pitch their stalls, where cooked eatables of all descrip- 265
tions are on sale. Pork fried and stewed in a thick gravy, is served up in small saucers and eaten with chopsticks, as also fried meat-dumplings, garnished with vinegar and red pepper. A large mould of

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527 The object of worship is as everywhere in the kingdom, a life-
778 size model of a bullock made of clay, and beside it stands the figure
788 of a woman made of paper. After the mandarins have kowtowed to this latter image, it is always driven back as quickly as possible to the hsien yamen. But people try to break the image of the bullock and every farmer tries to get a piece of it; anyone who is lucky enough to do so may be sure that his harvest will be good that year.(1)

1. See in this connection: De Groot, Fêtes annuelles d'Emoui (Vol. I, p. 90): "The reception of spring. The origin of the custom of carrying the spring ox to the fields has become lost in the night of the times."

The people of Hsining fu know almost nothing about the meaning of this ancient custom. In fact, the ordinary Chinese can tell you very little about their mythology and most of it is confused. The bullock, so the people of Hsining fu say, was formerly an emperor of China and the girl at its side, the emperor's younger sister. The emperor was carried away by his sister's charms and married her, and as a punishment for that the gods turned him into a bullock, while his sister was obliged to follow him as his driver all her life. The people seek to destroy the bullock because of the emperor's shameful behavior. But because the bullock represents an emperor, the yamen servants must guard it.

527 After this festival which, by the way, is not celebrated on the same day each year, the larger businesses again open their shutters. The Chinese like to have wealthy people as their first customers. This means good luck for the rest of the year. I was again forced to admire the Chinese on the afternoon and evening of this holiday. In spite of all the commotion of the festival, there was no excess anywhere, not a case of noisy drunkenness anywhere. Even the uncultivated Chinaman has much better manners than we usually assume, if there does not happen to be a famine or the confusion of war to make life difficult for him.

* * * * * *

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789 MAGIC--practices reflecting confidence in the ability to manipulate supernatural forces; magical techniques of weather control (e.g., rain making); magical rites for increasing the food supply; exorcistic practices (e.g., driving off evil spirits with noise); potent formulas, incantations, and spells; curses; miracles; prevalent types of magic (e.g., imitative, contagious); concept of magical force; functions and social significance of magic; nonsupernatural magic (e.g., wonder-working, jugglery, legerdemain, fire-walking); etc. See also:

Magical rites in the food quest 22
Magic rites in agriculture 24
Magic rites in the reproductive cycle 84
Magic as entertainment 545
Magic rites in warfare 726
Sorcery, witchcraft, and evil eye 754
Therapeutic magic 751, 755
Magic rites at funerals 764
Luck magic 777
Concept of mana 778
Prevalence of nonlogical reasoning 811
Relation of magic to science 813
Love magic 832

Kanchow home and work were definitely located. The land, however, was no more than a rough, irregular space, but the position being good, the shabby little house upon it was soon repaired, and made into a possible dwelling-place for Mrs. Kao and the children, who now came from Lanchow to join him. The open space then required to be enclosed by a wall, and in this job Dr. Kao took an energetic share, each morning, before the dispensary opened, driving down to the riverside and bringing back a load of stones for the foundations. 000

In the course of the next few years a convenient dispensary, waiting-room and guest-hall were built, and[1] school-court and adequate class-rooms had been added about the time of our arrival. The Mission Compound thus became the most attractive building in the city, for, not only was the daily Peking newspaper posted outside the main entrance, but a blackboard, holding special items of news, hung beside it, while the front of the building was decorated with Christian posters constantly changed or renewed. Just inside the front door was the book-room, where Christian papers and a library were accessible to anyone who cared to use them; here visitors, too, were received, and everyone was welcome; moreover, the large space without was planted with trees, and was sanded to make a playground for the Kanchow street children. 797

Shortly before we arrived a small additional strip of land, adjoining the premises, had also been purchased; the owner of which, after the deed was signed, was, as always, dissatisfied with the deal, therefore, according to custom, set out to terrify the purchaser by the use of a ritual which had never before been known to fail in securing at least a substantial *douceur*. Accordingly, one morning he sent a relative on ahead to announce 425 789

[1] [to the Mission at Kanchow--Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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425 789 his arrival, and also his intention of sitting on this piece of land to 'bask in the sun.' A few minutes later a strange figure could be seen walking down the street, one half of the face blacked while the other was white, and with party-coloured garments covering his limbs—the whole representing one of the greatly dreaded deities acting as Judge in the Buddhist Courts of Hell.

Naturally all the neighbours flocked to see the fun.

'What do you want?' asked Dr. Kao.

'Just to sit and bask in the court,' was the answer.

'But the courtyard is mine.'

'So it is. I sold it to my loss, but what did you give me for the air and the sun? I did not sell those, they are still mine.' A bystander here whispered to Kao, 'You *must* give him money, and get rid of him. You bought the land too cheap, and he will certainly bring ill-luck. It is a Kanchow custom; but give him money and he will depart without bringing a curse on you.'

The answer to this was a front door thrown wide open, and a cordial invitation to the sun-basker to enter, for, not only were sun and air at his disposal, but the element of water also, with which the doctor was immediately prepared to wash his face!

Needless to say, the Presiding Genius of the Courts of Hell beat a hasty retreat, and never troubled the dauntless Christians again.

CHAPTER VIII

A CHINESE COMMUNITY

000 It is quite evident that a man of this calibre could not fail to attract kindred spirits. To see one whose qualifications placed him high in the ranks of citizenship,

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one
god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the
way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small
loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail
exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
142 halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with
gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very
difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a
Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They
may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the
Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of
different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and
by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the
opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in
physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

563 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for
the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them
(allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the
number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their
subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings
with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the
fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their
Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their
tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao,
Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan
dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mo-
hammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da
tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among
Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

563 [302] ribbon is decorated with white shells, deep-red corals, silver discs
and pieces of amber sewn on it. Like the Tibetan women, they wear
a caftan that opens on the side, and the men, too, dress like their
neighbors, the Tibetans. The faces of the Mongols are rather differ-
[142] ent from those of the Tibetans. They are broad and their noses are
also wide. My men thought they were much better looking than the
Fan tse. I, however, did not agree with this. Even with my taste
which was corrupted as a result of my Asiatic environment, I could
not admire these faces that looked as though they had been flattened
out with a roller.

778 July 6. The Mongols are very devout Buddhists. Near the very
563 first yurts on Schang territory there stood mani rdyayu - they looked
very gay like our May poles - consisting of four tall poles forming
a large square around a taller /338/ center pole. There were gar-
lands of cloth shreds, red, blue, green, yellow and white, complete-
ly covered with prayers, stretching from pole to pole (Plate LXXVIII).
At the top of the center one cedar twigs swayed in the wind, and
their resinous fragrance pleases the heavenly ones. Next to this
there was an altar on which today, the day of the full moon, cedar-
[795] and thuja-leaves and tsamba were being burned. At noon the family
[789] lama blew his horn; a procession of men, women and maidens ap-
proached the altar, fell down before it, prayed, circled again and
again around the mani rdyayu, clockwise, according to the rules of
the yellow sect, "the way the moon rotates around the earth," and
prostrated themselves countless times after each time around, hoping
to obtain peace, release from demons, and for their herds, freedom
from disease and death.

563 For this exorcism my nearest neighbor in Camp 51, a well-to-do
792 Mongol, (1) had invited the incarnation from Tangsker, a monastery

1. A man is here considered well-to-do if he has 8 to 10 horses, including mares and foals, 20-30 yak cattle and 400 sheep, whereas near Dankar a man is not considered well off unless he has 40 horses, 60-70 yak cattle and close to 1,000 sheep and goats.

of which I learned for the first time here, and which lies far off on
the Hwang Ho, many travel-days farther than the oft-mentioned
Rardscha gomba. The journey of the holy man from his lamasery to
Tsaidam lasted many months, but he had been undertaking it for
several years already, and he stayed two or three months each

I am equally happy.
Once I had a lady love, and now I have a new lady love,
I love them both equally well!"

From time to time came an answering long drawn-out trill or a shrill vibration from a reed pipe from some far-off yurt. In between there was the sudden meowing lament of a /340/ wolf from up on the heights. The chorus of dogs in the valley became wild and answered with harsh barks. Nor was the answer to the strong east wind long in coming. At midnight it began to rain and that put an end to our feast to the gods.

But Sung's sacrifice of a sheep was not yet considered adequate. Eight akkas of the Gelugba sect were requested to exorcise all evil and remove it from us through prayer. Before they arrived eight smonlam hkor, cone-shaped figures 10 centimeters high and a yidam (tutelary god), a triangular pyramid, were kneaded out of tsamba dough. Twenty pounds of tsamba were required. Three white solar disks made of butter were stuck to the front of the yidam and the dough for it was colored red so that it looked like bloody meat. The smonlam were white and were finished off by being smeared with butter. When these things were made, a dorma (gtorma) 25 centimeters high was fashioned from dough. It was a slender, three-sided object with notched edges resembling flames and produced by means of a thread (see Fig. 20 and Plate LI).

When the akkas appeared at daybreak, the smonlam hkor with their yidam were placed on a chest to the rear of the tent. The dorma was placed on a rush mat in a corner on the floor. The eight priests read the smonlam prayers all day long, until twelve o'clock at night, to the accompaniment of cymbals and drums, and my Buddhists repeatedly kowtowed and threw barley and spirits over the yidam. On the second day the white tsamba-smonlam were burned upon the altar, together with thuja leaves. The red yidam was divided up among everyone and eaten. The dorma was now carefully lifted up and carried in solemn procession around the corner of the nearest mountain where Sung meanwhile had lit a large fire. When the procession arrived there everyone began to yell wildly and shoot off their guns, and after three vigorous exclamations of "Pfui!" on the part of the priests, Tsch'eng threw the dorma into the blazing fire. Now all the lay people shot their guns into the fire a few times, then everyone quickly ran back to the camp site and the monks were each given a khádar and silver, according to their rank and dignity, because they had rid us of all disease-bringing agents and evil

[text continues on p. 571]

influences (in Chinese the ceremony is called: sung gui, in Tibetan: dorma p'en). (1)

1. Rockhill has already described the end of this ceremony in his Land of the Lamas, pp. 113 and 114. From wealthy Tibetans the priests /341/ demand 50 and more pounds to make the tsamba figures. This offering is carried out once a year mostly at New Year, by each family. In Southeast Tibet a bullock's head of tsamba is also usually placed beside the gtorma (probably to represent Yama). There the bullock's head and gtorma are brought to the fire amid the shooting of guns; at the Chinese frontier "crackers" are shot off. In both places cries of "Pfui" are uttered during the procession.

/341/ In the woods of Schang and among the Rengan Fan tse I met for the first time the green da hoang (Chinese), literally: the great yellowness, namely, rhubarb, the mother-plant of our well-known and trusty home remedy. The flower clusters were at this time, the beginning of July, more than 2 meters and in some cases 3 meters tall and covered with pinkish blossoms. The leaves which were deeply slit and tapered off into pointed lobes, had red-speckled stems. Old plants spread their thick foliage over several square meters of ground and from the tangle of leaves which was two-thirds of a meter high and often looked like a bush, arose individual slender, tall flower clusters. If one digs out these stalks one finds rhizomes up to the size of a bullock head, and in with the roots there are still clusters of young, smaller plants.

The plant grows between thickets and limestone rocks and prefers damp places of wooded areas. But I also found it in moist places of sandstone slopes covered only with grass. It is found up to 4,100 meters. The lowest border of its common habitat is 2,800 meters. (1)

1. A few days before my departure from Hsining I received a letter from Professor Tschirch from the Pharmacological Institute of the University of Bern. He called my attention to the fact that there is still uncertainty about the origin of the common medicinal plant, rhubarb, from a botanical as well as a geographical point of view. He asked me to send him bulbs and

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791 MAGICIANS AND DIVINERS--specialists in magic (e.g., wonder workers, exorcists, magicians, fakirs); specialists in divination (e.g., astrologers, oracles, diviners, fortune tellers, seers, mediums); characteristics of each (e.g., personality, sex, training, garb); sources of power; prerogatives and disabilities; organization; fees; etc. See also:

Magicians as entertainers 546
Witches, wizards, and sorcerers 754
Shamans and faith healers 756
Divination 787
Magic 789

(1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primarily concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

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There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lanchow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

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792 HOLY MEN--prophets and messiahs; ascetics and anchorites; monks, friars, and nuns; monastic orders (e.g., mendicant, hermit, cenobite); monasteries and convents (e.g., organization, activities); monastic rules (e.g., poverty, celibacy); characteristics, status, and means of support of holy men; etc. See also:

Celibacy 589
Divine rulers 643
Messianic movements 668
Poverty and almsgiving 736
Concept of sanctity 778
Asceticism 785
Oracles 787

depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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we would give her nothing that was forbidden by her vow.

The day before we left Kinta, the temple of the Goddess of Mercy was crowded with women worshippers —young brides beseeching the gift of a son; while mothers who had received a child during the past year, now brought it to be placed under her protection. The baby, covered by a red scarf, was held in its mother's arms under an immense iron bell, when she produced her offering, namely, a handkerchief full of mixed grain. The bell was then struck; the priest took out some of the grain and scattered it over the child's head, with the words, '*May the Goddess of Mercy protect thee; may the God of Plenty endow thee*;' then, yellow paper having been burnt, and its ashes smeared over the child's forehead, the priestly incantation was ended, and the mother went away, satisfied that all that could be done to protect the little life from ill-luck and demons had been successfully carried out.

A few days later we visited a famous group of temples known as Wenshu Miao—'The Halls of Learning'—situated only twenty miles from Suchow, at the mouth of the main Pass through the Southern Hills, and where festivals are held for both Chinese and Tibetans during the spring months. Hundreds of shrines stand on the mountain-side and numerous guest-houses have been built to accommodate the thousands of pilgrims who gather each year, on the first day of the fourth moon. From early dawn carts full of women, followed later in the day by military processions, escorting the chief officials of the town, followed one another up the stony valley in unbroken succession.

The shrines are connected by a labyrinth of small, steep paths which wind in and out around and over the hillside, at each turn of the road revealing a temple,

788 and anyone following the maze will pass hundreds of shrines in the course of his pilgrimage. The ambition
778 of each worshipper is to visit as many idols as possible,
796 and to light a stick of incense and burn paper before each. It is an amazing feat for women who are crippled by bandages and tiny shoes, and many of whom are no longer young, to climb these precipitous paths, sometimes even on hands and knees, in order to reach an apparently inaccessible rock-shrine, yet this is accomplished even over roads made slippery by rain.

Some of the chasms are crossed by rickety wooden bridges which bear such names as 'The Heavenly Road,' or 'The Short Cut to Paradise,' and here old women are helped by husband or son who carries the basket of incense and a pile of votive-paper.

Most of the shrines[1] are modern, but the original cluster of buildings dates from the time of the Emperor Chien Lung, and there are a very few, excavated in the hill, of a much older date, which contain frescoes similar to those found in the famous 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' at Tunhwang. At dark on the last evening, bonfires are lighted on every prominence, in which all the remaining incense and paper is burnt, in honour of the gods of the earth, spaces, and mountains.

000 The crowds were by this time accustomed to the sight of the white tent, and the people streamed in and out, listening to the addresses and buying the books. In preparation for the festival the students posted carefully selected passages of Scripture in each of the many shrines, and twelve months later, when we revisited Wenshu Miao, not one of these had been defaced or destroyed.

563 A week later was the Tibetan gathering, and we drove out once more over that stony road. We had

[1] [at Wenshu Miao, see p.107-- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-3 (1926) 1927
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either side stood an attendant, one of which was a gaunt brown shape of terror sent forth to induce men to commit suicide by taking opium. His was a dread figure indeed, but not to be compared with the second, which represented the female instigator of suicide, by means of cutting the throat. She carried no emblem to make her mission clear, but every line of her insinuating face and bold, compelling eye, suggested the Power of Evil, able to break down the last hesitation in the mind which contemplated this dreadful deed; and Chinese women have since told us that many a bride has cut her throat after a visit to that shrine. The consummate horror of this representation so impressed us, that we can well believe it.

Chienfutung habitually stands solitary, but for the visit of an occasional pilgrim, except during one week of the year, when thousands of worshippers crowd its temples, and the air is heavy with burning incense. Streams of small-footed women risk their necks on the precipitous, crumbling paths leading to the upper galleries, nor will they, in spite of the utmost fatigue, leave one single temple unvisited, lest having done so much, they should fail to conciliate that last, final deity whose malice might be incurred by neglect!

CHAPTER XXV

THE LAKE OF THE CRESCENT MOON

We returned to Tunhwang so enthusiastic about the art treasures of 'The Hall of the Thousand Buddhas' that our visitors urged us to make a second expedition to another beauty spot of the locality, Yüehyachüan—'The Lake of the Crescent Moon.' 'Chienfutung is

574 escorted! " he repeated over and over again, not even giving me a chance to ask for it. Then, suddenly interrupting himself, he asked us politely but firmly to drink our tea and because we pretended not to hear him, he repeated his request. There was nothing for it but to take up the tea cup and "Tso-aa!" Departure! cried the doormen at the same instant. Throughout China the invitation to drink one's tea is only an invitation to leave, and if a guest reaches for the teapot which must always be placed beside him when he comes for a visit, then everyone knows that it is time to depart. Within less than five minutes /208/ we again found ourselves in the doorway. In spite of our doubtful reception I was blissful, for what more could I wish than a small escort for my further journeys. At that time I still had confidence in the words of the higher Manchu officials, all of whom had received me well and treated me with friendliness, and I still had the best opinion of the amban, especially because he had returned my New Year's gifts with a large, costly dinner which, however, he had had served to me at my inn. But
[437] this is not an unusual custom in China. In larger cities it is also often customary to make out notes to some restaurant for a dinner of four or eight persons. These notes one may give away to someone else without embarrassment, and it sometimes happens that the tenth man into whose hands the promissory note falls really takes advantage of it, even though he may not know the first man who is actually paying for the dinner.

527 541 788 On the fifth day of the New Year shortly after sunrise the general and all the officers of the city set out to fetch the god of entertainment. A gala sedan chair which bore the written character Si (entertainment) was placed in a temple outside the east gate. In front of this letter, which was more than a meter high, the general and the men accompanying him fell on their knees in the dust of the road and kowtowed three times. Later on, the letter on his sedan chair was brought to the city in solemn procession and then placed in the general's yamen. There it remains throughout the year and is a guarantee that in the coming year there shall be no lack of entertainment and theatrical performances of all kinds in the city.

On the tenth day of the New Year the so-called spring festival was celebrated in Hsining fu. Scarcely was the sun up on that day when all the streets leading to the east gate were crowded with people. The Chinese farmers with their wives and children poured into the city from distant places. All the roofs of the main street were covered with representatives of the fair sex whose faces were

[text continues on p. 354]

painted white. And the heads of families who stood below in the street offered them sweets and refreshments from time to time. This was not too difficult, for all the houses in Hsining fu are one-storied and low besides. Around eight in the morning the prefect (fu) and the sub-prefect (hsien) solemnly proceeded to a temple outside the east gate where they expressed their veneration for the dragon (1) and the

527 541 788

1. De Groot, Fêtes annuelles d'Emoui (Paris 1886, Vol. I, p. 36): "The dragon is the symbol of rain, of fecundity and also of imperial dignity." - In my journey through Hu peh I saw, at the end of the first Chinese month, dragon processions moving through the fields, in order to bring about a fruitful year.

cow and the goddess of the earth. Then they returned home with equal pomp. In front marched a lion made of colored paper and cloth and a man who danced about with a sun (yang), then followed two dragons with snapping jaws (Plate XLV). Each of the dragons was represented by twelve men who walked in single file. Behind the dragon rode the amban's cavalrymen, producing dreadful sounds on their half-broken and dented trombones, which would have surely caused even Jericho's wall to fall. Twenty horsemen carried huge gaily-colored flags which almost covered horses and riders (Plate XLV). Then came /209/ infantrymen of the general, two by two, carrying German guns, model 71-84, whose sights and muzzles were decorated with new red paper cushions. In the muzzles they had the stoppers which are never lacking on Chinese guns. All the yamen secretaries followed in their best clothes, then halberdiers, yamen servants with imaginary weapons, with coats of mail containing the trident and morning star. after these came the higher town clerks in fur coats and mounted. Finally came the hsien, father and mother of the city, in an open sedan chair carried by eight men. He was dressed in a large cloak of lynx, and sat stiff and immovable like a doll or an idol. Close behind the chief personage there followed only four soldiers, then the crowd pressed up close behind in motley confusion. In similar fashion, except if possible with a larger advance procession, the Hsining fu, the prefect, also marched through the streets. The latter wore a huge sable fur which was so elegant it was almost a spectacle in itself. Only these two civil officials are obliged to appear at this festival. All the officers as well as the dao tai and the amban do not appear at all.

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

*563 encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives.
221 Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be
[437] found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.
*563 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en
221 masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-
796 winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both
792 pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety
[443] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also
[584] market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.
*563 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable
221 to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of
579 movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur.
[792] Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk re-
[488] lated to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged
423 to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures
621 were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units
619 (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.
*563 These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might
423 form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority.
622 In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local
[792] monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But
*563 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting
622 his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might
628 leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important
614 roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform
[621] no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

Those
873 students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies
875 may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustādh (honorary
794 title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these
[554] teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like
"ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school
teacher).

[779] Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (hānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmctulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bāk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

792 2. Monastic academies of Lamaism
The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest
871 China and their enormous monk population of course colored the
794 whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries
were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also
served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was cus-
[563] tomary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a
[875] tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

792 family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon
794 the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families
871 who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial
[875] work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass
carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

792 The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the
novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where
794 the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to
872 learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this
time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter
792 the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a
794 novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his
home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there
873 are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he
chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become
a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious
yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the
[158] school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or other abnormality.

792 The philosophical college (Tib.: tsan-nyid) offers the study
794 of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes sub-
873 divided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to
779 thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming
(Tib.: dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks.
The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajnāpāramitā, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the "other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcendental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries, antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all categories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas, volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the Precious Stones, and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six contain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-seven to ninety-eight contain the tantrus and dharanis, sentence of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

The philosophical college does not procede according to the

arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.: C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan nags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural by-products. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational system as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Education became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

schools.

In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.

Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan People's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

During the war against Japan, with the migration of the coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest enjoyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

Under the school system of the National Government, children started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocational schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

all the forms of Lamaism, especially in Chinghai, the strong strain of Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion, continues in a modified but still openly non-Buddhist form.

D. Manichaeism

Manichaeism reached the steppe people by way of Persia and China. Mo-yen-cho (759-780), the Uigur Khagan, accompanied by Manichaean missionaries, returned from the conquered Lo-yang. He was converted and on the inscription of Khara Balasaghun he was referred to as "Mani's emanation." After the Kirghiz forced the Uigurs to flee from the Orkhon region to the Turfan area, Manichaeism waned among the latter and they soon adopted the Buddhism found in their new domain. Rudiments of Manichaeism were to be found up to the time of Chingis Khan.

E. Christianity

From time to time, Christianity has played a significant role in Inner Asia. Due to Methodius and Kyrillus (759-780), it exerted powerful force among the former inhabitants of today's southern Russia. The empire of Khara-Khitai in Eastern Turkestan furthered both Buddhism and Nestorianism. Among the Turkic Naimans, Nestorianism came into existence but not in sufficient strength to overshadow Shamanism. The Turkic tribe of the Kereits (almost as influential as the Naimans) is said to have become Christian about 1,000 A.D. Their Khan contacted the metropolit of Merv, Ebejesü. When the Khan of the Naimans, Küčlük, had been driven away to Kashgaria (1214), his Nestorian education became obvious when he permitted the Moslems to become either Buddhists (considering the faith of his wife, who was the daughter of Gur-Khan) or Nestorians.

The Mongols were considerably influenced by Christian traditions because of the Kereits' and the Naimans' intense interest in their faith. The Great Khan Güyük (1246-1248) was in favor of Nestorianism. His chief advisor, Khadag, and his chancellor, Chin-Kai, were Nestorians. The Great Khan Möngke (1251-1259) was educated by his Nestorian mother, who was the Kereit princess, Surgaqtani, and had Bulghai, a Kereit Nestorian, as his advisor. Even at the beginning of the Iranian Mongolian Empire of the Ilkhans, Christian traces were considerable.

Hülägüs' wife, a niece of the last king of the Kereit, was a Nestorian. The military leader, Kitbugha, who was defeated at Ain Jalūt (in Palestine), was another early adherent to this religion. In many respects the conquest of Persia resembled an anti-Islamic crusade. The indigenous Christians' aid proved effective whereas that of the occidental Christians was requested in vain. As in the case of the empire of the "Golden Horde" (Batus' son, Sartaq, was a Nestorian), these Christian outposts

779 cussed in Heaven. They teach men sorcery and will serve men
776 who can rule them by these devices. The leader of these evil
spirits is called "The Shaitan" or Iblis. His fall from a place
among the angels was due to his refusal to worship Adam on
God's command; for this he was accursed till the Day of Resurrection and given authority over those of mankind whom he
seduced.

779 Next to the unity of God, the doctrine of the Apostles, as the
shahada indicates, is the central doctrine of the Koran. Mos-
776 lems are required to believe in the Apostles without distinction
792 The last of the Prophets is Muhammad, who is God's Apostle to
all mankind. The doctrine preached by all the Prophets is essentially one and the same, although in matters of detail there has been a gradual evolution in their messages toward the final and perfect revelation.

As for Muhammad himself, the Koran repeatedly disclaims on his behalf anything that is superhuman. He was but a mortal man, commissioned with the sole duty of conveying God's warning and message of salvation. He had no knowledge beyond what was revealed to him, and he had been granted no miraculous powers.

779 Faith in life after death is the last of the basic principles of
775 Islam. The word usually used to indicate it in the Koran is al-
akhira. The Koran does not speak only of a life after death, but impresses on believers the importance of life on earth as a basis for the future life. The Last Day, the Day of Resurrection and Judgment, will be the time when men's future fate will be decided by God. This day will come suddenly at a time known only to God. On that day the graves will open and men will be called to account for their deeds. Each man's angel shall bear witness to his record, his deeds will be weighed in the balance, and his book will be placed in his hand, the right hand of the blessed and the left hand of the damned.

Then the blessed, the God-fearing men and women, the humble and the charitable, the forgiving, those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake, those who have fought in the way of God, shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise, where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers, praising God, reclining on silken couches, enjoying heavenly food and drink and the company of dark-eyed maidens. Those who have sinned against God and men are condemned to eternal punishment in the flames of Hell.

779 C. The Rituals of Islam
a. Prayer (Salat). The observance of the ritual prayers is re-
788 peatedly emphasized as one of the essential religious duties.
782 Although neither the ceremonies nor the five set times of prayer

/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

/Chinese Moslems/

S
N equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of his
795 followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divine
792 revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to all
185 questions and appeared to know many things. As the founder of a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. The differences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the following passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Koran should be recited once only instead of three times as held by the Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised once instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of Allah the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to religious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting for an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such an arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for calculating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering strictly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chinese lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat while praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to the tradition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, whereas the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is also a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria for preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to Islamic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs that have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

S
N Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem state in
795 the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung
792 played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion during the
[669] nineteenth century.

S After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in his
N sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma Hi-hsi,
[578] fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi had the advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, became an important religious center.

S Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northwest,
N which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately there is
795 not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Sufi order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of Jahriyah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like the Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally despised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however, identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriva

The clan /The Nomadic Tibetans/ as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates. The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknowledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no political control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)

Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

There is more rigidity about the village organization. The sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village headman. But again the council of elders has considerable authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit, nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically. Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horoscope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases. From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the community's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground, the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals. A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

"Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

A. Introduction

Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in Northwest China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper, although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cultural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monasteries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

B., Tibetan Literature

Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in character. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings. There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tan-gyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

/The Tibetans/

*563 538 Tibetans. There are a few versions of the fabulous history of Gasar, of which the version told in Kham is most frequently recited. There are several manuscripts of the Gasar legend, but none of them is complete. The Gasar saga is mostly recited orally, by the wandering bards, who can recite long passages from memory, and by the people themselves, as every Tibetan can recite a few verses of the Gasar epos. It is particularly popular among the nomadic Tibetans. The legend seems to have had its origin in the Pon time, prior to the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism.

*563 532 [177]

C. Tibetan Art

Tibetan art is divided into two categories, the religious and the secular. The influence of India can be recognized in the first category, while Chinese influence is dominant in the things pertaining to worldly life, as the cultured society in Tibet modeled its manners upon those of the court of Peking, which for centuries occupied the suzerian position.

The religious art is expressed mostly in works of sculpture and painting. The most popular and unusual of the creations of the Tibetan artists have been the tankas. The tankas are scroll paintings, or occasionally embroidered pictures, which first came to use in about the tenth century. Before that time, painting was mostly confined to frescoes on the walls of temples or monasteries or in caves. These tankas are hung in the temples and at family altars in homes. They are also carried by the Lamas in religious processions. They often portray a deity, group of deities, or scenes from the life of Buddha or the saints. Often they depict stories which the Lamas use to illustrate their sermons.

The tankas are usually painted on canvas, sometimes on [992] paper, rarely on silk. The artists are Lamas, who spend many years in training before they attempt to work independently.

Images are also made for religious purposes. They can be of gold, silver, copper or bronze; or sometimes they are of wood, stone, clay or butter. They are often studded with turquoise, coral and pearls. The artists either sculpture them by hand or make them in molds and finish them by hand.

The votive tablets are another category of religious objects which requires the work of special artists for its production. [992] They are made by the Lamas, after a set pattern from which they are not allowed to deviate. These tablets are sometimes sold to the worshippers or pilgrims, or they may be made by order of wealthy donors and presented to a particular temple. The cruder ones are made of clay, with the figure of the deity or group of deities impressed on the face. More elaborate tablets are polychromed and gilded. A few are made of bronze,

/The Tibetans/

*563 copper or silver. The clay votive tablets are made in molds,
532 and finished and colored by hand. The metal tablets are also
made in molds and are finished with hand tools.

Other ritual objects are made by the Lama artists, such as
the cups for offerings of butter water, incense and perfume;
objects for the altar (such as holy water vases), amulets and
charms. The technique for making these ritual objects and the
materials used are prescribed, the Buddhist canon containing
the rules for making these objects.

[792] The Kumbum monastery in Chinghai is particularly noted for
its work in copper and other metals.

*563 Other objects which require skilled artists and craftsmen
532 are the robes and masks used by the Lama dancers in the mys-
294 tery plays on festival days. Especially embroidered and bro-
caded robes of bright colors are prepared for the actors. Masks
are constructed to fit over the head and rest on the shoulders of
[777] the dancers. Some masks are very elaborate and grotesque. The
brocaded robes are Chinese in origin, but the masks and head-
dresses are Tibetan.

*563 Objects of daily use employed by the common people, such
531 as interior fittings and furnishings of houses, windowframes,
532 tables, carpets and food vessels, are often made and decorated
415 by skilled artisans. They all bear a strong influence of Chinese
352 motifs. The rugs in Tibetan houses exhibit patterns which are
derived from Chinese prototypes. A favorite color scheme of
these rugs is a combination of light blue, warm brown and
white. The little tea tables found in Tibetan homes are called
chogtse. Those which are not plain are either painted gaily
with bunches of flowers on flat panels, or, more rarely, carved
with dragons and then painted. Most of the eating utensils, such
as bowls, pots, jugs, cups and teapots, carry interesting de-
[291] signs. Shoes are usually skillfully decorated, and so are other
works of leather like mule trappings.

*563 D. Music and Dance

533 Music and dance play an important part in the religious wor-
792 ship, as well as in the lighter amusements of life. The classi-
cal music of the temples consists of a solemn though animated
style of chanting and of orchestral interludes, played with long
copper trumpets, with the rhythm supplemented by a multitude
of percussion instruments. The hymns are always sung by
memory, but there also exists written forms of them. The nota-
tion is in the nature of a graph of the rising and falling voice;
large curves convey the basic tunes, while smaller loops repre-
sent melodic ornamentation. The words of the songs are artic-
ulated with great clarity and are given the right stress while
the bodies of the monks sway gently to the rhythm.

'P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaqtu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The "Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a chain of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhabitants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism. Buighabu Bātur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a reward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church. After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the world but with the conquest of souls.

C. The Lamaism of Chinghai

The province of Chinghai, or Amdo as the Tibetans refer to it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Buddhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Langdarma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect, the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate excuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been supplied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Centuries ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was instituted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters concerning Mongolia and China.

Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall (1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk. Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have continued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kumbum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until recently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thou-
sand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate
area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the
monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese bor-
der.

792 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic
monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more
871 complete systems of education and organization than are to be
found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tash-
ihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic
degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in
Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have
generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage.
[778] Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's
birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang
from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries
[423] own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in
the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious.
[651] Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on
their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries,
these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious
reverence.

792 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the mon-
asteries perform many functions for their subjects and believ-
701 ers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and
Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective mili-
tary force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who
have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the
fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth
of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the
safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor
is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking
life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat
meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies
[669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem re-
bellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against
the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger
threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an
inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely
795 in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The relig-
ion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conver-
sion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam,
remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure,
the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas
that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

civil marriage, marriage and divorce ceased to be an important function administered by the qadi.

Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's courts tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260,000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January, 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1953.]

But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

B. Lamaism

As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair, Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Generally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the influence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mongols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lamaseries. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

795 the Communist soft-glove treatment. It is known, however, that
• 792 they are used widely as Communist propaganda agents.
* 563 In Tibet, on the other hand, and that includes the Tibetan
* 668 parts of Chinghai, the position of Lamaism is infinitely stronger.
177 There was no sign of weakening in the adherence to the old faith,
795 and militant Lamas were always in a position to incite the lay
792 population to concerted action. This has again been shown in the
171 recent rebellious outburst in Tibet, which seems to be partic-
* 668 ularly strong in Southern Chinghai. Occurring at a time when
177 the Dalai Lama was back in Lasa and the first steps had been
taken to grant Tibet "autonomy" status (Reuters, April 26,
1956), this outburst is all the more surprising as it sets off the
leading Lamaist clergy not only from the Peking regime but
also from their spiritual head. Ruthless suppression measures
which included the bombing of Lamaseries have thus far appar-
ently not succeeded in quelching the rebellion. Mention is made
of a Tibetan Resistance Party (Mim ang, literally, People's
Organization) led by Lamaist clergy and joined by officials,
traders and other laymen (Himalayan Times, Kalimpong, May
13, 1956: New York Times, June 30, 1956; AP, July 7, 1956).

C. The Fate of Christianity

795 Christian missionary activities and Christian establishments
798 in the Northwest have been predominantly Catholic. The Com-
* 668 munists had some dealings with Catholic priests and Catholic
177 communities in the Yenan period. The staunchly anti-Commun-
[797] ist stand of the Catholic Church had at that time given rise to
friction and incidents, even though the Communists still wanted
at that time to avoid drastic action. In Mongol Catholic commun-
ities they had attempted to undercut the prestige of the priest in
case he was a foreigner, but they learned from experience that
they did not fare better when a Mongol Catholic priest was put
in charge. The strong cohesion between the community and the
priests forced the Communists repeatedly into making conces-
sions. A perusal of the records, however, creates the impres-
sion that dealings with the Catholic Church were handled locally
and incidentally only, and that no plans were yet devised for
how to take care of the Catholic Church.

795 After the general conquest, however, a pattern emerged
which shows that an over-all policy was applied to the region.
* 668 This policy was apparently inspired by Lenin's doctrine that
177 Bismarck's head-on collision with the Catholic Church, the
798 Kultur-kampf, was a folly. A propaganda front of "religious
freedom" was therefore maintained all through the years. There
was apparently, particularly in the beginning, a certain amount
of local lattitude in the interpretation of this principle. In a

779 which varies according to one's wealth: This food must be
431 donated by every Moslem in the community who is not poor,
735 and distributed among those who need it. The second institution
794 is that connected with Id al-Adsha, on which occasion the poorer members of the community are fed with the meat of the sacrificed animals, and the skins of those animals are sold, and the sum thus realized spent on the propagation of Islam.

These then are the concepts applied to welfare work among the Moslems of the Northwest. As has been seen: the impetus toward welfare activities is entirely religious. This religious basis of welfare work was somewhat modified among the Chinese Moslems (Hui) particularly in those provinces, such as Ninghsia and Chinghai, where the secular power was in the hands of Moslem leaders. In these cases welfare activities would be supported strongly and with a certain efficiency by the worldly arm, but would pertain in most cases to the Moslem population only.

With regard to the handling of welfare cases among non-Moslem Chinese, reference is made in the section on Public Welfare of the General Handbook.

III. Welfare Among Lamaists

The concept of charity is alien to original Buddhism; it has no part in its ancient teachings. Almsgiving (dāna) is the only charitable activity that is occasionally mentioned in earlier writings. It is there termed as one of the "lucky things," with which to promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning the attitude in which alms should be given were worked out, the theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of the donee. The best gift of all, however, was the gift of Dharma (truth). The only entity who practided charity in anything like our sense of the word was the Bodhisatva, for whom, and for whom only, compassion was the cardinal principle. Every consideration is laid aside and even meditation neglected for its sake.

These basic doctrines have not prevented later schools of Buddhism in China from developing charitable and welfare work both through the temples themselves and through Buddhist sponsored or co-sponsored laymen's associations (see China General, Public Welfare). The Lamaist church, however, has stuck closer to the original concepts and hardly a trace of charitable or welfare work emanating from or sponsored by the lamaseries can be detected.

574 There exists, though, one concept common to both Lamaist
794 peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the
485 concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and
792 welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

574 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for
794 travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food,
485 shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-
792 by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

657 With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew
731 that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

653 The realization grew however that with regard to natural
312 disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than
185 relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

114 Unfortunately, there is very little information available on
657 the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the
[794] little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

N /Mongols of the Northwest/

829 pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent
*563 times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political
*[668] Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit
S (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang.
829 For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai,
563 Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more
[668] unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification, which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols. (Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and their supreme representative, the court of the government in Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having performed special, mostly military, services for the court in Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the Northwest thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of
S gods') rather than Peking. For the religious world is the real
N and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiri-
[792] tual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essential to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous, and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of
S Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding
N
(197) wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes. Whenever Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that they have even more in common than only external appearance and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

total number of peasant households. "The peasants in the mutual aid teams are politically organized," stated the Sian Ch'ün-chung jih-pao (January 6, 1954), and the enlargement of the membership in the farmers' association have "strengthened the militia, thereby consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship in the countryside in the Northwest region." (NCNA, May 22, 1952).

Concerning the effects of the agrarian reform on the political organization of the people, Kao Chin-shun, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Government, mentioned the following points: (1) Eradication of the "feudal" landlord class, (2) elevation of the political consciousness of the peasants, (3) consolidation and enlargement of the United Front, and (4) training large number of cadres. (Urumchi, Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). He revealed too that in the process of the land reform, large numbers of the people signed pacts pledging to resist America and to aid Korea.

Late in 1950, branches of the China Peace Committee, organized for the purpose of rallying the people to support the war in Korea, was established in the Northwest. The work of these branch committees supplemented the activities of the people's political consultative committees and the people's representative conferences which were then in session preparatory to the formation of the people's governments. In Sinkiang, for example, the Provincial People's Representative Conference, in May, 1951, declared that its aim was to popularize and develop penetratingly the Resist-America and Aid-Korea campaign. Later in the year, in order to strengthen the hate-America campaign, the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee and the Sinkiang branch committee of the China Peace Committee were merged into one joint committee. (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). Henceforth, the activities of the so-called conferences of workers, herdsmen, peasant, youth, women, religious, industrial and commercial circles, which were the components of the people's political consultative conference, were channeled to the work of propaganda. Seven members of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee who toured the Korean front, returned to spend three months giving speeches to half a million people. By the end of 1951, a total of JMP $213 billion (about US $10 million) was raised, sufficient, it was claimed, for the purchase of 142 fighter planes. This came to 4.24 per cent of the amount raised in all of China.

Particular efforts were made to utilize religious institutions. In Chinghai, Buddhist lamas were organized into propaganda teams, monasteries into meeting places for discussion of current events and the signing of pledges, and temple fairs and festivals for the extension of propaganda on government policies to the rural areas. Similarly, in Sinkiang, mosques were used to hold accusation meetings and the Akhuns and mullahs were brought in line to support the land reform as well as the Hate-America campaign. A

Ninghsia Province; 1952-54, chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia. His name, however, disappeared from the lime light after the Ninghsia People's Government was abolished and Ninghsia merged into Kansu in 1954.

Hsing was a career soldier. His long years of fighting a guerilla war against the Japanese had made him a man of distinction. His association with the Communists, however, did not begin until he broke away from Sun Tien-ying, under whom he had fought as a guerrilla leader for many years. When Sun's guerrilla forces were re-organized into the Nationalist Fifth Army, Hsing began to shift his political leaning toward the Communists. Hsing's red star began to shine when he was first selected as deputy speaker of the Border Assembly for Hopei-Charhar area. He was responsible for the training of a large number of cadres in Ninghsia.

Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o: Buddhist, government official

Born in 1884 in Chinghai Province. At age of twelve entered one of the colleges in Drepung Temple in Tibet to study Buddhism; 1916, given the degree Geshe (after completing the five classics in Buddhism, namely, Sutras and Commentaries, Prajnparamita or book on philosophical matters, Madhyama or book on the Middle Doctrine, Vinaya or book on moral discipline and Vasubhandu's work); since then edited and commented on the Kanjur for twelve years. In 1937, he went to Nanking by way of India and gave lectures on Tibetan culture at the National Central University, Tsinghua University, Sun Yat-sen University, Peking University and Wu-han University. 1939, sent to Tibet by the Nationalist Government on a good-will mission. Since 1946 has been a reserve member of the Kuomintang Central Supervisory Committee and from 1947 to 1949, vice-chairman of the Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs in the National Government. In January 1950, appointed member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently deputy-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai. Since January 1953, member of the Administrative Council of the Northwest, member of the Political and Legal Commission, vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai, director of the Cultural and Educational Commission in the provincial government, and acting chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association.

The fact that he achieved his degree of Ke-hsi had made Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o a man of high esteem. He devoted twelve years to editing and commentating the Kanjur, the complete works of Tibetan Buddhism, and his bold approach in editing the textual errors in the scriptures has made him an authority on Buddhism, although he did incur the displeasure of the Dalai Lama.

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[For information concerning the Buddhist monastery at Labrang or Hsiaho, see 21: Li, AJ1 Tibet, category 116.]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia. The Chinese consider those in the Southern area, who are of more recent Turki origin, to be the more dangerous and fanatical today. In a secluded valley near P'ingliang resides a sort of Mahomedan saint, who has great influence not only in Kansu but also in Yunnan, and who undoubtedly commands the services of thousands, or perhaps tens of thousands, of armed Mahomedans; he is not one of the regular Moslem leaders, who are referred to in later chapters; and there seems to be some sort of mystery about him, which it was not our business to enquire into.

The next stage from P'ingliang is one of 90 li to Wat'ing, a walled fort and posting stage at the foot of the Liupan pass. The road runs up the valley, which beyond a half-way village with inns contracts to a gorge, scrub-covered mountains of shale and sandstone taking the place of the cultivated loess hills. Pheasants were thick here, and so tame that one had to throw stones at them to make them fly. Wat'ing is rather an important point as the roads to Lanchou and Ninghsia here bifurcate (the latter *via* Kuyuan). We were met here by the magistrate of Kuyuan and also by a representative of the family of the late General T'ung Fu-hsiang, whose ancestral seat is in the neighbourhood. I have been told on more than one occasion by Chinese that T'ung Fu-hsiang was not a Mahomedan at all, but a Chinese General commanding Moslem troops; perhaps he was considered a Chinese because he fought against the Mahomedans in the great rebellion. The following is a sketch of the career of this celebrated individual, who came into contact with foreigners by leading his Mahomedan troops to the attacks on the Legations in Peking in 1900.

T'ung Fu-hsiang was a native of Kuyuan in Eastern Kansu. In the big rebellion of 1864–1873 he figured prominently as a military chief on the Chinese side under General Tso, and it was he who captured the rebel stronghold of Chinchi on the Yellow River near Ninghsia, an event which was the turning-point in the campaign. This was the foundation of his fortunes, as he was enriched with the confiscated estates of rebels, and from that time on counted as one of the most prominent and influential leaders in Kansu. Subsequently he fought in Central Asia against

treated with every courtesy. The Mahomedans of Kansu still consider themselves to a certain extent as foreigners sojourning in a strange land, and greet travellers from the west as fellow-wanderers.

From New T'ao Chou to Choni, a march of 30 li, the track runs south-west over a low pass in the red clay hills, crosses a valley trending south, ascends another low pass, and descends through a grassy ravine to the T'ao River. Choni, the residence of a T'ussu, or native chief, ruling several Tibetan tribes in the neighbourhood, is a picturesque little place, a walled village built round the chief's residence on the banks of the T'ao, and overlooked by a lamasery containing some 500 monks. We were received by the usual cannon shots (an old-fashioned Chinese custom still surviving in most parts of Kansu which is terrifying to one's pony unless accustomed to it) and really sumptuously lodged in the chief's residence. The Choni T'ussu is by far the most important native chief in Kansu and exercises jurisdiction over an extensive territory. Some of his tribes, especially those living to the south of the Min Shan, are turbulent and not easy to control. The chief is under the authority of the Governor at Lanchou, but unlike his colleagues in Szechuan west of Tachienlu, he retains his power unimpaired over his Tibetans. On the east his jurisdiction is bounded by Chinese territory; on the west it fades away amongst the lawless nomads of the grass-lands. His authority, like that of most native chiefs in China, extends rather over tribes and families than fixed territory, and its limits are therefore vague.

The T'ao River is here the dividing line between Tibetans and Chinese (Mahomedans), the forest-clad mountains to the south being inhabited by the former, and red hills to the north by the latter. There is good big game shooting to be had in these forests, wapiti, sheep, goral, serow, bear, etc. The elevation of the valley seems to be about 8000 feet at Choni.

Leaving Choni the road runs up the beautiful T'ao valley for about ten li, and then turns north-west up a small ravine leading to an easy pass. From here it runs along the top of the mountain for a few li, descends into a valley, crosses another low pass, and drops down to Old T'ao Chou, 45 li from Choni.

is the same land of nomads and lamas, whether Tibetan or Mongol. In past centuries the Chinese were ever engaged, with varying success, in defending their fertile plains and valleys against the incursions of Tartar hordes from these tablelands; now the nomads are impotent outside their own territories, reduced in numbers and virility perhaps by the lama religion, and these vast empty spaces serve as buffers protecting China from the rest of Asia. Undoubtedly her wisest policy is to leave the scattered inhabitants to manage their own affairs as hitherto under her vague suzerainty.

The trail runs north-west across these grass-lands, passing continually from one shallow valley to another; at first these valleys slope S.E. towards the T'ao River, but after 20 li or so they slope N.W. towards the Ho Chou River. The pasturage is excellent and there are many nomad encampments; the latter are only to be approached with care, as they are guarded by huge Tibetan mastiffs, I should think easily the most formidable breed of dog in the world, and the nomads themselves are not friendly to strangers. Indeed the Amdo Tibetan of the Kokonor grass country is about the last kind of individual one would choose to meet alone on a dark night, and a wilder or more picturesque looking lot of ruffians it would be difficult to imagine. They always go heavily armed, and are robbers by nature. Once properly introduced to them, however, one can count on friendly treatment, and we had nothing to complain of in this respect. After six or seven hour's march from the village where we had passed the night the trail descended from the plateau into an open and partly cultivated valley with the temples and barrack-like buildings of the monastery of Heitso Ssu at the end of it, a most striking sight in this land of tent-living nomads.

Heitso Ssu (the Chinese name) is a large and wealthy monastery, containing, we were told, some thousand lamas. It is quite a little town in itself, with, as is usually the case on this border, a small Chinese village or bazaar of one street, run mostly by Mahomedans, attached to it. It lies at the junction of two small valleys below the level of the grass country, and the neighbouring slopes are well cultivated with barley and peas and dotted with Tibetan farms. We were badly housed in a kind of inn in the Chinese bazaar,

European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

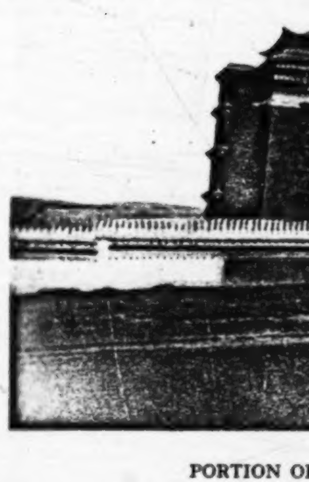
valley, at first through cultivated fields and then through a densely wooded gorge. This is a difficult march in the summer, as the trail constantly crosses and recrosses the stream, which is rapid, obstructed by boulders, and only just fordable. Several of us got a wetting, but we were lucky in keeping the pack-mules on their feet and our bedding dry. The mountains in the neighbourhood are covered with fine forest, but mostly on the slopes facing north only, a peculiarity which may be noticed all along the Kokonor border; I have observed the same thing in the forests of Northern Shansi; whether it is that the sun is too hot on the southern slopes, or that the northern slopes alone receive sufficient moisture, I am unable to say. Four to five hours' march down this gorge, past several small lamaseries, brings one to the junction of this stream with the Tahsia River, a torrent flowing from Labrang to Ho Chou. The Labrang road turns up this valley and runs for a few li through cultivated fields to the small monastery of Shakou Ssu, which lies on the north side of the stream, with a Mahomedan hamlet, Sasuma, opposite, where we passed the night in an inn. There are pine forests all around, and the Tahsia River, though only a mountain torrent, is used for rafting the cut timber down to the Yellow River and Lanchou. The timber is made up into narrow sections, fastened one behind the other, and the jointed raft which results is navigated down the rapids and through the rocks with extraordinary skill by Mahomedan raftmen.

From Heitso to Labrang is a distance of some 120 li, and Sasuma lies about half way, the track running for the rest of the way up the valley of the Tahsia River. For the first 30 li the path is very bad and rocky, the valley being a gorge hemmed in by wooded mountains; there is no more fording to be done, however, as the river is spanned by good cantilever bridges, this being a portion of the Labrang-Ho Chou road, which is much used by the mule trains of Mahomedan merchants. In this neighbourhood we saw some *ma chi*, the large and handsome silver pheasant with red legs (*Crossoptilon auritum*, probably). For the second 30 li the valley opens out and the road becomes a good highway. The first intimation we received of the approach to Labrang were the white and blue tents dotted

over the mountain slopes, and then a sudden bend of the valley reveals the gilt-roofed temples and huge barrack-like constructions of the great monastery. The buildings are, I should say, without parallel in the whole of China for magnificence, solidity, and size, and present a most startling appearance in that wild and sparsely populated region of mountains and grass-lands.

Labrang (Chinese Labalang Ssu) lies at an altitude of about 9000 feet in the valley of the Tahsia River just below the level of the grass-lands which commence immediately to the west. It is a regular town in itself containing over 3000 monks as well as a considerable floating population of visiting Tibetans, hundreds of whom were at the time of our visit encamped in the neighbourhood. The monastery is the most important religious centre between Lassa and Urga, not excluding the better known establishment of Kumbum (T'a-erh Ssu) near Hsining. It contains a university which attracts students from all parts of Tibet and Mongolia, and even Siberia. The monastic authorities exercise control over the neighbouring Tibetans and until recently over Chinese as well. Of late, however, the chief lama, a Re-incarnation (referred to as a Hutukotu by the Chinese), has fallen much under the influence of the Mahomedans of Ho Chou, and the monks are no longer as unruly and hostile to foreigners as formerly; at the time of our visit they had even applied for the establishment of an agency of the Chinese Post Office at Labrang. All the same it is advisable for foreign visitors to be provided with an introduction from some Tibetan or Mahomedan authority. A li or two from the monastery is the usual Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, bazaar. These large monasteries on the Kokonor border are commercial as well as religious centres, and the Chinese trading villages attached to them resemble in a way the foreign settlements attached to Chinese cities opened to foreign trade. This border trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Mahomedans, and even where the Chinese take a hand in it, it is through the agency of Mahomedan middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, who travel amongst the Tibetans further west, and barter Chinese wares for their produce, especially wool. There are many queer tales about Labrang to be heard locally.

PORTION O



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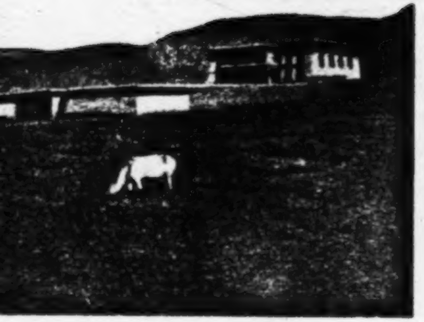
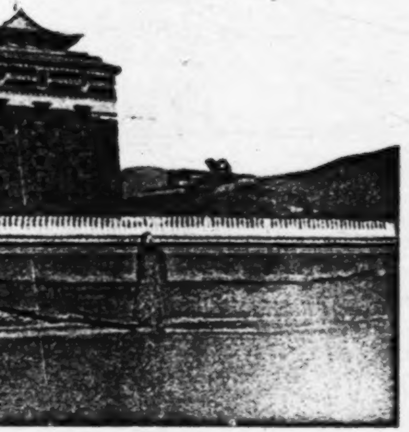


F HEITSO MONASTERY



F HEITSO MONASTERY

[...NG p. 145]

We were well accommodated by the Mahomedans in 792
their village. The Hutukotu was away "saying prayers
in the grass-country" (*Ts'ao Ti Nien Ching*—as we were 574
told), but the second lama in charge, an aged monk of refined and intelligent appearance, received us most amicably in a gorgeous apartment glittering with gold images and other signs of wealth, and gave instructions for us to be shown round the monastery. I am not sufficiently acquainted with Lamaism to be able to give an intelligent description of what we saw, but the temples were the finest and richest I have visited in China, and the residences of the monks the usual gloomy buildings common to all lamaseries. At our interview with the lama we were presented with the usual silk scarves (*Khata*), and it may be noted that the Chinese and Tibetans with us attached these in a prominent manner to their persons to show all and sundry that they had been received by the authorities of the monastery; I do not know whether this is a usual use to which to put the *Khata*, but it seemed a good idea here. After getting back to our quarters we found a present consisting of half a sheep for ourselves and several bushels of peas for our animals from the lama, which was very welcome in a country of scanty supplies.

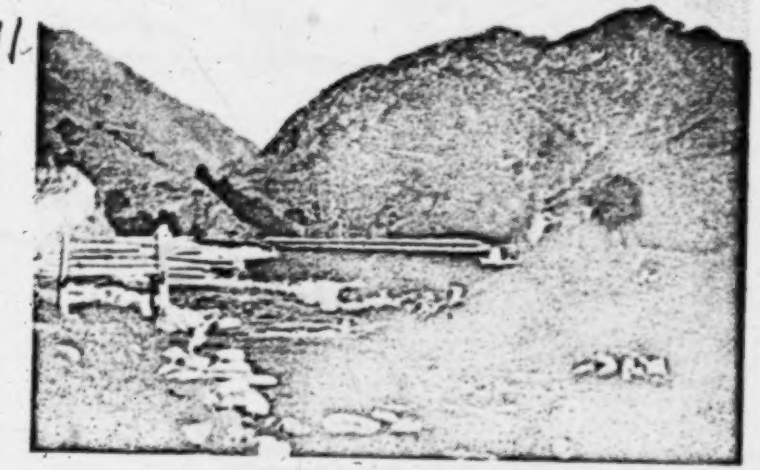
From Labrang to Ho Chou is a distance of about 200 li, 487
which is usually made in three stages. The first day's march
took us back down the valley of the Tahsia River to Sasuma. 133
From here the trail continues down the valley, which is here cultivated, past several small lamaseries, for 40 li to the village of Ch'aokou. Here gorges are entered through which the river winds for another 20 li to the village of Ch'ingshui (these villages are Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, with nothing Tibetan about them). The path ledged in the rock and supported by wooden stagings high above the torrent is very dangerous in places. There is an idea that mules and ponies accustomed to the mountains never fall, but this is by no means the case, and I have on more than one occasion seen an animal plunge to his death over the edge of one of these precipices, though fortunately we never lost one ourselves; it is always wise to dismount in such places. In spite of the dangerous nature of the road we
met large numbers of mule caravans going up to Labrang 484

PLATE XXXIV

792

MONASTERY OF SHAKOU SSU

491



CANTILEVER BRIDGE ON THE ROAD TO LABRANG

[FACING p. 147]

PLATE XXXV

792

VIEW OF LABRANG MONASTERY

VIEW OF LABRANG MONASTERY
(The two views join to form a panorama)

[FACING p. 158]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

the Kokonor (in Chinese Ch'ing Hai, meaning, like the Mongol name, "Azure Lake"), who used to be known by the Tibetan or Mongol term of "Amban," but who at the time of our visit was styled in the republican manner *Ch'ing Hai Pan Shih Chang Kuan* ("Chief Authority in charge of the Affairs of the Kokonor Territory"). Soon afterwards the post and its occupant, an old Manchu, were abolished by Yuan Shih-k'ai's Government, and the control of the Kokonor territory handed over to the Mahomedan General of Hsining. This control is of the usual vague and shadowy nature, such as has been exercised for so long by China over her outlying dependencies. The Mongol inhabitants are ruled by their own princes under China's overlordship; the Tibetans wander pretty well at will over the territory, robbing one another, the Mongols, and the Chinese, and generally pay but little respect to their nominal Chinese masters. It is possible that the Mahomedans will now take measures to bring them more under control[1].

We remained some days at Hsining, but unfortunately had no leisure to visit either the Kokonor Lake or the famous monastery of T'a-erh Ssu. In the intervals of official business we were hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General, the Manchu Amban, the Taoyin, and other officials. The former, like most of the Mahomedan leaders we met, was a bluff, hearty soldier and a delightful companion; he had served under T'ung Fu-hsiang at Peking in 1900.

Tanko and Hsining are the headquarters of the great Kokonor wool trade, which has been going on for twenty years or more and has now reached very large dimensions. This wool is produced on the grass lands of the Kokonor border, and is carried by raft and boat down the Yellow River and by camel caravan across the desert to Tientsin, whence it is exported to America. The trade is largely in the hands of the foreign export firms in Tientsin who, through their compradores, maintain buying agencies at various collecting centres such as Hsining, Tanko, Kueitê, Hochow, Hsünhua, Tatung, Yungan, and Êpo on the

[1] Such measures have since been taken, with the result that the Tibetans, and more especially the lamas, have on several occasions risen in arms against the Mahomedans, and the peace of the Kokonor border has been seriously disturbed.

lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It evidently owes its importance to its position as the most westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important element in the trading community. There was no civil official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be expected in a frontier town.

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li, T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng 80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north. Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, which from its appearance might equally well have been situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism, by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before the King in the costume shown in the photographs, concealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photographs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

flowery trees and shrubs, roses and peonies, made the garden fragrant. The temple held a fine set of china figures representing the Pa Hsien. These are the Eight Genii, the men of the hills, who once lived on earth, but now, free from the grosser claims of the flesh, still retain the capacity for such minor delights as strolling leisurely in beautiful surroundings, or even those of eating and drinking. When in the flesh, although they practised asceticism, it was not to such a degree as to secure complete etherisation. They are not immortal, but enjoy a prolonged and easeful life. The little figures look their best standing on the old lacquered table in the sombre shrine, and the gay gardens provide an appropriate setting to these unaspiring beings.

Above the porch was a fresco which showed—hanging in graceful attitude over a balcony rail—the form of the Kwan in—Goddess of Mercy—with an infant in her lap. The pose, coiffure, and background were so Western that it might have been a fresco in the porch of an Italian Church. This was not the only place in which we saw pictures which bore a distinct trace of Nestorian tradition and influence, and this is not surprising considering that in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo still found groups of Nestorian Christians, both in Kanchow and in Suchow.

Close by the Temple of the Spacious Hills was a quiet courtyard, where ten Buddhist nuns lived in community. They were all deficient, either physically or mentally, blind, deaf or short-witted. Their feet were unbound and their hair cropped. They were in receipt of a pension, and gave themselves up to reciting long liturgies. Their services were valued at funerals, where they intone prayers for the departed. We often called in and sat for an hour, and they loved to see our Scripture pictures, and listen to the Bible stories.

The Kambo, the lamasery abbot, of Gum bum goes to pray every day in the Tsogs kang.

Return of troops from the spring festival in Hsining fu.

The dance of the Tscham in Gum bum. /208B/

ribbon is decorated with white shells, deep-red corals, silver discs and pieces of amber sewn on it. Like the Tibetan women, they wear a caftan that opens on the side, and the men, too, dress like their neighbors, the Tibetans. The faces of the Mongols are rather different from those of the Tibetans. They are broad and their noses are also wide. My men thought they were much better looking than the Fan tse. I, however, did not agree with this. Even with my taste which was corrupted as a result of my Asiatic environment, I could not admire these faces that looked as though they had been flattened out with a roller.

July 6. The Mongols are very devout Buddhists. Near the very first yurts on Schang territory there stood mani rdyayu - they looked very gay like our May poles - consisting of four tall poles forming a large square around a taller /338/ center pole. There were garlands of cloth shreds, red, blue, green, yellow and white, completely covered with prayers, stretching from pole to pole (Plate LXXVIII). At the top of the center one cedar twigs swayed in the wind, and their resinous fragrance pleases the heavenly ones. Next to this there was an altar on which today, the day of the full moon, cedar- and thuja-leaves and tsamba were being burned. At noon the family lama blew his horn; a procession of men, women and maidens approached the altar, fell down before it, prayed, circled again and again around the mani rdyayu, clockwise, according to the rules of the yellow sect, "the way the moon rotates around the earth," and prostrated themselves countless times after each time around, hoping to obtain peace, release from demons, and for their herds, freedom from disease and death.

For this exorcism my nearest neighbor in Camp 51, a well-to-do Mongol, (1) had invited the incarnation from Tangsker, a monastery

1. A man is here considered well-to-do if he has 8 to 10 horses, including mares and foals, 20-30 yak cattle and 400 sheep, whereas near Dankar a man is not considered well off unless he has 40 horses, 60-70 yak cattle and close to 1,000 sheep and goats.

of which I learned for the first time here, and which lies far off on the Hwang Ho, many travel-days farther than the oft-mentioned Rardscha gomba. The journey of the holy man from his lamasery to Tsaidam lasted many months, but he had been undertaking it for several years already, and he stayed two or three months each

summer with the Mongols. The holy man came riding up early in the morning, accompanied by three akkas, and for many hours he read prayers, invocations and exorcisms in the Mongol's yurt. When he departed all the members of the family humbly kissed the hem of his garment and the three akkas followed him with a yak and 28 sheep. - Indeed, summer resorts prove lucrative for the holy men!

In our little group it was also a day of prayer and sacrifice. Lao Sung who had recovered along with the rest of us from his illness up at the Tschürnong redeemed a pledge today. He had bought the sheep which he had promised the gods for his recovery. He built an altar of earth and stones behind the tent and before it he sang his daily invocation:

> Lama la stiapsumdschiū
> Songrdyi la stiapsumdschiū
> Tschu la stiapsumdschiū
> Ginden la stiapsumdschiū
> Guntschok sum la stiapsumdschiū
> Yidam tschüngkordye
> Lha tsok kordang dye ba
> mam la ptscha tsalo-o
> - - - - - - - - - - - - -
> - - - - - - - - - - - - -

If he spoke very rapidly he could say the entire prayer in twenty minutes. (2) Thereupon he burned thuja leaves together with cow

> 2. The beginning of the prayer btsoktschito... and the supplication to the sGrolma. Every little lama novice and every layman or "black man" (Tibetan: mi nag) knows this prayer by heart and is supposed to repeat it if possible 21 times a day. The above lines roughly translated are: I implore all the lamas, /339/ I implore all the priests, I implore all the deities, I pray to all that is holy. I beseech the trinity of the gods. I kowtow in the dust before the lord of the tutelary gods, before the assembly of the gods, all the holy ones and their pupils...

dung. /339/ Meanwhile the slaughtering of the sheep was undertaken. It was first consecrated according to the Tibetan rite and then killed according to Mohammedan rites. While Lao Sung was still praying, Lao Tscheng brought burning cedar leaves on our serving ladle and exposed the animal to smoke with these; according to his own words,

N.W China Art
KalmyK

643 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted
291 swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red
and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats
I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Moham-
781 medan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak[1] pretended he
understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came
out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through
infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected
if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also im-
plored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken
a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in
this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised
to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and
to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his
call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the
plain 40 kilometers distant.

563 I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He
342 had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen
574 (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me
and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbors. I started
my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached
the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white bee-
hive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with
low bows, until finally I, as the first person, stumbled through the
wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mon-
gol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the
wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba
decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on
gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class
tschürra, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and
the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly
tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama.
[576] When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed
out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last
to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen.
437 He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was
able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a
[792] priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family
who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I
rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

[1] [ie., of Barun.—Analyst]

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S
563 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents
585 lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days.
These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's
S relatives.
563 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning
586 the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

N IV. The Chinese Moslems
121 Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations,
59 as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated
[779] by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information.
N
769 Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such
*563 an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they
778 possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.
N
*563 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems oc-
582 curs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is
797 not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems
*563 appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Mos-
585 lem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In
586 addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will
793 recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an
184 additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common
*563 with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists.
184 The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/The Tibetans/

or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to another home for dinner.

Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The formal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather.

Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a sheep's head boiled in salted water.

c. Clothing

Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty.

No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.

The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves.

Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate. The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hairdress which is commonly seen.

/The Tibetans/

*563 585 are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

*563 844 852 [562] [751] [853] The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

*563 553 852 [793] The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama. With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

*563 764 "Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

*563 [755] [793] When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity."

*563 763 764 Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bundle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

*563 764 562 Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend.

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] S N [793] [782] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 796 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

/Chinese Moslems/

referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

H. The Salars

The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

A. Sites of Religious Traditions

The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

ity Affairs Commission, both stressed that the aim of the association was to imbue its members with the love for the fatherland.

In Sinkiang and other concentrations of Moslem population in China, branches of the China Islamic Association and the cultural associations established by the Communists, have supplemented the Islamic church, and the function of the Moslem dignitaries.

3. A more important reason for the apparently tolerant attitude of the Chinese Communists toward Islam is the utilization of the Moslem leaders for the purpose of propaganda, both domestic and foreign. In a speech at the third session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC, October, 1951, Ma Chien declared: "I have received numerous letters from the ahungs in the Northwest and the Southwest regions expressing their desire to study and to reform themselves. In order to assist them to study the revolutionary ideas of Mao Tse-tung as well as to enable these theories to be universally made known to the people of the Middle East and North Africa, we have translated the following documents of the CPPCC: 'On New Democracy,' 'The Chinese Revolution and the CCP,' and the 'Important Documents of the CPPCC.'" (JMJP Nov. 2, 1951.)

The fact that the Chinese Communists intend to use the Moslem leaders to extend Chinese Communist propaganda to their co-religionists in the Middle East may be seen in the statement in the Jen-min jih-pao (June 6, 1952) that the religious leaders of the Northwest were aroused "to boundless sympathy and concern for the people of the Arab countries of the Middle East—Egypt and Iran—in their fight for national liberation and struggle against the United States and British imperialism and to adopt concerted action to support their struggle."

The first act of the preparatory committee of the Chinese Islamic Association was to assist the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Communist government in publicity work in the Arab countries. In August 1952, it organized a Chinese Hajji Mission to visit Mecca, which, for reasons unexplained, turned back upon reaching Pakistan without going on to its destination. However, two months later, many Moslem leaders from Asiatic countries were invited to attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions, held in Peking, during which Burkhan, chairman of the Association, at a reception to the Moslem delegates, told them that "our religion as well as our customs and habits are fully respected" by the Communist regime. His speech dwelt, however, more on the material benefits than on religious well-being of the people in the Northwest except to say that they were permitted to observe their festivals.

Deprived of their civil and judicial duties, the Moslem clergy

795 648 * 668 177 • 793 in the Northwest was utilized primarily as propagandists. In April, 1951, three thousand Moslem ahungs and mullahs from forty-five mosques in Urumchi held a mass meeting to denounce the United States and, later in meetings of their congrëtations, they made speeches to persuade the Moslem people to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the Appeal for the Five-Power Peace Pact, and to protest the rearmament of Japan. On May 2, 3,500 people, led by ahungs and mullahs of 46 Urumchi mosques offered prayers for world peace. The mass rally initiated a drive for funds for the purchase of planes, tanks and heavy artillery for the Chinese troops in Korea. The minority peoples of Sinkiang donated funds sufficient, it was reported, for the purchase of thirty planes and seven artillery pieces. The religious leaders of Yin-chuan in Ninghsia donated funds for a fighter which they named "Mohammedan."

795 228 * 668 177 In a way, the acquiescence of the Moslem leaders to assist the Chinese Communists in the promotion of propaganda has been a reason for the comparative moderation of the Communist regime toward Islam in China. The attitude of the Chinese Communists toward the teachings of Muhammad has followed very much the line adopted in Soviet Russia. The evolution of the Soviet authorities toward Islam has undergone the following stages: (1) the attack on the teachings of Muhammad as the deification of big capitalistic merchants exploiting the unhappy poor, (2) the argument that Islam was originally the ideology of the peasantry but was later corrupted by the aristocratic class. This view was rejected as being too favorable to Islam. (3) The anti-religious propaganda lines that Muhammad was a myth or that Muhammad was the leader of a feudal revolution. (4) The argument that finally prevailed was that of S.P. Tolstov, that Islam emerged from a social-religious movement which evolved from the feudalism following the disintegration of Arab tribal systems. (Essays in the History of Research into Islam in the USSR, published by the History Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, cited in Missionary Bulletin, September, 1955.)

In China, the argument for and against the teachings of Muhammad also raged in Communist publications early in 1951. Lu Hung-chi, in an article in Kuang-ming jih-pao (January 10, 1951) charged that Muhammad, figuratively speaking, held a gun in one hand while he reached into the pockets of the people for money with his other hand, and that his teachings were an excuse for robbing the people. This article aroused a storm of protest from the Moslem residents of Peking and prompted Ma Chien to write a rebuttle entitled "The Sword of Muhammad," published in the Hsin-hua Monthly (February, 1951 issue), stating that the sword of Muhammad was for self-defense, aimed only

764 was up the howling and wailing ceased as suddenly as it had begun, tears were dried, and people went about their business or began eating, and after another twenty-four hours the lamentations were taken up again.

• [793] On the sixth day the Taoist priests again came to the house and set up tents and canopies in the courtyard outside my door. (1)

1. I did not observe that the Chinese of Northwest China used Buddhistic priests in this connection. Lama priests are used only in places where Chinese are intermingled with Tibetans. But Hsining fu is a Chinese city in which, besides Chinese, there are only a few Manchu and Tu ren living.

Musicians appeared and also cooks who had to cook for the many guests and relatives who came to express sympathy. Meanwhile the priests had prepared a passport to the kingdom of the dead, a written eulogy on gray paper, and this was now sent after the dead man into the world of spirits, that is, it was burned amid all kinds of invocations. There were also a few paper dolls representing servants, one-half life size, burned and large paper silver coins and much copper money which was also stamped out of paper, so that the deceased was given a very good dowry to take along. (2)

775 2. De Groot, The Religious System of China, Vol. I, p. 80, reports that in the province of Fu kien in South China which is largely Buddhistic, the Chinese assume that each birth means the release of some poor soul from Hades. There souls always were obliged to pay a large ransom to the god of death and his executioner before they could be freed. In order to be able to pay this sum the souls have to borrow money from other souls and therefore the soul of every person who has died, as soon as it returns to Hades, is hounded by its creditors to pay its old debts, for the creditors were also trying to get the ransom money together so that they could return to earth as soon as possible. They also believe it is very useful to send copper coins along immediately, for of course a poor soul just returning from the earth does not know the current exchange in Hades copper money and is therefore cheated by the money changers down there and suffers great losses before he can get change! This

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794 CONGREGATIONS--groups organized for common worship (e.g., kin and local groups, special cult groups, church congregations, parishes); lay organization (e.g., elders, deacons, committees); qualification for membership; admission and disciplining of members; fund raising; maintenance of place of worship; religious activities (e.g., sunday school); secular church activities (e.g., education, welfare work, church gambling, temple money lending); recreational facilities (e.g., parish houses); etc. See also:

Recreation	52	Relief and welfare	73, 74
Religious activities of kin and local groups	61, 62	Education	87
Churches and temples	346	Gambling	525
Banking	453	Temple prostitution	786

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After I had had my presents handed over, the conversation turned to European weapons and the dsassak who already had a number of Russian and English repeater guns, made every effort to buy some of my weapons. When I showed no inclination to comply with his wishes, the atmosphere became strained and I hurried to take my leave. /350/ 643 574

The Barun dsassak (Plate LXXV), like all Dam Mongols, cannot be relied upon. The flour for which I had paid him up in the Wulasetă Valley, was still not ground when I came to Barun kură, and I was obliged to wait two days before I could get it. It was ground in hand-mills by old women and widows. 252

There were a great many beggars and cripples loafing about in the dsassak's courtyard. They mumbled their Om mani padme hung and plucked at their rosaries without ceasing. There were people coming and going all the time who paid tribute to the dsassak, and my companions were always amazed at how obsequious the Mongols were toward their ruler. Whereas the tent Tibetan shows very little respect toward his chieftain, the ordinary Mongol is bound by strict etiquette. He may never sit down with crossed legs before his prince, he must bend his right knee and remain in a half squatting, half kneeling position. If he is not invited to sit down he remains standing with his legs together. He must take his sword in his left hand and may not leave it sticking diagonally in his belt as he usually does. 735 644

The Mongol princes have incomparably greater prestige than the chieftains of the Tibetan nomads. I have already spoken of the princes' right of preëmption. Besides that, the dsassak owns his entire country, he annually apportions the pastures and also the arable land among his subjects and for this he receives his tithe in the form of animals and grain. Moreover, he demands several days of gratuitous service from each family, which the wealthier ones may pay off in the form of added taxes. On his part he feels himself responsible only toward the priests, he always supports a few lamas and gives large gifts to the monasteries. In many things he is the only source of supply for his subjects. He had large supplies stored in his warehouses in Barunkură. In them I saw pulo from Shigatse, lamb-skins from Lhasa, Nepalese amulet boxes, peacock feathers from India, saffron from Kashmir, Indian dates and cocoanut, Tibetan stag-antlers and pouches of musk, as well as American cotton materials, boots from Dankar, tea and the many little things with which the Chinese furnish the nomads of the highlands. 643 [423] [651] [792]

While I was staying there a huge felt yurt was erected in the courtyard of the dsassak, measuring 10 meters in diameter. The tribal 792 346

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792 346 lamas gathered in it, in order to read the Kandyur. (Plate LXXIX). Beside the yurt there were deep holes dug, in which bucketsful of tea and thick, glutinous barley soup were cooked for the lamas and the many visitors who came for these prayer recitations.

000 Among the visitors was Dowe who had accompanied Rockhill to K'am in 1889. His eye disease which had set in shortly after his journey with Rockhill had in the meantime become so bad that he was almost blind. Two men who accompanied Kozlov on his journey to K'am also visited me and offered me their services. But they demanded such a high salary that I was unable to take them along. They boastfully told of the attack on Kozlov's caravan not far from Tsiamdo, in which 32 Tibetans were supposed to have fallen, and they spoke as though they had been the deliverers. (1) In the year

1. See in this connection, Kozlov, Mongolia i Kam. St. Petersburg, 1905, Vol. II.

1900 this same courtyard of the Barun dsassak /351/ formed the base of Colonel Kozlov's expedition. Two Cossacks guarded the camel caravan while Kozlov journeyed to K'am. The traces of this expedition were still clearly visible. In the room next to the reception-room the dsassak showed me, with a shake of his head, the place where the large Russian stove which the Cossacks built, had stood. Even the wooden tower for meteorological observations was still intact. These people were unable to rest for a minute, the dsassak observed, and in their feverish activity they opened the large well shaft in the courtyard. (1) However, today this well yields only

1. I was told apropos of the attack on the two Cossacks, that they had seen ghosts one night and shot blindly into the darkness. But there was no enemy. Perhaps the Mongols themselves wanted to steal?

brackish, polluted water. One finds good, salt-free drinking water only a good quarter-hour from Kură. A solitary rooster had meanwhile made his home in the wooden meteorological tower. The dsassak had brought him along only as an alarm-clock in the morning. He and his fellow-tribesmen, like the Tibetans, never ate eggs. So the hens had been left behind in China. (2)

643 2. The banner of the Barun dsassak has only one squadron

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000 to the dogs and the vultures and you will be eternally damned." - "We do not know what happens after death. The ahun says one thing and the lama says something else. I can make a good living here now. If I return to China, I shall be able to enjoy meat only as ts'ai - as a supplementary dish - whereas here it has become a chief article of my diet. Besides, I have to pay good money for the little meat and flour I get in China, and obtain the money by working hard for it. Here I do not need any money," argued the pseudo-Mongol.

My servant Han accomplished nothing. The next morning the relationship between the two brothers was so strained that it seemed to me high time for them to part.

264 576 When the flour was finally ground and while I was taking my leave of the dsassak, I was invited to enter the reception room for a final drink of schnapps. A remarkably dark-skinned bondsman, a young Tibetan from the region south of Lhasa, entered with a stone-ware jug. He bent his right knee and bowed low before me, and with the ring finger of my right hand I had to touch a bit of butter that was stuck to the edge of the jug and to the stopper which consisted of a piece of wood. I had to smear a little of this butter on my forehead while the young chap held the thumb of his right hand against my forehead. After he had bowed before me, the young man made his bow in front of the dsassak, the wife of the dsassak, the lama (1) and finally in front of the small son, offering each of them in turn the closed ewer with the little ball of butter, whereupon each person took some of the butter with his ring-finger and murmured some prayers. Only after he had gone around the circle was the flask opened and some of its contents poured into a cup. Again, a piece of butter adhered to the cup and again the servant handed each one the cup and each person made a libation into all four directions with his fourth finger. Only after that was each person, with the exception of the lama, given some of the schnapps.

576 After that, in accordance with the custom of the country, I delivered a long panegyric on the hospitality of the dsassak who replied

[792] 1. Geslong lamas from the Galdan lamasery near Lhasa are always sent to the banner leaders of the Dam Mongols for a period of three years to act as high priests, advisers and shepherds of souls, so to speak. Their chief duty is to lead the ceremony for the dead.

793

793 PRIESTHOOD--specialists in organized religious activities (e.g., priests, priestesses, clergymen, rabbis, mullahs); status and means of support; selection, training, and consecration; hierarchical organization (e.g., chief priests, bishops, cardinals, popes); prerogatives and disabilities of priests; characteristics (e.g., sex, garb, paraphernalia); distinctive behavior (e.g., celibacy); activities (e.g., conducting ceremonies, preaching, teaching, comforting); special priestly personnel (e.g., acolytes, temple prostitutes); etc.

See also:

Celibacy	589	Shamans	756
Theocratic forms of government	642	Theologians	812
Military chaplains	708	Divinity schools	874

S
563 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of
622 importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations,
628 internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc.
S This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.
792 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are
443 the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet
each other in order to trade their products and where they
go for religious festivals.

S
563 There are slight differences in herd ownership and
management between the various tribes of the Western
619 Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or
233 "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red
422 tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western
Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the
Oirat proper.

S
[602] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related
individuals while others do not. The basis for different
[609] types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S
563 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with
other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of
177 history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition
S underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of
[184] authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended
family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of
taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the
same in all tribes.

N
The Salars:

563 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes
794 of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the
merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia
to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch
of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars
are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals
in China.

N
[197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the
original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken
N
[191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese
and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a
N
563 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems
794 in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among
177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and
184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the
extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from
eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed
to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

/Salars/

563 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isola-
794 tion of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect,"
177 among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older
184 residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical
[144] characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing
[262] to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their
[272] tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge
[273] less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the
563 "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the
794 Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better
795 assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

563 Because the Moslems in China have throughout history
794 persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they
[798] are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be
[346] architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women,
[562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home heighborhood.

563 Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems
794 to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal division over religious questions makes their unification a
795 difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e. g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village units would not have been so important in the local administrative system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper, the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here as they do in other parts of the country.

In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some peculiar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways. One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past. At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

The village or community theatrical is another communal activity. Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun. In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities. Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt observance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems. Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese village. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village. In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they". As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organised, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

However, in numerous economic activities, there is nonadmitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

792 family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon
794 the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families
871 who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial
[875] work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass
carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the
792 novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where
794 the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to
872 learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this
time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter
792 the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a
794 novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his
home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there
873 are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he
chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the
[158] school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or
other abnormality.

792 The philosophical college (Tib.: tsan-nyid) offers the study
794 of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes sub-
873 divided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to
779 thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming
(Tib.: dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks. The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajnâ-pâramitâ, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the "other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcendental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries, antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all categories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas, volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the Precious Stones, and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six contain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-seven to ninety-eight contain the tantrus and dharanis, sentence of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

The philosophical college does not procede according to the

792 arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with
794 the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.:
873 C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each
[779] student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

[896] An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan nags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next
[854] college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

[779] To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery
[179] showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural by-products. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

658 The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that
871 the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational sys-
179 tem as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Educa-
*563 tion became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. Introduction

657 Welfare work in China's Northwest has to be conducted for the benefit of two distinct categories of people in need. The poor are composed of those whose problems arose out of inadequate standards of living. They include the aged and disabled, the orphans and other destitute or handicapped people. Marginal cases of this category are the underprivileged groups of society, who might maintain themselves, even though precariously, in years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and charity organizations normally available to this category are discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

657 731 The second category however, the victims of natural disasters, poses a special problem in the Northwest. As has been demonstrated in other Sections of this Handbook, the maintainence of agriculture in the Northwest is more dependent upon conservancy and irrigation projects than in other regions of China. During the last period of the Imperial era, many of these projects have fallen into disrepair, thus exposing the area to more critical inundations and droughts. Reports from the Imperial period reveal that there were fourteen severe inundations in the province of Shensi during the hundred years 1800-1900 and seven in Kansu. The same century brought sixteen severe droughts to Shensi and nine to Kansu. The droughts of 1877 which encompassed both provinces, of 1900/01 in Shensi, and of 1908/09 in Kansu were catastrophes of a national extent.

The frequency and severity of earthquakes in the Northwest adds to the problems of the region, particularly since in many areas of the region people live in loess caves. The great earthquake of 1879 which hit both Shensi and Kansu, the one of 1881 in Kansu and the ones of 1892 in the Kucha district of Sinkiang and the Hsi-ning district of Chinghai are still in everybody's memory, even though the twenties of our century have again brought two devastating earthquakes.

[669] Nor is this all. During the last hundred years the Northwest has been ravaged by rebellions and civil wars almost without interruption. Several of these events left in their wake a vast number of displaced and needy people, who added to the problems of emergency and disaster relief.

794 735 779

II. Welfare Among the Moslems

A. The Distribution of Welfare Responsibilities

Most of the efforts in the field of public welfare among the

794 735 779 Moslems of the Northwest were done by the Moslems themselves and not by the Chinese administration. The law of Islam provieds for a rather extensive system of, and general concepts on the administration of public welfare. It is not so much through a system of government institutions that the needy were taken care of, but by the religious regulations of Islam. The concept of public welfare is found in the Koran and was transmitted to the people through the laws and obligations specified in the religious writings of Islam. In the Islamic law there is no clear conception of the separation of state and religious institutions. The functions in both political and religious realms are merged and interwoven. The provisions for public welfare are an outstanding example for such a merging of state and church functions. Charity and donations to the needy are regarded as a religious duty and the financial resources necessary to sustain those in need are in the form of an obligatory religious donation, the collection of which is administered by officials, which in an Islamic state constitute a part of the administration. A department of public welfare is specified in the Islamic religious laws to be one of the departments of the Islamic State. However, since the majority of the Moslem peoples, including the Moslems of Sinkiang, do not live in an Islamic State, the functions of the state became the responsibility of the local religious community.

B. The Concept of Charity in Islamic Writings

779 Charity towards man, in its widest sense, is laid down in the Koran as the second great pillar on which the structure of Islam stands (the first obligation being that of regular prayers). Benevolence to other people is stressed constantly throughout the Koran, the most frequently recurring words designating charity being infaq (meaning spending benevolently), ishan (doing good), zakat (purification), and sadaqah (derived from the root sidq which means truth and has come to signify a charitable deed). Benevolence to other men includes the feeding of the poor, the emancipation of slaves, the care of orphans who have no kinsmen. Small good deeds such as helping a man load his animal or saying a good word are considered also as charitable.

779 431 Charity is of two kinds: it can be voluntary or obligatory. Voluntary charity is usually known as sadaqah, while the obligatory charity is mentioned in the Koran as zakat.

794 735 Voluntary charity is to be administered so that no idea of the superiority of the giver or the inferiority of the receiver is conveyed: "As for those who spend their wealth in the way of Allah, then do not follow up what they have spent with reproach or injury, they shall have their reward from their Lord." Or, "Kind speech and forgiveness is better than charity followed by injury." Love of God should be the motivation for those who do

779 431 735 charitable deeds, and only the well-earned wealth should be given as charity. Those who give secretly are praised more highly than those who publicize their gifts.

794 Obligatory charity is collected by officials who are appointed by the community to carry out this task. The individual donator is not at liberty to calculate and spend his zakat in any way he wants, but it is collected by the officials and spent by the community.

Zakat is a charge on accumulated wealth, and particially in this manner redistributes a portion of the accumulated wealth of the few to those who have none in the community. A part of the amassed wealth of every individual is taken away annually and distributed among the poor and the needy. Zakat is payable on all cash hoardings, or hoardings in gold and silver, as well as on any form of capital, whether in the shape of cash or kind.

The items of expenditure of zakat are stated by the Koran to be the following: "Alms are only for the poor and the needy, and the officials appointed over them, and those whose hearts are made to incline to truth, and captives, and those in debt, and in the way of Allah, and the wayfarer; it is an ordinance from Allah, and Allah is the knowing and the Wise" (9;60).

The recipients of the benefits of zakat can be divided into three main categories: (1) those who need help; (2) the officials appointed for the collection and disbursement of the fund; and (3) a part is required to be spent in the way of Allah.

Six kinds of people fall under the first heading: the poor who, on account of some physical and mental defect, are unable to earn their bread because of their deficiencies; the poor who have no resources but when given some help can earn their livelihood; new converts to Islam who are deprived of means of subsistence; those who are captives and are deprived of freedom; debtors who are unable to pay their debts; and lastly, the travellers who are stranded in a foreign country or in a distant place and who are unable to reach their homes.

The second kind of expenditure involves the maintenance of an establishment and office for the collection of zakat, and includes the salaries of those who collect the money and distribute it.

The third heading includes those in the way of Allah, which means usually those who fight a Holy War in the name of Allah against the enemies of Islam.

Besides the institution of zakat, there are two others of similar nature designed to collect obligatory charity. Both of these are connected with Moslem festivals. The idea is that whenever the Moslem is in his happiest mood, he must never forget the distress of his poorer brethren. The first of these institutions is the sadaqat-al Fitr, a charity connected with Id el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year. Every Moslem on this occasion is required to give away in charity a certain amount of food, the value of

779 431 735 794 which varies according to one's wealth. This food must be donated by every Moslem in the community who is not poor, and distributed among those who need it. The second institution is that connected with Id al-Adsha, on which occasion the poorer members of the community are fed with the meat of the sacrificed animals, and the skins of those animals are sold, and the sum thus realized spent on the propagation of Islam.

These then are the concepts applied to welfare work among the Moslems of the Northwest. As has been seen: the impetus toward welfare activities is entirely religious. This religious basis of welfare work was somewhat modified among the Chinese Moslems (Hui) particularly in those provinces, such as Ninghsia and Chinghai, where the secular power was in the hands of Moslem leaders. In these cases welfare activities would be supported strongly and with a certain efficiency by the worldly arm, but would pertain in most cases to the Moslem population only.

With regard to the handling of welfare cases among non-Moslem Chinese, reference is made in the section on Public Welfare of the General Handbook.

III Welfare Among Lamaists

The concept of charity is alien to original Buddhism; it has no part in its ancient teachings. Almsgiving (dāna) is the only charitable activity that is occasionally mentioned in earlier writings. It is there termed as one of the "lucky things," with which to promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning the attitude in which alms should be given were worked out, the theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of the donee. The best gift of all, however, was the gift of Dharma (truth). The only entity who practided charity in anything like our sense of the word was the Bodhisatva, for whom, and for whom only, compassion was the cardinal principle. Every consideration is laid aside and even meditation neglected for its sake.

These basic doctrines have not prevented later schools of Buddhism in China from developing charitable and welfare work both through the temples themselves and through Buddhist sponsored or co-sponsored laymen's associations (see China General, Public Welfare). The Lamaist church, however, has stuck closer to the original concepts and hardly a trace of charitable or welfare work emanating from or sponsored by the lamaseries can be detected.

574 794 485 792 There exists, though, one concept common to both Lamaist peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

574 794 485 792 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food, shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

657 731 With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

653 312 185 The realization grew however that with regard to natural disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

114 657 [794] Unfortunately, there is very little information available on the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

*668 658 of Muslim-Hui, Uighurs (Sarigh-Uighur), Kazaks, Usbeks, Tatars, and Tung-hsiang nationalities. (NCNA Peking, August 4, 1952).

*563 484 A 45 member delegation from 15 different nationalities of Northwest China arrived in Peking yesterday to take part in the coming October 1st National Day celebrations....

The Northwest delegation, headed by Mainor, an Uigur woman, included the following 15 nationalities: Han, Hui, Uigur, Kazakh, Mongolian, Tibetan, Tunghsiang, (Sarigh-Uighur), Uzbek, Manchu, Tartar, Solon, Khalhas (Kirgiz), Tajik, Sibo and Russian." (NCNA Peking, September 24, 1952).

3. Minority group organizations

*668 *563 794 Various nation-wide organizations such as the China Buddhist Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, the Chinese Moslem Cultural Association, and the China-Soviet Friendship Association were organized with numerous minority and local leaders as members and sponsors. The local chapters also have propaganda departments. For instance, the Tibetan Buddhists in Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o contributed 728,750,000 for the Resist-America Aid Korea movement in the year 1951 alone. Some monasteries signed patriotic compacts and launched programs of propaganda on current events. According to Hsi-jao-chia-ts'os report,

"The next step is to expand the propaganda work, mobilize the lamas to organize propaganda teams, make use of temple fairs or festivals for propaganda activities, and carry the propaganda deep into the rural villages and nomadic regions.... In pushing the autonomous work in the minority region, Buddhism should give more active support and preach the nationality policy of the People's Government." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 23, 1951.)

[788] [648] Besides the Buddhists, the Moslems are used to promote the Communist programs, not only in Northwest China, but some were organized into pilgrim groups to visit Mecca and the Moslem nations in the Near East in order to win the friendship of these nations for Red China.

*668 648 The special effort to create Sino-Soviet Friendship Associations in northwest China can be seen in the following incomplete figures. By September of 1951, Sino-Soviet Friendship Association organizations had been organized in four provinces, four municipalities, thirty-six administrative districts and 157 hsien in northwest China. There were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations with a total membership of 336,610 of all nationalities. The purpose of this association is to tell the people of the merits of the USSR.

Obviously a special attempt has been made in Northwest China to capture the minorities with propaganda.

795

795 SECTS--organized groups of congregations with differing and unreconciled systems of beliefs; crucial divergences in dogma; organization of sects or denominations (e.g., episcopal, congregational); admission of members (e.g., baptism, confirmation); distinguishing characteristics of members (e.g., special garb or behavior); established churches; splinter sects; interdenominational conferences and federations; etc. See also:

Sectarian philanthropic institutions	73, 74	Government support of established churches	659
Sectarian educational institutions	87	Medicine societies	786
Castes	564	Associated theological systems	779
Secret societies	575	Baptism of infants	851

The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bëks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bëk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bëk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bëk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bëk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bëks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

/Salars/

Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isolation of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect," among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

Because the Moslems in China have throughout history persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women, for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home heighborhood.

Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in developing a final and real unity among Russians.

Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Communist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group consciousness.

As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it can be stated that because of their geographical separation (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

6) Muru Dzasak, 40 families, (Tafel: Da-tung Dzasak)
7) Charagolchin Dzasak, 4 families (Tafel: presumably Damba Dzasak)
8) Baga-nor Dzasak, 1 family (Tafel: ?)
9) Khalkha Dzasak, 3 families (Tafel: ?)
10) Tsunkuk Dzasak, 60 families (Tafel: probably Tsinkuk Gung)
11) Barun Dzasak, 280 families (Tafel: Barun)
12) Tsun Dzasak, 300 families (Tafel: Dzun)

3. Probable extinction

According to M. Hermanns, the total population of the Chinghai Mongols does not exceed 18,000 people. Since the Mongols of the Chinghai region have very few children - two at the most - and since sinification as well as Tibetanization appears to be rapid, the extinction of the Chinghai Mongols is to be expected in the near future.

IV. The Tibetans of the Nowthwest

A. General Characteristics

The province of Chinghai is inhabited by sixty-six Tibetan tribes, called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast to the "wild" tribes inhabiting the Kokonor region.

Lattimore and Father Schram point out that the Tibetan tribes easily subdivide into new tribes which observe strict clan exogamy. The Tibetans are Lamaist-Buddhists of the Yellow Hat Sect in the northern districts and of the Red Hat Sect in the southern districts. Shamanism is also still existant among the Tibetans. Some Tibetans living in the district of Hsün-hua have become Moslems.

B. Physical Characteristics

The Tibetans belong to a race which is called protosinide. Their characteristic features are: middle to tall stature and very muscular. The legs are considerably longer than the legs of the Mongoloids. The color of the skin is light brown and the facial skin copperish red. The lips are thin. The nose is long and prominent. The head is large and long. Round heads appear only among the Ngo-loks. The face shows a sharp relief. Usually they lack the Mongoloid eyefold. Eye color is generally brown. Body hair is considerably stronger, thicker and denser than among the Chinese or Mongols.

C. Economic Activities

The Tibetans are either nomads who breed yaks and sheep or farmers who cultivate oats, peas, wheat, cabbage, and turnips. They use the same agricultural tools as the Chinese farmers.

V. The Chinese Moslems

A. Population

According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses. Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans) also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies. Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or; "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concocdantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers and innkeepers. They are known for their skilled salesmanship "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram) The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exercise Sufism (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

a. Chinese

The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence. When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

B. History of Islam in Kansu

There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648. Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950, they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iranian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers, merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

EDUCATION

I. Nationality Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. The Traditional Pattern

During the Manchu period, education in the Northwest was characterized by permissive and non-interfering policies of the government. This meant that the minorities were able to maintain and develop their own educational systems. During this period schools connected with the mosques, in the case of the Moslems, and the monasteries, in the case of the Buddhists, were the primary educational institutions. The minorities were allowed to formulate their own educational principles. It may be noteworthy that in the Manchu period, eighteen medrese, mosque schools, existed in Kashgar alone. Reading and writing were taught in these schools, and up to two thousand students were enrolled in the schools in any given year. The total number of medrese in the Northwest during the Manchu rule is unknown, but it is safe to say that each Moslem community had at least one educational institution.

1. Moslem schools

The Mohammedans have two kinds of school. The mekteb, elementary school for children, is administered by the local mosque. These schools provide education for all male children older than six. Since 1923 the Mohammedans have initiated the same educational provisions for girls.

The program of a mekteb comprises, first, the memorizing of a surprisingly high number of suras (chapters of the Koran), then the study of the Arabic alphabet, which is used by the Uighur. By memorizing various suras the pupils acquire some hundred Arabic words by the end of the first year, though their meanings do not become clear until the fifth year when the teaching of Arabian grammar is begun. Between the fifth and tenth years the curriculum covers advanced Koran exegesis, the history of Islam, geography and basic arithmetic.

The medrese, the institutions of higher learning, also teach such familiar subjects as al-mantik (logic), al-arithmāṭīkī (arithmetic), al-handasa (geometry), al-hai'a (astronomy), al-ṭibb (medicine), al-falāḥa (agriculture); also some subjects which are specifically Islamic in nature, such as al-kalām (theology), al-taṣawwuf (ceremonies or practical theology), 'ilm al-ilāhīyāt (metaphysics), al-'arūḍ (metrics) and al-ḳāfiya (prosody).

As in elementary schools, the method of education consists primarily of learning by rote (talkīn) and dictation. Those

873 Those students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies
875 may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustādh (honorary
794 title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these
[554] teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like "ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school teacher).

[779] Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (hānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmctulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bāk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

792 2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

871 The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest China and their enormous monk population of course colored the
794 whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was cus-
[563] tomary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a
[875] tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 797 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
62 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
769 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
621 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
62 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and
184 do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have
795 a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.
[346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather
[871] at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
[785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they
[796] eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they"
[794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no relations with each other. There is always antagonism between
[578] Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
[798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
628 and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

771 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among
795 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

771 A. Shamanism
Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons
756 and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to
maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving
[787] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-
[273] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-
[276] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer
[158] from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy,
and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the
[428] position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the
supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes
as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of
[787] accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods
of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or
interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which
[292] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his super-
natural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and
77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a
supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified,
God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his
171 soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic
776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

B. Buddhism

795 The steppe people's first contact with Buddhism came by
171 means of the famous "silk road." Buddhist missionaries from
India traveled over this road to China. Translations of Buddhist
175 works into Chinese (223-253) were made by the Parthian, An Shih-kao, in 170; by Indoscythian Yüeh-chih Chih-ch'an, founder of the monastery at Lo-yang; and by Chih-ch'ien, son of a Yüeh-chih envoy. A Chinese military leader brought Kumārajīva of Kucha (344-413) to Lo-yang (382-383). Eventually the Turfan region was converted to Buddhism. Survarnatep of Kucha (Suvarna: Sanskrit "Gold") was host to the Chinese Mahāyāna pilgrim, Hsüan-tsang, in 630. Kucha's Iranian characteristics were eradicated by the Chinese punitive expedition of 647. Buddhism remained the predominant religion of Inner Asia until the times of Islamic conquest.

The first steppe people to come into close contact with Buddhism were the Hsiung-nu and the Toba. Shih Hu (334-349), king of the Hsiung-nu, combined Buddhism and perversion and his son ordered the most beautiful concubine cooked and served. On the other hand, T'ai-wu-ti, the Toba emperor, opposed Buddhism (438-446), but his grandson, Wen-ch'eng-ti (452-465), put a halt to the persecution. In 471, Hsien-wen-ti went to the extent of abdicating and becoming a monk. His son, Hsiao-wen-ti, humanized the law. During the latter's reign the conquering tribe, the Toba, became completely sinified and concurrently lost its warlike characteristics. Buddhism exercised its strongest influence upon the Mongols who were the first steppe people to conquer the whole of China. Khagan Möngke was the first ruler who showed a pro-Buddhist attitude. Qubilai, after him, actively approved the advancement of Buddhism among his people. He promoted the Tibetan, 'P'ags-pa, to be his personal advisor and promulgated anti-Taoist edicts. As conquerors and rulers over Iran, Ilkhan's Hülägü, Abaga and Argun brought Buddhism to the western countries.

For a time, Buddhist influence on the Mongols was weakened in the face of the Chinese nationalist reaction of the fourteenth century, when the Mongols had to retreat from China proper. Their intellectual impoverishment contributed to a further disintegration of Buddhist influence. Soon, however, following their contact with Tibet, their complete conversion to Tibetan Buddhism, or Lamaism, took place. In 1566, after the Yellow Sect, founded by Tson-k'a-pa, had vanquished the Red Sect, it succeeded in converting the Ordos Mongols. Altan Khan and his nephew, Khutuqtai Setsen, invited Tibet's highest church dignitary, bSod-nams-gya-mtso, to visit them. In 1577, the "Mongolian Church" was established. Altan Khan was ordained as the incarnation of Qubilai and the prelate as the incarnation of

'P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaqtu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The "Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a chain of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhabitants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism. Buighabu Bâtur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a reward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church. After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the world but with the conquest of souls.

C. The Lamaism of Chinghai

The province of Chinghai, or Amdo as the Tibetans refer to it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Buddhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Langdarma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect, the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate excuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been supplied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Centuries ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was instituted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters concerning Mongolia and China.

Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall (1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk. Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have continued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kumbum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until recently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more complete systems of education and organization than are to be found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage. Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious. Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries, these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the monasteries perform many functions for their subjects and believers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem rebellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

all the forms of Lamaism, especially in Chinghai, the strong strain of Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion, continues in a modified but still openly non-Buddhist form.

D. Manichaeism

Manichaeism reached the steppe people by way of Persia and China. Mo-yen-cho (759-780), the Uigur Khagan, accompanied by Manichaean missionaries, returned from the conquered Lo-yang. He was converted and on the inscription of Khara Balasaghun he was referred to as "Mani's emanation." After the Kirghiz forced the Uigurs to flee from the Orkhon region to the Turfan area, Manichaeism waned among the latter and they soon adopted the Buddhism found in their new domain. Rudiments of Manichaeism were to be found up to the time of Chingis Khan.

E. Christianity

From time to time, Christianity has played a significant role in Inner Asia. Due to Methodius and Kyrillus (759-780), it exerted powerful force among the former inhabitants of today's southern Russia. The empire of Khara-Khitai in Eastern Turkestan furthered both Buddhism and Nestorianism. Among the Turkic Naimans, Nestorianism came into existence but not in sufficient strength to overshadow Shamanism. The Turkic tribe of the Kereits (almost as influential as the Naimans) is said to have become Christian about 1,000 A.D. Their Khan contacted the metropolit of Merv, Ebejesü. When the Khan of the Naimans, Küchlük, had been driven away to Kashgaria (1214), his Nestorian education became obvious when he permitted the Moslems to become either Buddhists (considering the faith of his wife, who was the daughter of Gur-Khan) or Nestorians.

The Mongols were considerably influenced by Christian traditions because of the Kereits' and the Naimans' intense interest in their faith. The Great Khan Güyük (1246-1248) was in favor of Nestorianism. His chief advisor, Khadag, and his chancellor, Chin-Kai, were Nestorians. The Great Khan Möngke (1251-1259) was educated by his Nestorian mother, who was the Kereit princess, Surgaqtani, and had Bulghai, a Kereit Nestorian, as his advisor. Even at the beginning of the Iranian Mongolian Empire of the Ilkhans, Christian traces were considerable.

Hülägüs' wife, a niece of the last king of the Kereit, was a Nestorian. The military leader, Kitbugha, who was defeated at Ain Jalūt (in Palestine), was another early adherent to this religion. In many respects the conquest of Persia resembled an anti-Islamic crusade. The indigenous Christians' aid proved effective whereas that of the occidental Christians was requested in vain. As in the case of the empire of the "Golden Horde" (Batus' son, Sartaq, was a Nestorian), these Christian outposts

were annihilated by the victory of Islam.

When the government of the now sinified Mongols became a Chinese empire, Qubilai permitted the Nestorian patriarch of Bagdad to establish an archbishopric in Peking in 1275. In 1289, a government bureau was established in Peking to deal with Christian affairs throughout the empire. A strong occidental Christian influence was also present. John of Montecorvine, sent by the Pope in 1289, built two churches in Peking and became archbishop of that city in 1307. Other Franciscan monks who played an important role were Thomas, Hieronymus, Petrus of Florence (1313) and Andreas of Perusa. The most famous missionary from the west was Odorick of Poderone (1265-1313). As the fall of the Uigur Empire in 840 resulted in the destruction of the Christian outposts, so the downfall of the Mongol rulers brought the collapse of Chinese Christianity which was pursued and prohibited by Chinese nationalist reaction.

F. Islam

Islam was relatively late in reaching the steppe people. Its first adherents were the Turks (Qarakhanides, Ghaznawids and Selchuks) who settled in Transoxania, Afghanistan and Iran in the tenth century. They soon took the lead in overthrowing the heretofore dominant Arabian culture and tradition. Islam's deeper penetration into the culture of the steppes occurred under Mongol rule. After the first massacres, Chingis Khan adopted a more positive attitude toward Islam. However, he prohibited ritual washings and ritual slaughtering of animals because they contradicted Mongolian traditions. In conquered Bukhara, then the cultural center of Turkestan, he accepted the doctrines of Islam (1222) except for the "unnecessary" pilgrimage to Mecca ("all the world is Tengri's house"). His tolerant successors gave Moslems the opportunity to participate in religious discussions or debates. In 1254 they were tactically allied with Rubruk against the Buddhists. During this time, some insignificant conversions of members of the ruling family were made. Among these unsuccessful converts were Mubarek-Shih in Chaghatai (1266); the Ilkhan Takhudar (1282-1284), and the Khan of the Golden Horde, Berke (1257-1260). In 1377 the grandson of Qubilai, Ananda, who despite his Buddhist name was an ardent Moslem, made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne of China. He was vanquished and murdered by his cousin, Khaifan.

In the fourteenth century, the official conversion of the Mongol successor states began under Ghazan (1295-1304 in the empires of the Jakhans). To indicate their new faith the Mongols even adopted the wearing of turbans. The wave of iconoclasm initiated by the Emir Nauruz resulted in the destruction of churches, synagogues, and the pagodas decorated with Buddhist

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

sculpture by Arghun. Under Özbek Khan (1312-1340) and Jani Bek (1340-1357) Islam conquered the "realm (empire) of the Golden Horde" of southern Russia. Later there followed the Inner Asian Khanac Chaghatai which stuck longest to the Jassa Laws of Chingis Khan.

As far as Central Asia was concerned, the conversion of the masses occurred under Tughluq (1347-1363) and Chingis Khan's greatest successor, Timur (Tamerlan), who wanted to recreate the Great Mongolian Empire and who founded his empire completely on Islam. However, his plans for the invasion of China never materialized.

II. The Position of Islam in Northwest China

A. The Sources of Islam

The original source from which all principles and ordinances of Islam are drawn is the Koran, the Holy Book which, according to Moslem belief, was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad by God through his Angel Gabriel. Although the Koran does not contain a systematic exposition of Moslem beliefs or rituals, yet taken as a whole, there emerges from it a consistent body of doctrine and of practical obligations. Through the ages these have remained the core and inspiration of Moslem religious life.

The Koran is not the only source of the Islamic religion. The sunna (custom) of the Prophet and the interpretation of his different ways of behavior also constitute an extremely important source for the religion. At first the sunna of the Prophet was handed down in the form of a short narrative, called a hadith (story), told by his Companions. The whole corps of sunna collected and handed down soon received the general name of hadith. The hadith was first transmitted orally. Later it was collected and written down. The tradition was invaded on a vast scale by forgeries. However, the serious students of the hadith became aware of the danger of incorporating many of these tales which contained elements foreign to Islam. They established different methods of control by which to attempt to sift out the genuine traditions from the mass of forgeries.

The Shari'a is the third important source of Islam. It embodies Islamic juristic studies and doctrines, which evolved into a rather coherent body of laws and regulations. The law contained in the Shari'a is not restricted to religious regulations, but envelops all phases of life. Yet it is considered a part of the religious doctrine, for one of the characteristics of Islam is that law is considered part of the religion, and there is no clear distinction between the two. In the Koran, both legal and religious aspects were interwoven. The connection between law and religion established by Muhammad and adopted by his followers

N D. The Sects of Islam

795 The two major sects of Islam are the Sunna and the Shi'a. Both of these camps are divided internally into numerous sub-sects, a discussion of which will not be included in this chapter.

N 795 798 The schism between the Sunna and Shi'a occurred first on the political question of the legitimate succession to Muhammad's leadership in the Islamic world. The Sunnis claimed that the Caliphs were the legitimate heads of the Islamic community. The Shi'a followers repudiated the first three Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar and Uthman, as usurpers, and declared Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, to be the true successor, and his house to be the only source for the selection of future Caliphs.

The Shi'a sect seceded on a purely political basis, but it also began to develop its own characteristics in matters relating to religious doctrine. It spread widely in Persia and Iraq and assimilated a great amount of the esoteric non-Moslem doctrines which prevailed among the newly converted Moslems.

N 779 795 798 In particular, a special doctrine concerning the nature of political leadership of Islam divides the Sunnis and the Shi'is. The Shi'is attribute to the Imam (the political leader) a spiritual function which the orthodox Sunni theologians never granted to their Caliphs. This doctrine of the Imamate gradually crystallized into definite theological form. The Imams acquired a superhuman character and their decisions on both political and theological questions are not to be contested.

N 795 The mystical movement in Islam, Sufism, found followers in both camps, and is popular mainly among the masses of the people.

S E. The Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang

563 795 The majority of the population of Sinkiang is Moslem by religion. The Moslems include the Eastern Turkis, the Kirghiz and Kazakh nomadic tribes, a small number of Chinese Moslems and a few Afghans, Indians and Tajiks, most of whom reside only temporarily in Sinkiang.

The Turks of Sinkiang are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. Unlike the Chinese Moslems, they have maintained close ties with the rest of the Moslem world. The idea of the cohesiveness of all believers is very strong in Islam. The Turks of Sinkiang not only feel strong national ties with their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan, but they also consider themselves an integral part of the Moslem world community. In the past they recognized as the chief of all believers (emir el mu'minin) the Khan of Bukhara, and they looked to the Sultan of Constantinople as the political leader of Islam.

S 779 Sinkiang can be called a Moslem country, but it has features which are peculiar to it, and which have greatly changed the

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character Hui signifying "to return".

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. S N [793] [782] Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 787 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

/Chinese Moslems/

equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of his followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divine revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to all questions and appeared to know many things. As the founder of a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. The differences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the following passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Koran should be recited once only instead of three times as held by the Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised once instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of Allah the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to religious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting for an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such an arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for calculating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering strictly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chinese lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat while praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to the tradition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, whereas the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is also a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria for preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to Islamic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs that have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem state in the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion during the nineteenth century.

After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in his sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma Hi-hsi, fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi had the advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, became an important religious center.

Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northwest, which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately there is not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Sufi order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of Jahrivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like the Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally despised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however, identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriva

/Chinese Moslems/

referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

H. The Salars

The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

A. Sites of Religious Traditions

The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

"The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relationships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act according to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi Desert, 165-166.)

Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin, almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

A. Islam

When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the years following World War II and when they first came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support. Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950, which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools, provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Moslems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

ance toward the Moslems may be as follows:

1. The strong cohesiveness of the Moslems in China. Unlike the followers of other faiths, such as Buddhism and Taoism, who were scattered and disorganized, the Moslems in China and in the border regions are strongly organized and, at times, have presented a united front toward their enemies. This was one of the first lessons learned by the Chinese Communists. For example, early in 1949 when the People's Liberation Army, on entering Peking, wanted to occupy one of the mosques, a crowd of Moslems immediately gathered at the entrance of the mosque, voicing belligerently their determination to defend it. It was only upon the intervention of the Commission of Nationality Affairs that the PLA agreed to drop its demands.

In view of the predominance of the Moslem population in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang which is far from the locus of Chinese Communist power and where Soviet influence was strong, the Chinese Communists were obliged to adopt a conciliatory, go-slow policy in order to bring the Moslems in line.

2. Instead of outright persecution, the Chinese Communists, recognizing the traditional deference of the Moslems to their leaders and their attachment to organizations, sought to control them by winning over their leaders and dominating them indirectly through the agency of mass organizations. Of these mass organizations, two were especially designed for the control of the Moslem peoples as a religious faction: the China Islamic Association and the China Hui Cultural Association, both established in May 1953, and both predominantly staffed by Chinese Moslems (Hui or Dungans) instead of Moslems of other races. The chairman of the China Islamic Association is Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang (now chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), who is apparently a figurehead. In the executive committee of the China Islamic Association, thirty-one of the forty members are Chinese Moslems and only four including Burkhan are Uighur. The China Hui Cultural Association, headed by Liu Ko-p'ing, is almost exclusively a Chinese Moslem organization.

The purpose of the China Islamic Association, stated Burkhan in a speech in October, 1952, was to assist the government to implement the policy of religious freedom and to include the representative figures of Moslem faith throughout the country. The vice chairmen of the association, Liu Ko-p'ing, Shaikh Nur Mohammad Ta Pu-sheng, Yussuf Ma Yü-huai, Ma Chien and Saifuddin, are all loyal Communist followers. In their speeches at the preparatory meeting of the association, July 27-31, 1952, Chang Hsi-jo, vice chairman of the Financial-Economic Commission of the GAC, and Ulanfu, vice chairman of the National-

N 795 *668 177 ity Affairs Commission, both stressed that the aim of the association was to imbue its members with the love for the fatherland.

S 795 668 177 In Sinkiang and other concentrations of Moslem population in China, branches of the China Islamic Association and the cultural associations established by the Communists, have supplemented the Islamic church, and the function of the Moslem dignitaries.

N 795 648 *668 177 3. A more important reason for the apparently tolerant attitude of the Chinese Communists toward Islam is the utilization of the Moslem leaders for the purpose of propaganda, both domestic and foreign. In a speech at the third session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC, October, 1951, Ma Chien declared: "I have received numerous letters from the ahungs in the Northwest and the Southwest regions expressing their desire to study and to reform themselves. In order to assist them to study the revolutionary ideas of Mao Tse-tung as well as to enable these theories to be universally made known to the people of the Middle East and North Africa, we have translated the following documents of the CPPCC: 'On New Democracy,' 'The Chinese Revolution and the CCP,' and the 'Important Documents of the CPPCC.'" (JMJP Nov. 2, 1951.)

The fact that the Chinese Communists intend to use the Moslem leaders to extend Chinese Communist propaganda to their co-religionists in the Middle East may be seen in the statement in the Jen-min jih-pao (June 6, 1952) that the religious leaders of the Northwest were aroused "to boundless sympathy and concern for the people of the Arab countries of the Middle East—Egypt and Iran—in their fight for national liberation and struggle against the United States and British imperialism and to adopt concerted action to support their struggle."

The first act of the preparatory committee of the Chinese Islamic Association was to assist the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Communist government in publicity work in the Arab countries. In August 1952, it organized a Chinese Hajji Mission to visit Mecca, which, for reasons unexplained, turned back upon reaching Pakistan without going on to its destination. However, two months later, many Moslem leaders from Asiatic countries were invited to attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions, held in Peking, during which Burkhan, chairman of the Association, at a reception to the Moslem delegates, told them that "our religion as well as our customs and habits are fully respected" by the Communist regime. His speech dwelt, however, more on the material benefits than on religious well-being of the people in the Northwest except to say N that they were permitted to observe their festivals.

[193] Deprived of their civil and judicial duties, the Moslem clergy

in the Northwest was utilized primarily as propagandists. In April, 1951, three thousand Moslem ahungs and mullahs from forty-five mosques in Urumchi held a mass meeting to denounce the United States and, later in meetings of their congretations, they made speeches to persuade the Moslem people to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the Appeal for the Five-Power Peace Pact, and to protest the rearmament of Japan. On May 2, 3,500 people, led by ahungs and mullahs of 46 Urumchi mosques offered prayers for world peace. The mass rally initiated a drive for funds for the purchase of planes, tanks and heavy artillery for the Chinese troops in Korea. The minority peoples of Sinkiang donated funds sufficient, it was reported, for the purchase of thirty planes and seven artillery pieces. The religious leaders of Yin-chuan in Ninghsia donated funds for a fighter which they named "Mohammedan."

In a way, the acquiescence of the Moslem leaders to assist the Chinese Communists in the promotion of propaganda has been a reason for the comparative moderation of the Communist regime toward Islam in China. The attitude of the Chinese Communists toward the teachings of Muhammad has followed very much the line adopted in Soviet Russia. The evolution of the Soviet authorities toward Islam has undergone the following stages: (1) the attack on the teachings of Muhammad as the deification of big capitalistic merchants exploiting the unhappy poor, (2) the argument that Islam was originally the ideology of the peasantry but was later corrupted by the aristocratic class. This view was rejected as being too favorable to Islam. (3) The anti-religious propaganda lines that Muhammad was a myth or that Muhammad was the leader of a feudal revolution. (4) The argument that finally prevailed was that of S.P. Tolstov, that Islam emerged from a social-religious movement which evolved from the feudalism following the disintegration of Arab tribal systems. (Essays in the History of Research into Islam in the USSR, published by the History Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, cited in Missionary Bulletin, September, 1955.)

In China, the argument for and against the teachings of Muhammad also raged in Communist publications early in 1951. Lu Hung-chi, in an article in Kuang-ming jih-pao (January 10, 1951) charged that Muhammad, figuratively speaking, held a gun in one hand while he reached into the pockets of the people for money with his other hand, and that his teachings were an excuse for robbing the people. This article aroused a storm of protest from the Moslem residents of Peking and prompted Ma Chien to write a rebuttle entitled "The Sword of Muhammad," published in the Hsin-hua Monthly (February, 1951 issue), stating that the sword of Muhammad was for self-defense, aimed only

at the counter-revolutionaries and not to coerce the people to become converts. In this article, Ma Chien skillfully diverted the attention of the people from Islam to the United States as the enemy of the nation, saying that it was American imperialism, not Islam, which aimed at the conquest of Asia and the enslavement of the Asians. This line was immediately adopted. On May 16, 1951, the Jen-min jih-pao carried an article entitled, "The American Imperialists are the Deadly Enemies of the Moslems of the World." On April 16, 1951, another article appeared in the Jen-min jih-pao, signed by forty-nine prominent Moslem leaders in Peking, entitled "Moslem Brethren of the World, Rise up to Halt the Crimes of the American Imperialists." The cry was re-echoed by Moslem leaders in the Northwest. Ma Liang-chün, imam of the Chinese Moslems in Sinkiang, issued a proclamation under the title "Moslem Believers, Take Positive Action and Struggle to Crush the Germ Warfare of the United States." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 13, 1952.)

Thus, by joining the Resist United States and Aid Korea Movement, which was raging at a frenzied pitch in 1950-52, the Moslem leaders in China were able to deflect attacks on Islam launched by some of the Communist publicists. But with the conclusion of hostilities in Korea, the Chinese Communists began to re-evaluate and to revise their policy toward the Moslems in the Northwest. Moreover, by 1954, when Communist China had gained ascendency in Chinese Turkestan and political domination over the Moslem population in that region, there was less need to pacify them by promises. The year 1954 also marked the end of the period of New Democracy, which called for a United Front of all the peoples, and the commencement of socialism, in which the CCP would emerge paramount.

The change of Communist policy toward the Moslem peoples of the Northwest as in other parts of China is seen in the official documents of the Chinese Communists. In contrast to the Common Program of the CPPCC, the blue print for the period of New Democracy, in which, in Article 53, the national minorities were promised freedom to develop their languages and to preserve or reform their cultures and religions, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (adopted in September, 1954,) pointedly omits the freedom of religion for the national minorities. Article 3, which discusses the rights of the national minorities, states that "all the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways." Only in Article 88 was there the provision that the "citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief," and, according to Mao Tse-tung's definition (in his People's

Democratic Dictatorship, 1949), the term "citizen" is restricted to certain select classes of people, not all the people.

Moreover, as the Communist officials have frankly stated, toleration would be granted to only religious faiths which (1) have been purified of foreign influences and "feudal superstitions," (2) contribute toward the increase of production, and (3) do not conflict with the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung. In other words, the Chinese Communists sanction only religions that have been tamed, domesticated, and cleansed of political coloration.

In the implementation of this policy of the Central People's Government, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, announced in February, 1955, that only "legal religious activities would be permitted by the people's government," because, he said, "individual counter-revolutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam and, under the cloak of religion, are carrying on counter-revolutionary activities." (Sinkiang jih-pao, February 25, 1955.)

The stiffening of Chinese Communist policy toward the adherents of Islam represented, actually, no radical change but rather the shedding of the pretense of benevolence toward the nationality minorities whose attachment to their religion was stronger than their allegiance to the state. It represented, too, a recognition by the Chinese Communists of the fundamental differences between Islam and Communism and of the impossibility of rationalizing these differences. Islam, with its strong social principles for the regulation of state and homelife, conflicts with the totalitarianism of Communism. As Moslem leaders of Asian countries have pointed out, Communism advocates the use of force against those who would not readily accede to it; Islam teaches men to bring others to follow the way of God by peaceful means. Communism does not respect the sanctity of human life, but teaches violence and favors the organization of society based upon atheism and anti-religion; Islam provides for individual rights and freedom, and encourages humanitarian services, compassionate feeling toward all living beings, apart from devotion to God.

Besides being a religion, Islam in Chinese Turkestan has also been a strong political force welding the multi-racial groups together in their struggle for self-rule and their resistance to oppression. The insurrections of the Moslems against the Chinese in the beginning of the nineteenth century have been led by religious leaders, the Khojas; the widespread uprisings of the Moslems in the 1860's were led by Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Kansu, and by Yakub Beg, who bore the title of Commander of the Faithful, in Kashgaria.

The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were

civil marriage, marriage and divorce ceased to be an important function administered by the qadi.

Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's courts tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260,000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1953.]

But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

B. Lamaism

As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair, Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Generally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the influence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mongols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lamaseries. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

the Communist soft-glove treatment. It is known, however, that they are used widely as Communist propaganda agents.

In Tibet, on the other hand, and that includes the Tibetan parts of Chinghai, the position of Lamaism is infinitely stronger. There was no sign of weakening in the adherence to the old faith, and militant Lamas were always in a position to incite the lay population to concerted action. This has again been shown in the recent rebellious outburst in Tibet, which seems to be particularly strong in Southern Chinghai. Occurring at a time when the Dalai Lama was back in Lasa and the first steps had been taken to grant Tibet "autonomy" status (Reuters, April 26, 1956), this outburst is all the more surprising as it sets off the leading Lamaist clergy not only from the Peking regime but also from their spiritual head. Ruthless suppression measures which included the bombing of Lamaseries have thus far apparently not succeeded in quelching the rebellion. Mention is made of a Tibetan Resistance Party (Mim ang, literally, People's Organization) led by Lamaist clergy and joined by officials, traders and other laymen (Himalayan Times, Kalimpong, May 13, 1956; New York Times, June 30, 1956; AP, July 7, 1956).

C. The Fate of Christianity

Christian missionary activities and Christian establishments in the Northwest have been predominantly Catholic. The Communists had some dealings with Catholic priests and Catholic communities in the Yenan period. The staunchly anti-Communist stand of the Catholic Church had at that time given rise to friction and incidents, even though the Communists still wanted at that time to avoid drastic action. In Mongol Catholic communities they had attempted to undercut the prestige of the priest in case he was a foreigner, but they learned from experience that they did not fare better when a Mongol Catholic priest was put in charge. The strong cohesion between the community and the priests forced the Communists repeatedly into making concessions. A perusal of the records, however, creates the impression that dealings with the Catholic Church were handled locally and incidentally only, and that no plans were yet devised for how to take care of the Catholic Church.

After the general conquest, however, a pattern emerged which shows that an over-all policy was applied to the region. This policy was apparently inspired by Lenin's doctrine that Bismarck's head-on collision with the Catholic Church, the Kultur-kampf, was a folly. A propaganda front of "religious freedom" was therefore maintained all through the years. There was apparently, particularly in the beginning, a certain amount of local lattitude in the interpretation of this principle. In a

number of parishes, religious life went on without major interference up until about 1951. For the strategy of interferences the Communists drew on earlier experiences in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, where "spontaneous action" had frequently led to situations that were deemed undesirable by the regime (see Northeast Handbook, Religion). From the pattern of events the following strategic rules can be derived:

1. Do not attack the Catholic Church as such.
2. Attack certain Church institutions which are either most dear to the hearts of the communities or most efficient in maintaining an active community spirit.
3. Avoid making martyrs.
4. Attack individual functionaries of the Church on non-religious charges.
5. Draw the utmost propaganda advantages out of every case.
6. Separate foreign leadership from indigenous communities.
7. Substitute a malleable "Catholic" organization for the existing Catholic Church.

Not even the first of these principles was generally applied. Even though the "freedom of religion" line was never officially abrogated, repeated anti-religious propaganda campaigns were entertained to create an atmosphere in which individual believers would sever their connections with their Church. In the case of Catholics these campaigns proved essentially a failure. It was furthermore made perfectly clear in interrogation of Church officials that there was no room for religion in a Communist state.

Catholic institutions most heavily attacked were the orphanages and the Legion of Mary. The Communists did not tolerate the possibility that an institution of such incisive charitable effect as an orphanage should remain in the hands of the Church. The public trials of the Sisters who were in charge of these orphanages are among the most vicious on record; incredible charges such as child murder and selling into prostitution were preferred against them. The Communists even risked considerable opposition and resentment to eradicate institutions which would so obviously ingratiate the Church to the communities.

The campaign against the Legion of Mary started early. It reached its pitch in 1951, but has not subsided.

The treatment dealt out to Catholic priests, sisters, brothers and laymen showed some local variations. There are instances in which torture and indignities were only sparingly applied. In most cases, however, it was attempted to go all the way to the point of martyring—an attempt, by the way, that was not always successful. Insufficient food, shackling, beatings by fellow prisoners used as stooges, constant disturbance of sleep,

continuous interrogations and then trials before People's tribunals and confrontations with hysterical crowds, parading through the city, were the methods most frequently used.

In the second half of 1951 and all during 1952 and 1953, the campaign against the Catholic hierarchy went on. Most of the bishops and priests were charged with collaboration with imperialistic countries, spying, and membership in the Legion of Mary. Many of them were thrown into jail or kept under house detention, and then one by one they were expelled. It is strange to note that, particularly in the beginning, the Communists wanted it to seem that they left voluntarily; and all kinds of torture were applied to make them sign petitions for an exit permit. Among those expelled were: Archbishop Theodore Buddenbroek of Lanchou, Kansu; Bishop Melckebeke of Ninghsia; Prefect Apostalic Jerome Haberstroh of Hsining; Bishop Larranga-Lana of Ping-liang, Kansu; Prefect Apostalic Pierre Maleddu of Hsing-an, Shensi; Bishop Peter Grimm of Ch'in-chou, Kansu; Bishop Joseph Maggi of Han-chung, Shensi; Bishop Pierre Moretti of T'ung-chou, Shensi, and Bishop Fulgence Pasini of San-yüan Shensi. Priests and Sisters were also forced to leave, so that by January 1, 1956, no foreign church official was left in the Northwest. However, as in most of the dioceses concerned, the indigenous priesthood, Chinese or Mongol, was well developed, this loss of foreign leadership did not hurt the Catholic Church in the Northwest so much as the Communists had hoped. Chinese priests were not spared the persecution that their foreign brethren had experienced. They were pilloried and jailed in great numbers; but they stood up to the test remarkably well. Even under the most restricted of circumstances they maintained church services and contact with their communities. It is reported, for instance, that an unnamed Chinese bishop carried on in Lanchow after Archbishop Buddenbroek had left, and even went on ordaining new priests.

The attempt by the Communists to substitute an "Independent" or "Reformed" Catholic Church for the original structure failed dismally in the Northwest. Also in other parts of China this movement has found only negligable response among the Catholic clergy, with the exception of a few show pieces which, of course, are always produced when foreign visitors are at hand. When the movement started, a few among the clergy in the Northwest might have believed that the Holy See would condone such a compromise. Excommunication of the collaborators soon dispelled this belief, however, and in no known case does a priest in the Northwest support the movement. The Communists tried for a time to bring in some "progressive" priests from outside, but apparently none could gain a foothold in Northwest communities.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

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N
795 /Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

559 apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and
485 more lucrative business." (p. 73).
114 Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much con-
S cerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life
N is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures,
842 one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This
775 is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems
771 cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian
177 faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend
N upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul
*563 or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her
S
563 book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of
N their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way
*563 of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability
177 to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They
181 alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the
[669] Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in
S the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the
563 the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the sus-
177 picion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change
181 their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese
[669 population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the
S Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang
563 were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and
642 speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah.
643 This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Gov-
177 ernment took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the partici-
181 pants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship
526 distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son,
[593] if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

*563 In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-
[184] speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another
[178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting
*563 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the north-
177 ern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced
798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent
*563 incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in mat-
795 ters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 33)

*563 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the seden-
621 tary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organiza-
184 tion permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized, however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is , "the religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law. The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,... We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic world outlook... The youths should thus be given an ideological foundation... to make them into...atheists and the heroic fighters of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

The Communists believe that by turning the young people against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expediency. In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lamaism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Moslems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First Field Army, Pleng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well. In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen. (see above).

Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist Constitution are restricted. Mao Tes-tung's statements in his "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this point.

E. Practices

Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls of rice to eat, you will not have peace." Because of this, Vice-Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Education of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party magazine, Hsüeh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious purge took place.

trough below the surrounding level of the valley. Just beyond Hsitachai the path leaves the T'ao River, along which another track runs direct to Choni, and turns up a side valley to the north to reach a semi-Tibetan hamlet called Shanch'a, 80 li from Min Chou, where we passed the night in the house of the headman. Pheasants were abundant in this picturesque and well-wooded valley.

At Shanch'a the path turns up a side ravine leading after an hour's march to an easy pass, whence there is a descent for another hour into a bare valley, followed by a rise over a second low pass, and a descent to New T'ao Chou in another bare open valley, a march of 40 li in all. New T'ao Chou (now called Lintan Hsien) is the official town, as opposed to Old T'ao Chou, distant 60 li, the commercial town, and is an empty shell of a city of no importance. About half the few buildings inside the walls had been destroyed by the White Wolf rebels the year previously. We were accommodated in a temple which the magistrate had fitted up temporarily as his yamen. The city lies in a bare open valley some 20 li or so north of the T'ao River in a region of treeless hills of loess, red clay, and red sandstone. This somewhat dreary belt of bare red hills intervenes practically all along this border between the loess of Kansu proper and the pine forests and grass lands of the Kokonor country, and corresponds roughly to a similar Mahomedan wedge between Chinese and Tibetans. The red hills round New T'ao Chou are cultivated and dotted with villages, mostly Mahomedan. The Moslems extend from here along the border to their real strongholds round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and thence north of the Yellow River to beyond Hsining. We were travelling round the two T'ao Chous during the season of summer thunderstorms (early July), and usually experienced several daily, some very severe and rather alarming in this elevated region. On one occasion hurrying into a Mahomedan farmhouse for shelter we found the inhabitants at prayer as though in a mosque; this custom of using private houses for prayer is, I was told, confined to the followers of the "New Sect," which is very extended and influential in Kansu. Our sudden intrusion was not resented in the least, and on this, as on every other occasion when I met Mahomedans in Kansu, we were

with the Mahomedan population of the district. At the time of our visit there was also a Chinese General with a few hundred old-fashioned Chinese troops in the city, the Mahomedan troops, of whom there are many thousands in the neighbourhood, being quartered in the surrounding Mahomedan districts. We spent a day in Ho Chou, which I thought a delightful place, feasting and receiving callers.

The Chinese differentiate between two kinds of Mahomedans in Kansu, the Sala, the descendants of a Turkish tribe which came from the neighbourhood of Samarcand some five or six hundred years ago and settled on the upper Yellow River round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and the original Mahomedan population of the province, which also came from Turkestan, but at a much earlier period. The former are really Chinese Turks, while the latter are probably so mixed with early Chinese colonists who adopted Islam as to merit the title of Mahomedan Chinese. The Chinese look upon all the Moslems as being of a different race to themselves, and they are assigned one of the five colours of the republican flag, which symbolises the union of the five Mongoloid races of the former Chinese Empire. They are locally known as Hui Hui, or Hsiao Chiao Jen; the origin of the former name is still occupying the attention of scholars, and has been explained in various far-fetched and unsatisfactory ways; the latter means People of the Lesser Religion. The Mahomedan religion itself is known as Ch'ing Chen Chiao (Pure and True Religion). The Sala, who are considered by the Chinese to be the more fanatical and dangerous, show their comparatively recent Turkish origin in their long narrow faces, large eyes, and strong beards, and a Turkish dialect of some kind still survives amongst them.

There are two large sects amongst the Mahomedans of Kansu, those who follow the Lao Chiao (Old Religion) and those who follow the Hsin Chiao (New Religion), which I have heard compared by the Chinese to the Catholic and Protestant Churches of Christianity. These two sects are bitterly hostile to one another, and generally speaking the Mahomedans are always quarrelling amongst themselves about religious matters. But, in spite of these apparent internal dissensions, they present on the whole a united

front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Government schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church. Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

563 [302] ribbon is decorated with white shells, deep-red corals, silver discs and pieces of amber sewn on it. Like the Tibetan women, they wear a caftan that opens on the side, and the men, too, dress like their neighbors, the Tibetans. The faces of the Mongols are rather differ-
[142] ent from those of the Tibetans. They are broad and their noses are also wide. My men thought they were much better looking than the Fan tse. I, however, did not agree with this. Even with my taste which was corrupted as a result of my Asiatic environment, I could not admire these faces that looked as though they had been flattened out with a roller.

778 July 6. The Mongols are very devout Buddhists. Near the very
563 first yurts on Schang territory there stood mani rdyayu - they looked very gay like our May poles - consisting of four tall poles forming a large square around a taller /338/ center pole. There were garlands of cloth shreds, red, blue, green, yellow and white, completely covered with prayers, stretching from pole to pole (Plate LXXVIII). At the top of the center one cedar twigs swayed in the wind, and their resinous fragrance pleases the heavenly ones. Next to this there was an altar on which today, the day of the full moon, cedar-
[795] and thuja-leaves and tsamba were being burned. At noon the family
[789] lama blew his horn; a procession of men, women and maidens approached the altar, fell down before it, prayed, circled again and again around the mani rdyayu, clockwise, according to the rules of the yellow sect, "the way the moon rotates around the earth," and prostrated themselves countless times after each time around, hoping to obtain peace, release from demons, and for their herds, freedom from disease and death.

563 For this exorcism my nearest neighbor in Camp 51, a well-to-do
792 Mongol, (1) had invited the incarnation from Tangsker, a monastery

1. A man is here considered well-to-do if he has 8 to 10 horses, including mares and foals, 20-30 yak cattle and 400 sheep, whereas near Dankar a man is not considered well off unless he has 40 horses, 60-70 yak cattle and close to 1,000 sheep and goats.

of which I learned for the first time here, and which lies far off on the Hwang Ho, many travel-days farther than the oft-mentioned Ratdscha gomba. The journey of the holy man from his lamasery to Tsaidam lasted many months, but he had been undertaking it for several years already, and he stayed two or three months each

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121 It had become clear to me that on my new expedition into the highlands, I could not think of continuing my old route. It would have taken too much time to get to the old place on the Tschang tang. By the time I would have reached it the animals would have suffered so much from the cold as well as from the distance, that I would have had little prospects of an important further advance. But above all I did not have the means to equip a second equally large caravan. I had therefore decided to take a trip into the little /98/ known K'am. In K'am on the upper Yangtze Kiang, around the sources of the Mekong and up to the banks of the Salwen, there lies a Tibetan province which, as I mentioned earlier, belongs to Hsining or rather to the Kuku Nor territory because it was occupied by Hsining Chinese at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the wars of conquest of the Manchu. The people of Hsining call this province the Hung mao or de ti fang, the "home of the red-hats" (1), sometimes also the Yü fu (Yü schu in the

1. All the people who do not belong to the Gelugba sect, refer to the Hsining Chinese as "red-hats," irrespective of whether they follow the Nima- (rNingma-) Saskya-, or Karma-rites. As far as a layman is concerned the difference between these sects consists chiefly in small externalisms of the ritual, in the invocation, the gestures of the hands, in the type of music, in the intonation of the instruments and in whistling and hand-clapping. For the monks the difference lies in the first place, in the diversity of tutelary gods. [795] •

Peking dialect). It is the country of Nan tsien (or Nan tschen) dyalbo, a king who is practically independent. The territory is very large and little of it has been explored because it is extremely difficult of access. We therefore do not even know its exact boundaries. But it is today the most important center of the old Nima- (rNingma-) faith, that is, this very sect of Red-hats.

122 In order to penetrate the lands of the Nan tsien king, I felt that it was first of all necessary for me to secure the consent of the Hsining amban. But how was it possible for me, without a recommendation from my government, once again to come into the presence of the high and mighty lord? It took a great deal of trouble. This yamen had an astonishing number of almighty gate-keepers. On two different days I went to the amban yamen at 10 o'clock in the morning and left it when the gates were closed at night without being admitted by the

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796 ORGANIZED CEREMONIAL--systematization of religious ritual; ceremonial calendar (e.g., fixed and movable religious holidays, rest days, and festivals); detailed description of the ceremonies regularly associated with each (e.g., participants, ceremonial attire and paraphernalia, prescribed succession of rites, accompanying music and dancing, symbolism); church and temple services; religious dramas and spectacles; notions of propitious and unlucky days for ceremonies; etc. See also:

Agricultural ceremonies	24	Spectacles	541
Music, dancing, and drama	53	Weddings	585
War ceremonies	72	Installation of chiefs and kings	643
Specific cult practices	78	Shamanistic performances	755
Annual cycle of economic activities	221	Mortuary ceremonies	764
Housebuilding ceremonies	362	Calendar	805
Leisure-time activities	517	Rites of passage	88, 561, 862
Secular holidays, rest days, and festivals	527		

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

*563 encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives.
221 Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be
[437] found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.
*563 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en
221 masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-
• 796 winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both
792 pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety
[443] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also
[584] market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.
*563 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable
221 to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of
579 movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur.
[792] Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk re-
[488] lated to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged
423 to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures
621 were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units
619 (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.
*563 These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might
423 form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority.
622 In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local
[792] monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But
*563 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting
622 his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might
628 leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important
614 roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform
[621] no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt observance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems. Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese village. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village. In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they." As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

However, in numerous economic activities, there is nonadmitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/The Tibetans/

right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door. After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter. The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

/The Tibetans/

far more complex and subtle figures of the troupes of professional dancers.

It is in the sacred mystery plays (commonly known in the West as "devil dances") that the art of Tibetan dancing reaches its heights. It is part of the regular ceremonial of the church, given at certain seasons of the year. In the large monasteries, hundreds of monks participate in these dances. The smaller monasteries also have their dancing monks and costumes for these mystery plays. The dances usually portray a story, the story always being religious, such as the victory of the heavenly forces over the evil ones. The costumes worn are magnificent, the dresses being made of Chinese silk brocade and embroidery with underskirts banded in red and yellow, the two sacred colors. In addition to the presentation of the heavenly figures, some of the men are dressed as skeletons and demons. At the culmination of the dance, to represent the overthrow of the evil forces, effigies representing them are torn to pieces.

III. Shen-Kan-Ning, the Cradle of Chinese Communist Literature

The Shen-Kan-Ning border area with its center at Yenan was for a period the leading and most advanced region of all Communist activities. Even though cultural propaganda was not yet stressed to the same degree as in the period after 1949, most of the patterns of future procedure were already worked out there and then. This pertains in particular to the development of propaganda dramas on a popular level, both for the benefit of the peasants and for the army. The effectiveness of presenting to an unsophisticated audience its own problems in an inflammatory way through the medium of drama was not a discovery of the Chinese Communists. In the framework of the Ting-hsien experiment the same thing had been done in the late 1920's and early 1930's to arouse the political awareness of the Ting-hsien population. Hsiung Fu-hsi (see General Handbook) was the principal author of these popular and frequently impressive plays. As in other cases the Communists were swift in beclouding this ancestry of their propaganda plays, and, when questioned about it, made some disdainful remarks about the bourgeois character of Hsiung and the entire Ting-hsien experiment. In this field too, their political media had to be presented as being of their own creation.

Actually, political dramatics were cultivated in the Kiangsi period, but little emphasis was given to them then and in the earlier Yenan days. It was only with the outbreak of the Japanese war and the influx of experienced Chinese writers from the major cities that the movement gained momentum. Prominent

c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael. In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the territory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

/Chinese Moslems/

acter Hui signifying "to return."

The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem Holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had cre
ated considerable resentment and suspicion among the authori-
ties and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying pro-
portions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other
provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is
there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize
both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. How-
ever, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of
communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are
usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary sig-
nificance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the
gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people
of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the
New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

771 Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
769 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
[353] home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their
memory always present. Those living now are only the present
custodians of the family name.

[592] "This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
[614] er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

771 "At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
796 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
592 rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
782 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for
days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon,
in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old
rickety table in the coustyard and offer the melon, cut in slices,
to the Queen of Heaven.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long
line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which
was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place,
and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow.
An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where
life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers
marched in and out, and much official business was done, for
this was an important military center and the officer in command
held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the
place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly
resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to
be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to
walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert
stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where,
twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[525] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[276] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a
fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves
in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of bliz-
zard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were
dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by
[574] the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the
three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed them-
selves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the
properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their
belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating
stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sun-
rise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling
by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of know-
ledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

S 4. Cultural corps

668 In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means
708 of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work
208 Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army)
545 in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and
the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They
visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of
S from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members
[563] included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of
[484] them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21
[648] acts before the audience in the capital.

668 The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing
Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd mem-
648 bers to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment
545 of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than
half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13
after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou,
seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two
cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times
before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than
439,000 people.

N IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

*668 Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using
208 many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives,
circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome
meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides
and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater
activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have
been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meet-
ing is another form. No matter what the main target of a partic-
ular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A.,
the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day,
whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land
reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model
S Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang
[668] are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as
[208] well as for denouncing germ warfare.

N A. Festivals

*668 Festivals are always good opportunities for promoting propa-
796 ganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are
*[563] followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used
[771] as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist govern-
[651] ment. For instance, during their celebration of the three major
Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton
consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

*668 Further-
*796 more, in places where restrictions are exercised over the slaughter of cattle and sheep, these restrictions may be relaxed.
656

B. Guided Tours

*668 Representatives of national minorities from northwest China
484 are invited to visit Peking and other urban centers of north and
648 east China. They are guided to see the factories, schools and
*563 palaces of historical interest. After being deeply impressed they are sent back to their homes. They often become good native propagandists for the Party.

C. School Programs

*668 In local schools, the pupils are not spared from propaganda.
208 For instance, in the Mongol schools in the province of Chinghai:
876 "In mathematics, the number of American and bandit Rhee's troops annihilated by the Chinese and Korean people's armies in Korea and the construction figures in Chinghai were made into questions for the students and the masses to solve. By this way, they not only learned mathematics but they also retained in their minds the victorious results of our war and the great achievements in construction following the liberation." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, March 30, 1952.)

D. Other Methods

*668 The whole propaganda system generally functions as follows.
208 When the Party central committee decides to promote certain propaganda, it orders the reporter at every level of the Party organization to report the party line to the people inside as well as outside the Party. Then the propagandists and activists all go out to do the work. This can be done in various ways, according to the situation. In factories, it may be a kind of question and answer. The workers might be asked to check each other with these questions until all got the right answers. In streets, it might be in the form of door-to-door visits and "casual chats." While these were going on, the people would be bombarded daily with the same theme in newspapers, blackboard newspapers, wall newspapers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, pictures, cartoons, radio broadcasts, concerts, lantern slides, movies, plays, operas, story-tellers, picture-story books, street meetings, signature drives, production competitions, challenges, counter-challenges, and a lot of other devices to drive the point home.

V. The Campaigns and Contents of Propaganda.

A. Campaigns

1. Destruction of organized resistance

The contents of propaganda follow the shifts in the Party line.

535
796

THE "DANCE OF THE BLACK HAT"

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It evidently owes its importance to its position as the most westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important element in the trading community. There was no civil official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be expected in a frontier town.

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li, T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng 80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north. Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, which from its appearance might equally well have been situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism, by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before the King in the costume shown in the photographs, concealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photographs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921

devils, and the circumambulatio
figure of the coming Buddha s
elephant, in this case a mock one
by that curious form of Bud
Lamaism is very large, stret
northern frontiers of India to
Siberia, and from Ladak to the

Kueihua Ch'eng is anothe
serving a hinterland extending t
Uliassutai. Near by lies the ol
of Suiyuan, which gives its na
Suiyuan; the latter includes pa
Northern Shansi, and has its co
territory of Chahar, comprising
Mongolia and the Kalgan and Je
territories are administered on
good starting-point for a big-
mountains further north, wher
sort of *Ovis argali*, and wapiti
the roe-deer and goral common
Kalgan railway extension pushi
is some of the best and most
in China nowadays.

We changed our carts at Ku
ones to take us through the mo
Chen, distant four long marche
of 90 li to the mountain villag
continuing east across the plain
then running up a shallow vall
Many of the higher mountain sl
the season of the year was onl
following day another long mar
over a low pass brought us to t
on a sort of plateau of moorlan
the grass lands of Eastern In
heavily most of the day and we
to find the roughest of accomm
The third stage is still longer,
of T'iench'eng Ts'un, but the t
country one can travel fast. T
flat open valleys to a lake, whe

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

can be had, and then ascends to another grassy plateau. Herds of Mongolian ponies (the "China pony" of the Treaty Ports) were to be seen, but the good pony country lies much further north-east, beyond Kalgan and Dolonor. The following day, September 26th, we accomplished our last march, 60 li to Feng Chen. It was freezing hard in the early morning, and we decided we had just completed our journey in time; for winter on these steppes of High Asia is very severe. The trail continues across the grass lands for two hours' march, and then runs down a broad cultivated valley plain for the rest of the way to Feng Chen, an unwalled township, and the railhead of the Peking-Kalgan-Kueihua extension line.

A construction train took us down to Tatung Fu, an important town of Northern Shansi, where we were lucky enough to strike the weekly express, which runs through to Peking in one day. This was the end of our long journeys, and the reader, having accompanied us as far afield as Chengtu in Szechuan and Hsining and Liangchou in Kansu, is probably as tired of reading about them as the writer is of recording their description.

AF13 Northwest China AF13

a carillon of nine bells, hanging over the shrine. Simul- 788
taneously one catches the monotonous tone of a hollow, wooden drum, shaped like a crab, the beating of which declares, in triple rhythm, that the ultimate issue of earth, matter, and even life itself, is VOID.

'Earth is void! All is void! I am void!' This is the message of the drum to every human heart in that city of unnumbered gods.

The most rigorous asceticism rules the lives of many 262
Kanchow women. Not content with being under a 785
vegetarian vow, as is usually understood, they so fear any subtle indulgence of the appetite, that even onions, garlic, vinegar and red pepper, the necessary condiments to flavour the insipid dough-string diet, are
eschewed. During the spring months almost each day 796
sees the recurrence of some festival, which draws the crowds alternately to each temple in the neighbourhood.
Theatrical troops move from fair to fair, repeating their [536]
performances to the never-failing concourse of village people, whose bullock-carts are parked in a wide semicircle facing the stage, and in which the women sit the
whole day long exposed to the heat of the sun. Most of 796
the younger women and girls adorn themselves for the 302
occasion with paint and powder, until the face is converted into an expressionless mask. Their hair is beautifully dressed and decorated with artificial flowers. Most of the small children are stamped on the forehead, nose, and chin with minute geometrical patterns, traced in red circles.

Just out of earshot of the stage, the food-vendors 796
pitch their stalls, where cooked eatables of all descrip- 265
tions are on sale. Pork fried and stewed in a thick gravy, is served up in small saucers and eaten with chopsticks, as also fried meat-dumplings, garnished with vinegar and red pepper. A large mould of

796 steamed rice containing the fruit of the jujube tree is
265 popular, and dried apricots, macerated in water, are
in demand as a cooling drink. Not far off are long
tables sheltered by an awning, where men will sit for
hours sipping tea and playing cards.

796 Within the temple buildings[1] the idols are dressed up in
782 gay silks, and each family on arrival presents itself at
the various shrines to make obeisance, and burn incense.
Thin sheets of yellow paper, on which are inscribed
petitions to the gods, are lighted at the shrine lamp,
waved in the air, and wafted upwards, the manner and
height of ascent indicating the favour or displeasure of
785 the deities. Some of the older women, who have
776 practised asceticism for a lifetime and are prepared for
any self-abnegation so that they may in the next
incarnation obtain a more auspicious rebirth, perform
elaborate rituals with touching devotion.

796 On such a fête-day all the temple treasures and silken
536 embroideries are on view, as also magnificent peacock-
feather screens and umbrellas. The din of voices from
vendors and visitors is completely overwhelmed when
once the theatrical musicians commence their per-
formance. Cymbals, pipes, and drums sound their
loudest, while above them soars the shrill falsetto voice
of the stage managers, announcing the details of the
performance.

351 The temple grounds are beautifully kept. The
796 fragrant tree-peony opens its blossoms when the peach
and pear trees drop their petals, and all through the
summer months a succession of beautiful flowers
decorates the fancy landscapes of the temple gardens,
miniature lakes and bridges supplying a foreground to
sacred mountains arranged on the same small scale.
796 The whole scene, from the turquoise sky, the snow-clad
mountain ranges and the gorgeous profusion of flowers,

[1] [of Kanchow on Festival Days--Analyst]

to the embroidered satin banners and brilliant clothes 796 of the crowd, forms a feast of riotous colour which is a delight to the eye.

Where such crowds of men and women congregate, 800 the missionary cannot afford to be absent, and our whole Christian community spent some strenuous days in sewing together a large tent capable of holding about 300 people, which would afford us a vantage-ground at the fairs which now were going to be visited. The first occasion for its use was in the town of Shantan, two marches distant from Kanchow, when all studies were suspended to enable a band of eighteen students to accompany us. Under Dr. Kao's superintendence, four men went ahead, and secured an empty courtyard for our accommodation, being also instructed to display Christian posters wherever possible.

The preparations for such a campaign necessitated considerable forethought. The only sleeping accommodation supplied in inns or hired houses is a bare mud sleeping-platform in an empty room, therefore each member of the party must take a wadded quilt in which to wrap at night, and serving as both mattress and coverlet. A couple of iron pots, large enough to serve the whole company with boiled rice or macaroni, must also be supplied, and each member of the preaching-band carried his own bowl and chopsticks. The tent ropes and pegs were placed at the bottom of the cart, and 2000 lbs. weight was made up with bags of rice, flour, and the preachers' ammunition in the form of the Christian literature as supplied by the Bible and Religious Tract Societies. On all these trips, leaders and students, whether foreign or Chinese, ate and shared alike.

The clean white tent, flying attractive flags and decorated with bright Scripture posters, was a gay and

527 574 gentlemen acquaintances, it being the social custom that no woman should pay calls before the fifth of the month. Each visitor was duly offered tea and light refreshments, and each on leaving laid on the table his scarlet visiting-card.

527 525 The next morning[1] early, the main street was converted into one long casino for the purpose of gambling, each croupier spreading a table, bordered by cash strung on red cords, and to these tables the townsmen and villagers flocked to enjoy the excitement of play for high stakes. For three whole days the crowds were so dense that no horse traffic of any description could pass. On the flat mud roofs the women gathered in swarms to watch the fun. All had painted their faces, and wore brilliant dresses of green, pink or scarlet, while artificial flowers decked their hair. But underneath all this gay scene many a tragic shadow was concealed, and darkness had scarcely closed in when the Mission compound was aroused by urgent calls for help, the doctor being sent for to save, if possible, the life of a woman who, driven to despair by her husband's losses, had tried to kill herself. During the next few days many were the cases of suicide dealt with; some for an overdose of opium; others for swallowing the white face-powder which was always at hand; others, again, jumped down wells, or cut their throats; while one woman, more determined to end her miseries than the rest, had eaten handfuls of whole dried peas, after which she had very deliberately swallowed several bowlfuls of water, believing that no medical aid could possibly avail to restore her to life.

527 796 Within a week from New Year's Day came another ceremonial date, named 'The Greeting of Spring,' when this season is represented by a roughly-modelled, symbolic mud-cow, whose body is filled with dried

[1] [the New Year Festival -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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fruits, emblematic of fertility. To burn incense before this grotesque monster came the highest official of the city, in his green sedan-chair, while groups of workmen of the various trade guilds formed themselves into pageant scenes and walked round the town in procession. Needless to say, this was for us also a very busy day, with the result that later on, while itinerating in the country, we frequently were welcomed by people in their homes, who showed us books bought from us on that occasion.

On our return home, we found our landlord's family in a strange state of confusion, and learnt that, during their absence, while merry-making with their friends, a beautiful fur gown had been stolen from the eldest daughter's room. We soon realised that they were more disturbed by the incident than the actual value of the garment warranted, and the fact soon came to light that there was in existence another member of the family of whom we had hitherto never been aware, namely, the ne'er-do-well eldest son. From gambling and opium-smoking, he had gradually sunk so low as to become a member of a gang of thieves, and it was undoubtedly he who had walked into the empty house, opened his sister's cupboard and abstracted the valuable robe.

After the doors were closed for the night, all the senior members of the family clan were called in, and a solemn conclave was held. The father himself was a typical specimen of a gentleman of the ancient school. Tall and thin, with a straggling grey beard, he wore large goggles, and finger-nails two inches long. Daily he might be seen pacing up and down the path of his loved flower-garden, smoking a long pipe with a slender stem, regarding, doubtless, the theoretical care of his pretty plants as the fitting, final occupation of a con-

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morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to 494
a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst
indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, 484
we discovered that we were expected at this house;
and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his
friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the
mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers
ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper;
'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my
nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen)
'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now
take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this
season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this
rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted
the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to
see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a
snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two 361
hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in 166
Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-
watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, 346
is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple 177
frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of
Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had 532
strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu.
The dome of the tower is said to have originally been
covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the
Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in
turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently
whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals 796
in honour of their respective gods, and we were in 776
Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the

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town) was carried into the country in a sedan-chair. Here he was required to bless the sown fields, and also to call in his subordinate demons, whom he holds in check while the grain is ripening, lest they work mischief on the peasants, but whom he again releases after all the crops are gathered in. He was escorted by a big official procession, to the sound of pipes and cymbals; but so soon as the idol was safely deposited in the village shrine, where it was to spend a few days, the whole company made a rush for the courtyard, where we were staying, and listened attentively for over an hour to our singing and preaching.

One other afternoon was spent in the house of a man whom we had first met at Suchow, at the New Year's festival. He had then heard us speak, and being much interested had bought a copy of the New Testament. On learning that we had now arrived at Kinta, he invited us to his home in order that we might meet the women of his family. We were received by them with a deference that was almost reverential, the younger members of the house, dressed in their festive garments, being ordered to kneel before us; and it was with the greatest difficulty we prevented their doing us homage as to 'Holy Women.' Mrs. Ma, the wife, was a vegetarian of the third generation; neither her grandmother not her mother having ever broken the vow of a most rigid asceticism, which forbade their tasting any condiment to relieve the insipidity of the dough-string diet, or even the refreshment of a cup of tea. We found her to be extraordinarily understanding in spiritual things, and she responded with an alert mind to the story of the suffering Saviour.

She showed her confidence in us to a remarkable degree, by consenting to take a meal with us the following day, when she returned our call, feeling sure

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we would give her nothing that was forbidden by her vow. 000

The day before we left Kinta, the temple of the 776
Goddess of Mercy was crowded with women worshippers 782
—young brides beseeching the gift of a son; while 796
mothers who had received a child during the past year, now brought it to be placed under her protection. The baby, covered by a red scarf, was held in its mother's arms under an immense iron bell, when she produced her offering, namely, a handkerchief full of mixed grain. The bell was then struck; the priest took out some of the grain and scattered it over the child's head, with the words, '*May the Goddess of Mercy protect thee; may the God of Plenty endow thee;* then, yellow paper having been burnt, and its ashes smeared over the child's forehead, the priestly incantation was ended, and the mother went away, satisfied that all that could be done to protect the little life from ill-luck and demons had been successfully carried out.

A few days later we visited a famous group of temples 788
known as Wenshu Miao—'The Halls of Learning'— 778
situated only twenty miles from Suchow, at the mouth 796
of the main Pass through the Southern Hills, and where festivals are held for both Chinese and Tibetans during the spring months. Hundreds of shrines stand on the mountain-side and numerous guest-houses have been built to accommodate the thousands of pilgrims who gather each year, on the first day of the fourth moon. From early dawn carts full of women, followed later in the day by military processions, escorting the chief officials of the town, followed one another up the stony valley in unbroken succession.

The shrines are connected by a labyrinth of small, steep paths which wind in and out around and over the hillside, at each turn of the road revealing a temple,

788 and anyone following the maze will pass hundreds of shrines in the course of his pilgrimage. The ambition 778 of each worshipper is to visit as many idols as possible, 796 and to light a stick of incense and burn paper before each. It is an amazing feat for women who are crippled by bandages and tiny shoes, and many of whom are no longer young, to climb these precipitous paths, sometimes even on hands and knees, in order to reach an apparently inaccessible rock-shrine, yet this is accomplished even over roads made slippery by rain.

Some of the chasms are crossed by rickety wooden bridges which bear such names as 'The Heavenly Road,' or 'The Short Cut to Paradise,' and here old women are helped by husband or son who carries the basket of incense and a pile of votive-paper.

Most of the shrines[1] are modern, but the original cluster of buildings dates from the time of the Emperor Chien Lung, and there are a very few, excavated in the hill, of a much older date, which contain frescoes similar to those found in the famous 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' at Tunhwang. At dark on the last evening, bonfires are lighted on every prominence, in which all the remaining incense and paper is burnt, in honour of the gods of the earth, spaces, and mountains.

000 The crowds were by this time accustomed to the sight of the white tent, and the people streamed in and out, listening to the addresses and buying the books. In preparation for the festival the students posted carefully selected passages of Scripture in each of the many shrines, and twelve months later, when we revisited Wenshu Miao, not one of these had been defaced or destroyed.

563 A week later was the Tibetan gathering, and we drove out once more over that stony road. We had

[1] [at Wenshu Miao, see p. 107-- Analyst]

last watch before dawn dragged itself slowly out. There was no telegraph wire to cheer us, there being no line to Tunhwang, so we were dependent for guidance on a landmark erected at each half-stage, and which by daylight was visible for many miles. At last our carter stopped at a tiny hut ; the men thundered on the door until an old woman opened it, and in a few minutes a crackling wood fire restored life and hope, as we stood round it in the little hovel reeking with opium fumes. Presently the old dame, seeing how perished we were with cold, threw a handful of dried leaves into a pot of boiling water, and ladled us out an infusion, in whose restorative powers she professed the greatest belief. It may have been the herb, or the fire, or her kindness, or perhaps the combination of all three, but most certainly we were presently able to go on our way with new strength.

It took us six hours to reach the gates of Tunhwang, and in the bitter cold of the hour before sunrise we were fortunate enough to pick up a bundle of straw, dropped from a peasant's cart, to which we set light, and after warming ourselves, went on invigorated. All round the city are large orchards of a park-like character, watered by rushing streams, and planted with thousands of trees, a great proportion being pear trees, for the fruit of which the place is celebrated. The early frosts had already touched the leaves, and the whole scene was ablaze as with golden flames. It was the fourteenth day of the eighth moon (October 1st), the eve of the Moon Festival, when offerings of every description of fruit are made to that luminary, and the street stalls were piled with 'moon cakes,' apples, grapes and nectarines—an attractive spectacle to us after our weary journey.

The geographical position of the city is such as to

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sewed together the two lappets of my skin, right there on the shores of the lake, to my complete satisfaction. Fortunately, it was not a serious injury, only the skin of my head was slashed, the bone and periosteum had only been lightly bruised.

The rest of the day we traveled in a southeasterly direction, up the valley of the Ara Gol, which rises almost imperceptibly. This valley presumably represents the former drainage basin of the Koko Nor during a previous period of greater moisture when the lake was connected with the present-day Hwang Ho. Toward evening, shortly before twilight, we reached the walls of Tsaghan tscheng (1), i. e.,

1. Tsaghan is Mongolian meaning "white"; tsch'eng, Chinese, means "city." Such malformations occur largely on the Chinese-Tibetan border. The place is also called "ying pan ga tang" and was formerly called "tsaghan tologha."

the "white city," in which Mongolian khans formerly resided, and where later for a long time the Chinese amban of Northeast Tibet had his official seat and his troops. It is supposed to be only 90 or 100 years ago that the yamen there was discontinued and transferred to Hsining. About 35 years ago the last Chinese military camp of Northeast Tibet, which was stationed here, was withdrawn. Since then Tsaghan tsch'eng is deteriorating more and more. Only once a year on the fifteenth day of the eighth Chinese month, when the Hsining fu amban is commissioned by the government to attend to the worship of the sea deities of the Koko Nor, new life returns to this town of the steppes. All Mongolian and Tibetan vassals of the region must appear for this festival. The nomad princes then come and live in hundreds of tents. In the middle of the ruins of the city a large felt yurt is set up for the amban. On the afternoon before the holiday the princes present themselves before the amban. Early the next morning the ceremony of worship takes place on a small hill outside the city, from which point one can just make out the surface of the lake on the distant horizon. The amban and the assembled princes fall on their knees, incense sticks are lighted, a piece of yellow silk which says that the emperor offers this sacrifice, is burned and everyone bows to the earth nine times. /204/ Thereupon the amban admonishes all the princes to maintain peace among each other and to remain faithful subjects. Then everyone rapidly disperses. By evening of that day the city of Tsaghan tsch'eng lies as lonely and dead on the steppes as ever before.

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commit suicide, only to make things uncomfortable for me. Chinese, as well as Tibetans believe that it is easy for a dead person to take revenge on a living one and that this type of revenge is exceedingly sweet. If I had not had Mohammedans with me, I would have lost this fight over the opium with the personnel of my caravan. With their help alone I effected my purpose of becoming the opium supervisor of my men and cutting down on their daily rations somewhat each day. In this way I controlled the opium threat within three weeks. But on May 22 and 23 Lao Tschang, a man of 45 and a cousin of Da Tschang, howled like a dog all day long because he got less than his quantity of opium.

Not far from the tents of the Sidia I had more ill luck. The most valuable of my riding horses, a five-year-old, dark bluish-gray pacer suddenly fell sick. It trembled all over and could walk only totteringly. We soon pitched camp, but the animal nevertheless collapsed. It had eaten du ts'a, a poisonous grass, that not infrequently occurs in Tibet. Many horses die of it. The most unpleasant thing about this type of poisoning is that horses never learn not to eat this grass. I was told that horses sometimes become sick three or four times in succession. But in most cases the poison is soon fatal.

May 23. According to the Chinese calendar this is the first of the leap-year month. Last night the men built a large altar of earth and stones. At sunrise they performed their sacrifices on it. Tsch'eng blows into a shell, sprinkles water, and everyone prostrates himself before the rising sun. Cedar twigs which have been brought from the Ga fo ying pan are burned as well as a few grains of rice and /319/ pieces of tsamba dough. This service is held on the first and the fifteenth of each month. Seen from my tent, this cult always looks very biblical.

We had been traveling in the Tschürnong Chu Valley for a long time now. In the Sidia Fan tse territory this valley is many kilometers wide and is almost a plain with low roundish rows of hills for a distance of more than 50 kilometers, up to the other side of the Hwang Ho. The Tschürnong Tschü River itself, however, we saw for the first time on May 24. We were amazed when we stood before a crevice over 200 meters deep, in which, far below the river rushed along with dashing waves (Plate LXVI). Such contrasts are not to be found anywhere in our Alps. Here there was an unfathomable rock terrace covered with low grass and clearly recognizable as the floor of an ancient glacier, while in the very center of it was a deep, precipitous gorge, full of rock fragments, cataracts and eddies, on whose walls

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797 MISSIONS--religious proselyting and evangelism; religious conversions; organized missionary activities (e.g., by sects within the society, by missions from other societies, by foreign missions abroad); mission organizations; mission stations; missionaries or evangelists (e.g., qualifications, selection, prerogatives and disabilities, religious activities); secular activities of missions and missionaries (e.g., education, medicine, technological assistance); etc. See also:

Welfare missions . . . . 747 Religious revivalism 788

Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in developing a final and real unity among Russians.

Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Communist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood, but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group consciousness.

As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it can be stated that because of their geographical separation (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence. When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

B. History of Islam in Kansu

There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648. Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950, they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iranian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers, merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been connected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been transformed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of service to its members and had a much stronger control over them than did the local government. To a great extent it had trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had created considerable resentment and suspicion among the authorities and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

Though subscribing to all important religions in varying proportions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. However, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary significance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their memory always present. Those living now are only the present custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household together with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

"At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be, is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely correct order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulously observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon, in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices, to the Queen of Heaven.

the Communist soft-glove treatment. It is known, however, that they are used widely as Communist propaganda agents.

In Tibet, on the other hand, and that includes the Tibetan parts of Chinghai, the position of Lamaism is infinitely stronger. There was no sign of weakening in the adherence to the old faith, and militant Lamas were always in a position to incite the lay population to concerted action. This has again been shown in the recent rebellious outburst in Tibet, which seems to be particularly strong in Southern Chinghai. Occurring at a time when the Dalai Lama was back in Lasa and the first steps had been taken to grant Tibet "autonomy" status (Reuters, April 26, 1956), this outburst is all the more surprising as it sets off the leading Lamaist clergy not only from the Peking regime but also from their spiritual head. Ruthless suppression measures which included the bombing of Lamaseries have thus far apparently not succeeded in quelching the rebellion. Mention is made of a Tibetan Resistance Party (Mim ang, literally, People's Organization) led by Lamaist clergy and joined by officials, traders and other laymen (Himalayan Times, Kalimpong, May 13, 1956; New York Times, June 30, 1956; AP, July 7, 1956).

C. The Fate of Christianity

Christian missionary activities and Christian establishments in the Northwest have been predominantly Catholic. The Communists had some dealings with Catholic priests and Catholic communities in the Yenan period. The staunchly anti-Communist stand of the Catholic Church had at that time given rise to friction and incidents, even though the Communists still wanted at that time to avoid drastic action. In Mongol Catholic communities they had attempted to undercut the prestige of the priest in case he was a foreigner, but they learned from experience that they did not fare better when a Mongol Catholic priest was put in charge. The strong cohesion between the community and the priests forced the Communists repeatedly into making concessions. A perusal of the records, however, creates the impression that dealings with the Catholic Church were handled locally and incidentally only, and that no plans were yet devised for how to take care of the Catholic Church.

After the general conquest, however, a pattern emerged which shows that an over-all policy was applied to the region. This policy was apparently inspired by Lenin's doctrine that Bismarck's head-on collision with the Catholic Church, the Kultur-kampf, was a folly. A propaganda front of "religious freedom" was therefore maintained all through the years. There was apparently, particularly in the beginning, a certain amount of local lattitude in the interpretation of this principle. In a

114 done in public welfare. The information about the situation in
697 the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available
to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that
635 the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social
645 Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including
647 Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare
657 works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry
645 of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers;
657 organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

657 Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with
747 some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the
731 National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

657 The activities of the National Relief Commission included
749 care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them
[722] sere sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Ching-
[727] hai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

747 The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate
797 much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

747 establishments in the Northwest prior to the war. (See Section
797 on Religion). During the war, however, religiously sponsored
welfare work also spread to the Northwest. Among the more
active organizations, the Friends' Ambulance Unit (FAU) which
came to China in 1941 has to be mentioned; Catholic missionary
747 organs also did much welfare work in the Northwest. The out-
standing welfare contribution of the Catholics is their mainten-
797 ance of orphanages, particularly for girls. In 1933 there existed
736 three Catholic orphanages in Sian (Shensi), six in Lanchou (Kan-
su) and one in Ch'in-chou (Kansu) in which altogether 480 orphans
were cared for. During the war, the number of orphanages grew
to eleven in Shensi, twenty in Kansu (including Ninghsia) and one
each in Chinghai and Sinkiang. In these institutions altogether
2,758 orphans found shelter and relief. Under the Communists
these Catholic orphanages attracted particularly vicious attacks.
No data are available from the Northwest; if, however, events
in other parts of China can be generalized, it has to be assumed
that none of these institutions survives. In addition eleven homes
for the old were maintained by Catholic missionaries in the
Northwest with over two hundred inmates. Also the Catholic
refugee camps at Feng-hsiang, Shensi must be mentioned.

747 As the provinces of the Northwest were not occupied by the
648 Japanese during World War II, UNRRA activities did not extend
to this region.

V. Chinese Communist Welfare Projects

74
*668 From the information that we get from the Communist press
177 and propaganda, the Chinese Communist Government has launched
an extensive program of public welfare, dedicated in particular
to the raising of standards and security of the working class. It
is no wonder that the Communist regime emphasizes the working
classes to such an extent, since it claims that its ideological
bases rest on this class. Life and medical insurance programs,
better working conditions in factories and construction jobs,
and welfare facilities for the working people are included in the
745 Communist program. According to the Labor Insurance Law
*668 of 1951 (revised in 1953) workers were guaranteed from sixty to
177 one hundred percent of their wages in case of injury or illness
(including non-occupational ones) for their first six months of
absence; after six months, they were to receive from forty to
sixty percent of their wages from the labor insurance fund. Their
jobs are secured for them upon recovery. Women had special pro-
vision for childbirth, upon which they received eight weeks of paid
vacation and the expenses of the birth were taken on by the manage-
ment. Provisions for the workers' future at old age, and the
future of their families in case of accident was guaranteed as well.

the latter gradually comes to an end, winds through the same low hills in a northerly direction until, crossing a low divide, it emerges into more open country to reach Kulupa.

The latter is a walled stronghold of the Catholics on the top of a hill and is the centre of Catholic missionary work in Southern Shensi, though the Bishop resides at Hanchung. The Italian Fathers who have been established in this corner of Shensi for a great many years, have attained considerable power and influence in the neighbourhood. They work on different lines to the Protestant Missions, but from their point of view with greater success. Their plan is to collect orphans or other children who are not wanted by their parents, to educate them and teach them all kinds of useful industries, and to bring them up as Catholics. This is the work that is carried on at Kulupa, where there are usually some hundreds of children being brought up as members of the Catholic Church, mostly girls, as these are easier to secure. These old-established Catholic Missions usually own a good deal of land acquired in a variety of ways, and are practically self-supporting. At Kulupa an entire hill top is covered by substantial buildings and the whole surrounded by a good wall. When trouble comes, the gates are shut, the community fetches out its arms, and the brigands, or whoever they may be, pass on to easier prey.

To many Catholics the Protestant missionaries, who are usually married and live as far as possible a comfortable European family life, seem entirely out of touch with the Chinese amongst whom they are working. To many Protestants the life led by the children in such an establishment as Kulupa seems somewhat dreary, inhuman, and lacking in the comforts and interests of home life. The ideas of Catholics and Protestants in regard to Christianity and the converting of the Chinese are certainly very divergent and consequently puzzling to the latter, but they both do an enormous amount of good in different ways. The priest appears perhaps to sacrifice his life more completely to the Chinese, as he usually comes out from Europe never to return, and often lives for the rest of his days practically as a Chinese amongst the Chinese. But no missionaries of any persuasion have done more good for the Chinese people

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the partici-
181 pants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship
526 distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son,
[593] if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce
as that between two other persons.

In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-
*563 speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite
[184] different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another
[178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional bar-
riers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting
*563 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the north-
177 ern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and
learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the
southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced
798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent
incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we
*563 have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in mat-
795 ters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border
differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 33)

*563 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the seden-
621 tary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organiza-
tion permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in
184 the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

PLATE VIII

487

TRAIL THROUGH THE FOOTHILLS NEAR KULUPA

797

APPROACHING KULUPA

[FACING p. 35]

PLATE VIII

an some of the veterans of the China Inland Mission, who ve passed the best part of their lives in isolated stations Shensi and Kansu, such as Hsingan, Hanchung, Fengiang, Lanchou, Liangchou, Hsining, and Ninghsia, where onths and years pass by without their ever seeing another reigner. Their success in securing converts may not have en striking, but it is permissible to speculate on whether ose whom they have secured are not more genuine ıristians than the native Catholics. Often in spite of the sest ingratitude on the part of the Chinese, whose wounds d illnesses they tend one day, only to be passed by in e street with a scowl on the next, these noble men have boured on year after year doing good and leavening, in owever small a degree, the leaden mass of Chinese aterialism. The results of their work may not always be parent now, but they have sown a seed which cannot fail time to produce a harvest of some kind, a harvest of hich other Missions not infrequently reap the benefit.

We spent the night at Kulupa, where we were most ospitably received and entertained with a banquet.

The distance to Hanchung is called 75 li. After deending for about an hour's march through gullies in the lls the track debouches on to the famous plain of Hanchung, highly fertile, heavily cultivated, and densely populated gion, stretching for a certain distance along both banks the Han, and entirely surrounded by mountains. Another vo hours' march across this plain, past the boundary etween Ch'engku and Hanchung (Nanch'eng) districts, ings one to the Han River here a shallow stream flowing a broad sandy bed, a hundred yards wide and a few feet eep. The path runs along the banks of the Han for a ort distance, and then, crossing by a ferry, continues for n li over the plain to reach the busy township of Shihpali u. This village, which, as its name implies, is 18 li from anchung, is developing into a large town, and is evidently e centre of the through trade from Szechuan, Kansu, and orthern Shensi, which, as is usually the case in China, is iven to avoid the capital by the various tolls and dues. rom here the road runs west for the rest of the way to anchung, passing through a rich suburb to reach the ast Gate of the city.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

The English Baptist Mission, apart from the China Inland Mission, the only Protestant Mission working in Shensi, has been established for many years at Sanyuan, in the neighbourhood of which there are quite a number of Christian villages. The history of how they came to the province is of some interest to the student of missionary enterprise in China. The Mission also works in Shantung, and when, after the depopulation caused by rebellion and famine during the latter half of the last century, Shensi was being repopulated from other provinces, some of the Shantung Christians were amongst the immigrants. These appear to have founded Christian communities in the plains of Central Shensi, and to have invited their former foreign teachers to follow them. The story is of interest because it appears to point to the existence at that time of a native Christian church standing on its own legs, which in my experience is a very rare thing in China today. The great obstacle to the spread of Protestant Christianity in China is that the Christian church remains almost everywhere a purely foreign institution. How much Christianity would be found in China in ten years time, if all the foreign support, missionaries and funds, were withdrawn today? There appears to be not the remotest prospect of China ever embracing Christianity on a large scale, until, if ever, a really native Christian church takes root in the same way as the Mahomedan religion has done. All of which, however, in no way detracts from the good work now being done by missionaries of all persuasions throughout the Republic, the benefits of which to the Chinese are incalculable. Since the revolution there has been a great influx of Chinese into the Missions; but it is to be feared that only a very small proportion of these enquirers and converts were actuated by other than material motives, such as a desire to share in the wonderful immunity enjoyed by the foreigner from the evils bred by the lawlessness of the times. There is a story about a veteran missionary in Kansu, who, having baptised several converts and having subsequently had the painful experience of watching them backslide one after the other, swore he would never again baptise a Chinese, and limited himself in future to exhorting them to be good and explaining the sacred books; which seems to the layman to be a

thoroughly sound and sensible policy. The conversion of the Chinese is a tough proposition; but there is a far tougher one confronting the missionary in the North West, and that is the conversion of the Mahomedans and Tibetans in Kansu. The Chinese is apathetic towards Christianity, while keeping an open mind towards any aspect of it which may be turned to his material advantage. The Tibetan or Mahomedan on the other hand is usually not at all apathetic, but very actively hostile towards any attempt to convert him.

From Sanyuan to Hsian Fu is a day's march, called 90 li by the Chinese owing to the passage of the two rivers which occupies an hour or so, and is therefore considered the equivalent of 10 li. For us it was a long slow march, floundering through the mud in pouring rain. The road runs due south across the plain, the pagoda of the village of Ch'ingyang T'a being a prominent landmark for the first 30 li. A few li beyond this village the Ching Ho is reached and crossed by a cart ferry, and another 15 li across a low table-land of loess dotted with the curious tumuli, some from fifty to one hundred feet high and said to be the tombs of ancient kings, brings one to the Wei River, varying from a few hundred yards to a mile in width according to the season, and crossed by a cart ferry. These plains along the Wei and Ching rivers are the great cotton-growing areas of Central Shensi. Cotton has always been a staple crop of the province, and is one of the principal exports. It is now being grown more extensively than ever and is being bought up for export by the Japanese. The soil and climate appear well suited to its cultivation, and there seems to be no reason why its quality should not be improved by scientific methods, nor why there should not be a big cotton spinning industry in Hsian and the neighbourhood. As it is the Japanese buy the cotton, take it to Japan to spin, and then return it to the Chinese in the form of yarn.

We found the Wei River in flood and had a hard time crossing it. The ferry took us over the main stream, but two branches in flood had to be forded with the water up to the ponies' bellies and running like a mill race. One of the carts accompanying us, containing the baggage of the soldiers, apparently drove into a hole and disappeared except for its hood; we were too much occupied at the time with our own

the days of the great Li Hung-ch'ang, himself a native of that place. All these officials are, of course, more or less members of the Anhui military party, whose influence in the government of the country has been so great in recent years[1].

The foreign community of Lanchou at the time of our visit consisted of the China Inland Mission, a Catholic priest, and the British Postmaster, who, like his colleague in Hsian Fu, and indeed the foreign postal officials throughout the country, is doing splendid work for the Chinese. The efficiency of the Chinese Postal Service, under a French Director-General in Peking working with a staff of French, British, and other nationals, is truly remarkable, when one takes into consideration the many difficulties there are to contend with. Especially has this been the case during the constant rebellions and civil wars of the past few years, in spite of which steady progress has been made. On the whole the warring factions, whether government troops, revolutionaries, rebels, or brigands, respect the C.P.O. in a remarkable manner, due apparently to their genuine admiration for the one really sound institution in the interior; and the postal couriers are often able to pass backwards and forwards through districts where no other Chinese dare venture. Occasionally, but not often considering the numbers carried, a mail is lost through the action of brigands.

There are not a great many missionaries in Kansu compared to some of the other provinces, at the time we were there only about ten or a dozen stations altogether, and only one doctor. It would probably surprise many people not well acquainted with missionary work in China to find how few ordained clergymen there are amongst the ranks of the Protestant missionaries; I do not think we met any in Kansu. This puzzles the Catholics very much with their strict system of training. Of course there is no particular reason why a missionary should be a clergyman, though the uninitiated are apt to look upon him as such; except that ordained clergymen are usually well-read men of superior

[1] This influence has since steadily increased until in 1920 a group of rival Northern Generals challenged the Anhui military party (on the usual pretext of defending democratic principles) and overthrew them in a series of battles round Peking in the summer of that year.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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education, and one seldom finds amongst them the type of corybantic missionary of little education familiar to most travellers in the interior of China. In Kansu the missionaries are mostly veterans of the C.I.M., who have spent the best part of their lives in isolated posts where they seldom see another white face for months or years on end, and whose steady work during a generation of time, though possibly not richly productive in converts, cannot but have accomplished an enormous amount of good for the Chinese. Protestant missionaries in China have been subject to many attacks, which they often invite, from their own countrymen; but after all, mankind must apparently have a religion of some kind, and would the critics of Christianity in China contend that the teachings of Christ are inferior to those of Buddha or Mahomed? Only, to be fair to the Chinese, the missionaries should surely propagate an up-to-date form of Christianity, as modified by modern scientific research, instead of teaching, as seems usually to be the case, old literal beliefs which have ceased to hold good in Europe. Also Christianity, a westernised oriental religion, is being taught back to orientals, and for that reason should in China be stripped as far as possible of its Western exterior. It is difficult to imagine anything more utterly absurd than the construction of a foreign style church, with steeple, etc., in the interior of China as a place of worship for Christian Chinese; and there are many other respects in which the missionary often endeavours to impose purely European methods of worship, which have nothing to do with original Christianity, on the Chinese. All this merely emphasises the foreign nature of the Christian Church in China, which is one of the greatest obstacles to its real establishment. When we were in Kansu we learned that a new mission composed of believers in the gift of tongues (known to the vulgar as the "Holy Rollers") was about to open in Kansu with the object of working amongst the Tibetan tribesmen of the Kokonor border. The experts in this sect are in the habit of working themselves up into a sort of fit, when they are said to roll on the ground and speak in strange and unknown tongues; apparently the promoters of this mission in Kansu are banking on the unknown tongue being in this case the Amdo dialect of North-Eastern Tibetan. That

missionaries holding these strange beliefs should be the only vehicle for the propagation of Christianity amongst the Kokonor tribesmen does not seem to be fair either to Christianity or to the tribesmen.

Having outlined the history of recent events in Shensi since the Revolution in a preceding chapter, with the Ko Lao Hui in the leading rôle, it may be of interest to recount the history of the same period in Kansu, assigning the principal part to the Mahomedans.

Kansu only played a small part in the Revolution of 1911, and, as was to be expected in so backward and isolated a province, there was little sympathy with the republican cause. The troops in the province at that time consisted still of the old style *Hsün Fang Tui* who were in the course of being modernised into the new regular army known as *Lu Chün*, and of Mahomedan soldiers peculiar to the province called *Hsi Chün*. After the Revolution the *Hsün Fang Tui* and the *Lu Chün* melted away together with the provincial government, and the attitude of the province towards things in general was governed by the action of the Mahomedan leaders and the Mahomedan troops, who, true to their recent traditions, remained loyal to the Manchu throne. Ma An-liang, the famous leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, who thus found himself at the head of the province, together with Sheng Yün, ex-Viceroy of the North West and one of the Manchu die-hards, despatched Moslem troops across the border into Shensi to fight the revolutionary forces of the Ko Lao Hui, but were eventually induced by the wise statesmanship of Yuan Shih-k'ai to withdraw them and accept the republic in name. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs at that time, and had the Manchus been able to rally themselves to the Mahomedans of the North West, the settlement of 1912 might have been much delayed.

The result of the Revolution was therefore to give the Mahomedans what they had failed to obtain by rebellion in the past, namely complete autonomy and control of the province under General Ma An-liang, who moved into Lanchou from his residence near Hochou. There was a republican Tutu at the same time, but he seems to have been a mere figure-head. General Ma's management of the

under the Choni chief. From the neighbourhood of T'ao Chou fine views are obtainable over this great Min Shan range, rising like a gigantic wall of snow-patched rock immediately to the south of the river, its serrated peaks being, I should say, 16,000 to 17,000 feet in height. It here forms the divide between the Yangtzu and the Yellow River, and from it the Ch'inling Shan continues eastwards right across China to the plains of Honan, separating the rice-eating peoples of Central China from the wheat-eating inhabitants of the north. Should such a catastrophe ever occur as a temporary separation of Northern from Southern China, this great barrier range would form an ideal political boundary between the two States.

There is a station of an American mission at T'ao Chou (as also at Min Chou, Choni, and Titao) designed for work amongst the Tibetans of the Kokonor border. But as has been the case with missionary work on the Szechuan Tibet frontier, their efforts to influence the Tibetan tribesmen have been practically without result owing to the immense power of the lama church and its monasteries. This mysterious Sino-Tibetan borderland and the prospect of attacking lamaism in its native strongholds have attracted some of the finest missionaries in the East, who, however, find after years of strenuous work and self-denial, that they have only succeeded in influencing a few of the Chinese. In Tibetan Yunnan the Catholics, and on the Indo-Tibetan frontier the Moravians, have been working for the past 50 years or so, I believe with the same lack of success as far as the Tibetans are concerned; and in the case of the China Inland Mission, which worked for years amongst the Tibetans of the Szechuan marches, the only converts obtained were amongst the Chinese settlers of that region. Viewed from a missionary point of view, it therefore seems a doubtful policy to waste so much money and energy in attempting the impossible on the sparsely populated Tibetan borderland, when there are still many great centres, at any rate in the north-west, of the more receptive and friendly Chinese untouched.

The year after our visit there was an outbreak of pneumonic plague round T'ao Chou, which appears to have originated in the same kind of grass country inhabited by nomads and marmots as the Manchurian outbreak of 1911.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

through a sort of local government. In other parts of China the Mahomedans are mostly indistinguishable externally from the rest of the Chinese population; but in Kansu, apart from the Salas, who are of a distinctly Central Asiatic type, my experience was that the faces of most of the Mahomedans are somehow different from the Chinese; they are in any case usually rendered noticeable by their white caps. Foreign scholars attach importance to the early Arab intercourse by sea, but all the Chinese with whom I discussed the question of Islam in China agreed that it came overland from Central Asia, and this is probably true of the North and North West at any rate, which, apart from Yunnan, are the regions where Mahomedanism counts.

The Mahomedan population of Kansu, decimated by the great rebellion, is now recovering and increasing again as the result of many years of comparative peace. Apart from natural increase by births and, after the Chinese fashion, by adoptions, there are a certain number of conversions; these are due rather to expediency than to religious conviction, but the converts having once adopted Islam, appear usually to become good and zealous Moslems. The Chinese as a race seem to require stiffening by a virile religion of some kind, and the effects of Mahomedanism on the characters of those among them who embrace it appear remarkable, and give rise to curious speculations.

It may briefly be stated here that the Mahomedans of North West China, in spite of their religious connection with Turkey and the intrigues of enemy agents, have throughout the War remained absolutely loyal to the Chinese Government.

The relations between the Moslems and the foreign missionaries are comparatively good, so long as religious questions are not concerned. Even in religious matters they agree with the foreigner up to a certain point, since they consider that both they and the missionaries worship the only true God, in contrast to the idolatrous Chinese. It is only when the divinity of Jesus, whom they regard as a prophet but not divine, is raised that they join issue with the foreigner, and then they become inexorably hostile. The early history of Protestant missions in China contains many references to assistance received from the Mahomedans

during the first difficult days. But evangelistic work amongst the Moslems of Kansu appears hopeless. A hospital is now being erected in Lanchou under the auspices of the China Inland Mission with the special object of converting the Mahomedans; it remains to be seen whether it will meet with any success.

Some remarkable facts are brought to light if the history and progress of Islam and Christianity in China are compared, the Chinese authorities having been equally tolerant to both religions, as to all others, until in recent years rebellions caused them to mistrust the former, and political considerations rendered them suspicious of the latter; but in both cases only to a limited extent, for in the past and in the present China holds a record for religious tolerance hard to beat anywhere amongst the nations of the world.

Christianity was propagated in China by Nestorian missionaries during the 7th century and later for an unknown number of centuries (they appear to have still existed in Marco Polo's time); Catholic missionaries flourished under the Mongol dynasty in the 14th century, and from the 16th century on penetrated to all parts of China; Protestant missionaries have been working actively in China during the past half century, during which period vast sums have been expended and great activity shown in the attempt to convert the Chinese. Islam was introduced into China by immigrants from Central Asia, who in most parts became entirely merged in the Chinese, and now exists in all the provinces of the Republic. Practically speaking, there are not now, and never have been, any active Mahomedan missionaries at work amongst the Chinese. And yet today there are perhaps a million and a half nominal Chinese Catholic Christians, a third or a quarter as many Protestants, and at least ten times as many Moslems.

It is difficult at first sight to account for this state of things. The explanation lies perhaps partly in the fact that Islam has become, so to speak, naturalised amongst the Chinese and is firmly rooted as a native faith, without retaining, as far as its believers are concerned, any alien character; while Protestant Christianity remains in most cases a foreign institution supported by foreign energy, brains, and money. Many missionaries appear to the un-

underlings that a mule must be found, and the latter had gone round to the inn as the most likely place to find a suitable animal, and had simply walked off with the best one they could lay hands on.

At Kulang one is 120 li, two short marches, from Liangchou. The road runs at first across a loess plain dotted with fortified farms past the village of Shuangt'a to the old posting station of Chingpien Yi, a short stage of 50 li. The villages and post stations on this side of the divide are even more dilapidated than those further east, and are mostly nothing but a heap of ruins round an inn or two. The people here seem to have given up living in villages, so prominent a feature of Chinese life in most provinces, and occupy the fortress farms with which the plains are dotted. From Chingpien Yi to Liangchou the road continues across the level plain which is in places almost entirely covered with loose stones, rendering the going very slow and tiring. On the left hand the view is bounded by the snow-capped Nan Shan; on the right the plain extends to the horizon. The twin pagodas of Liangchou form a prominent landmark denoting the approach to the city.

Liangchou Fu, now known as Wuwei Hsien, is about the most important city, commercially and politically, in Western Kansu. It lies in an irrigated plain dotted with fertile oases between the Nan Shan mountains and the desert of Alashan. This plain is traversed by numerous streams and irrigation channels flowing down from the snows of the mountains to lose themselves eventually in the sands of the desert, and owing to this never failing supply of water for irrigation purposes is a very fertile and productive region. The inhabitants of Liangchou and the surrounding plains are mostly Chinese; the whole region was devastated during the big rebellion, and was again laid waste by marauding bands of Mahomedans from the Hsining neighbourhood during the rebellion of 1895. The interior of the city is very poor-looking and dilapidated, like most Kansu towns, and the streets are almost entirely covered with the same loose stones found outside; riding being the only method of getting about, these stones are a great drawback to the place. There is a station of the China Inland Mission at Liangchou which can compete with those at Hsining and Ninghsia for

being the most isolated post occupied by the mission; Ninghsia is probably the worst off in this respect; but in any of them years may go by without the resident missionary seeing a strange European face. The Catholics are strong in the neighbourhood, having a large establishment with a bishop at a village called Chenchia Chuang, 20 li to the west.

The Liangchou neighbourhood used to be famous for its poppies, the opium being considered the best native drug produced in China. The success of China's measures for the suppression of poppy cultivation has been one of the most striking events in her recent history. In 1907 the policy of total suppression within ten years was adopted amidst general scepticism on the part of most foreigners and many Chinese. It was generally felt that this policy would be but another instance of the maxim *Yu Ming Wu Shih* (Theory but not Practice), so deeply engrained in Chinese official life. The ten years have now elapsed, and though cultivation may not be completely extinct in wild mountain districts and amongst the semi-independent tribes of the west and south-west, yet one may travel for months through the plains and valleys of provinces such as Szechuan, Shensi, and Kansu, where most of the native opium consumed in North China used to be produced, and never see a single poppy plant. Conclusive evidence of the success of the suppressive measures is to be found in the fact that in the former poppy-growing areas of Shensi and Kansu, where opium could be bought locally ten years ago for 100 cash an ounce, the price has now risen to about 12,000 cash an ounce. Further the success which has been attained, has been accomplished in face of great obstacles, such as the revolution, after which there was a general recrudescence of cultivation, and the subsequent rebellions; in every case where there was a general collapse of local government and law and order the people immediately returned to their poppy cultivation. Yunnan and Shensi have probably been the worst offenders and the slowest to achieve comparatively complete suppression, owing in the first case to the tribes, and in the second to the brigands. The stimulus exercised by the Treaties with Great Britain of 1907 and 1911, under which the import of Indian opium was to cease if China could succeed in putting her own house in order with regard

packing the wool which comes down from Western Kansu by boat on the river and by camel overland, and in collecting local produce from the Mongols. The overland trail from Paot'ou, eight to ten marches from well to well across the Ordos desert, here strikes the Yellow River, crosses by a ferry, and continues up the plain to Ninghsia. Supplies must be laid in at Shihchu Shan to last to Paot'ou, little or nothing being obtainable in the Ordos *en route*.

Leaving Shihchu Shan we passed finally out of Kansu into the Ordos. The river runs for some hours with a rapid current between bare mountains, which gradually recede and give way to sandy desert. After about twelve hours drifting down stream Tengk'ou, a desolate little village in the desert on the left bank, is reached, and some eight hours further on the township of Santaohotzu is passed, where there is a Catholic Mission and a considerable Chinese population engaged in agriculture round the old branches of the Yellow River. The river banks on either side are lined much of the way with a belt of willow scrub, which furnishes a most useful supply of fuel to the boats going up and down. The current is fairly strong through the Ordos, considering the level nature of the country, but we were frequently compelled to tie up to the bank to wait for the wind to drop. On one of these occasions my five ponies, which were being exercised on the bank, took alarm at something and galloped off into the desert. We followed them for miles and then lost their tracks on some hard stony ground. The country was desert without a sign of life except for numerous antelope and an occasional camel turned out for the summer, and the boatmen expressed the opinion that we should never see the ponies again unless we chanced on them further down stream, as though they had galloped off inland they would be bound to return to the river for water. On the following day after having drifted many miles further down we fortunately spied a Mongol watering his camels on the bank, who turned out to have met the ponies inland, and they were soon recovered, very hungry, thirsty, and tame.

Lower down we met again and again with the most violent winds, necessitating long and weary delays in the desert. There was some trouble with Mongol brigands going on in this neighbourhood, and on one occasion shots

797 the Church, and the hospital, where he daily received men and women patients. At the time of our meeting his position in the city was amply assured, but many years previously the people of Pingliang had combined to refuse him all admittance by forbidding anyone to sell him food, and it was only due to the secret kindness of one woman in supplying him with a meal of flour and water pancakes each day for several months, that he existed at all; but in the end he overcame every opposition, outlived suspicion and came to be regarded with universal respect.

000 We studied together the map of Kansu, and he told us of his own various itinerant journeys to districts reputed to be almost uninhabited, but where large audiences had collected whenever he made halt to proclaim the Gospel. Laying his finger on a spot at the extreme North-Western boundary of the Province, he said: 'Here stands the Great City of Suchow. You who care so much for Kansu, this is the town which awaits your coming!'

CHAPTER III

THROUGH THE EARTHQUAKE AREA TO LANCHOW

487 On the second day after leaving Pingliang, we took the Pass which rises to nearly nine thousand feet over the Lupan Shan. All the morning we had followed the course of a rushing stream, which we crossed and
494 recrossed many times. It was still early winter, and the ice was not strong enough to bear the weight of our litters, so that we often had the unpleasant experience

that two hundred thousand people had perished in the 731
disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by 491
means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had 741
also been constructed with famine relief funds, and 731
which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled 797
for seven days before touching another Mission station—a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and 583
cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, [292]
white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at [533]
brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose 485
between this man and the others, on the subject of the 563
choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being 783
distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected

bridge has replaced the old bridge-of-boats, which until 491
quite recently spanned the great flood. Green sedan- 634
chairs, we found, were still used by the officials, and the 493
Yamens still retained the grand style which had existed under the Manchu Government—a pomp which entirely vanished from Shansi with the entry of the Republic, and has also since passed from Kansu, with the arrival of Marshal Feng's armies. We spent three weeks in 797
Lanchow, staying most of the time in the central China Inland Mission compound, but paying visits to the Borden Hospital on the further bank of the river, and to the large boys' school at the foot of the Blue Lotus Hills, both of which are under the auspices of the China Inland Mission, which is the only society working in Lanchow. The whole visit was brimful of interest, and we were particularly struck with the way in which the Christian community had impressed itself on the civic life of the town.

The great Yellow River, during summer months, 502
supplies a waterway by which the journey to Peking may be accomplished in about thirty days by raft. These rafts are floated by means of inflated goat and [501]
bullock skins, which are roped together and carried very swiftly down-stream. Though the journey is popular, being quicker and easier than if taken by road, yet the element of danger is always present, and Dr. George King, at whose hospital we stayed when in Lanchow, was drowned in May 1927 when travelling by this route. His raft caught on a sandbank, and in helping the men to release it, he fell into the water and was swept away.

During the winter months the river is frozen over and can be crossed on foot. When the stream is freezing, and while it is thawing, the toll of accidents is always heavy. During the whole of our stay the surface of the

Whether in winter or in summer, whether by litter
or by cart, the Kansu roads present dangers to the 491
traveller. In hot weather thunderstorms or cloud-bursts in the hills are not unusual, and on these occasions mountain torrents will rush down with such force as to carry everything before them, nor have a cart and mules any power to withstand the strength of the spate. Each of the large rivers is so subject to fluctuations of stream, and unexpected currents, that each year some of the more reckless villagers lose their lives by drowning. In winter the rivers are ice-bound, and supply the traveller with many a nerve-racking experience, as we found when it was necessary to cross the ice in darkness, avoiding, by the help of a tiny lantern, the deep holes and fissures.

The last day before entering Liangchow, and the two days after leaving it, are days of torture, owing to the stony nature of the road. Even the very streets [363]
of the town are as stony as the famous Portland pebble beach. Liangchow was the last outpost held by 797
foreign missionaries in North-West China, and has been occupied by the China Inland Mission for the past forty years. Six days further on lies the city of Kanchow, and here lived a Chinese missionary and doctor who, five years previously, had taken up his residence there. From him and from his Church-officers we had received a most cordial invitation to pay them a visit, and having accepted to do so, we were soon on the march once more.

We delayed, however, a few days in the little town of 733
Yungchang, distant two stages from Liangchow, the inhabitants of which have sunk to the lowest imaginable depth through opium smoking. Communal life here is not regulated, as in other places, by the meal hours, but by the recurring period at which the craving for the drug grips the population with invisible but relentless tentacles, so that on every *kang* the little lamp is

neighbourhood of the inns, and threading the dark 326
streets with their many turnings, where the dim roofs of temples could just be distinguished, we at last alighted at the door of a large compound, closely shut in behind high walls.

In a few minutes we were seated before a delicious 797
meal and a longed-for cup of tea, in a room which to some might have seemed bare, but which to us presented the very acme of comfort, for we had been travelling for eighteen hours in the teeth of a bitter North-Easter, with no food but cold dough-cakes fried in pungent, linseed oil, and we were broken with fatigue. It was after midnight before we laid our weary heads upon our pillows. We had left Hwochow in June; it was now March, and we had already come about 1,500 miles since leaving the railhead.

CHAPTER VI

A CHIEFTAIN OF THE ALTAI MOUNTAINS

SHORTLY after dawn, we were conscious of the peculiar sense of Sabbath-quiet that permeates a Christian community, which, of course, is alone in recognising the Lord's Day in a heathen land. Everyone on the compound though he may own but one garment, is expected to wear it newly-washed and clean. Every room and courtyard has been swept and tidied up, and from sunrise the sound of singing is heard. On this day also every carpenter or mason employed is given his day's wages, although no work is done by him.

This was a red-letter day for the Kanchow Church; 000
indeed, far more so than we were at first in a position to

Kanchow home and work were definitely located. The 000
land, however, was no more than a rough, irregular space, but the position being good, the shabby little house upon it was soon repaired, and made into a possible dwelling-place for Mrs. Kao and the children, who now came from Lanchow to join him. The open space then required to be enclosed by a wall, and in this job Dr. Kao took an energetic share, each morning, before the dispensary opened, driving down to the riverside and bringing back a load of stones for the foundations.

In the course of the next few years a convenient 797
dispensary, waiting-room and guest-hall were built, and[1]
school-court and adequate class-rooms had been added about the time of our arrival. The Mission Compound thus became the most attractive building in the city, for, not only was the daily Peking newspaper posted outside the main entrance, but a blackboard, holding special items of news, hung beside it, while the front of the building was decorated with Christian posters constantly changed or renewed. Just inside the front door was the book-room, where Christian papers and a library were accessible to anyone who cared to use them; here visitors, too, were received, and everyone was welcome; moreover, the large space without was planted with trees, and was sanded to make a playground for the Kanchow street children.

Shortly before we arrived a small additional strip of 425
land, adjoining the premises, had also been purchased; 789
the owner of which, after the deed was signed, was, as always, dissatisfied with the deal, therefore, according to custom, set out to terrify the purchaser by the use of a ritual which had never before been known to fail in securing at least a substantial *douceur*. Accordingly, one morning he sent a relative on ahead to announce

[1][to the Mission at Kanchow--Analyst]

distinct classes—the lamas, and the laity. These latter are a wholly uneducated, spontaneous, and trustful people. Many of them would sit with us for hours, and would return again and again, bringing small offerings which they exchanged for coloured pictures. The layman is accustomed undeviatingly to shelve all responsibility in matters deemed spiritual on to the shoulders of the priest, who is paid and kept solely for this purpose, with the result that the lamas' whole existence being dependent upon the populace, it is to his advantage that ignorance and gross superstition should be maintained. Yet even among the lamas some seem to have aspirations after better things. There is one Living Buddha who stands out in contrast with all his fellows. He made a pretext to visit our tent, where he sat, spellbound, listening to the story of the Prodigal Son.

'The forgiveness of that young man by his father is a thing I can understand,' he said; 'but what of the burden of sin of previous lives, which binds us to the Wheel of Life?' 'The Lord Jesus Christ is the Door *out* from all the past, as well as being the Entrance *into* a new and an Eternal Life,' was our answer. He listened thoughtfully, and when he left accepted a copy of the New Testament in Tibetan, which he carefully hid in the folds of his red shawl.

CHAPTER XII

IN THE VILLAGES

ON our return to Kanchow we found the wheat-harvest almost over, and the season now suitable for conducting classes in village centres. These were very

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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largely attended, as many as eighty men and women registering in one locality. The majority were illiterate. We therefore considered it best to insist on all students becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, resulting in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened, to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

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The mother's parting threat to her son, when he left the house, was expressed in these words: 'The day you join that Church you may order my coffin, for I will not live to endure such a disgrace.' His answer was: 'There is a way of life and a way of death. If you *must* choose the way of death, I shall mourn for you. But as for me, my path is that of Life.'

On our next visit to Fuyi we were the guests of the Mandarin for seventeen days, during which time, at his request, we gave instruction in Phonetic Script to both boys' and girls' schools. Although the town is small, the schools are important, and supply a number of students to the Provincial College at Lanchow. This visit afforded us the opportunity, under particularly happy conditions, to hold evangelistic services for children and for adults. The first Christian worship in Fuyi was led by Mr. Tu, whose name was in the mouth of every man of the neighbourhood. 'What *shall* we see next?' they said. 'Tu ru tao has joined the Christians!'

CHAPTER XV

NEARING SUCHOW

THAT same evening we left Fuyi for the city of Kaotai, which is the next important centre between Suchow and Kanchow. The fertility of this district can be judged by the daily market, where splendid vegetables of every description are for sale. This was the melon season, and half-a-dozen varieties of excellent quality were displayed in abundance. In view of the lean days to come, we stocked ourselves well with them, as also with carrots, celery, potatoes, egg-plant, and, for the

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276 conditions unspeakably wretched, they yet cared not at all, for they had temporarily banished reality, and moved among elusive shadows, until the sentinel grey dawn should recall them to the grim world of Fact.

735 The largest city through which we passed was Pingliang. On the steps of a temple outside the city gate, we saw a motley crew of several hundred beggars basking in the midday sunshine. They displayed such a variety of physical ills, and provided such an exhibition of tatterdemalion garments, as to make one question how existence under such conditions could be endured. Nor can the life of a Kansu beggar hold any sense of security or hope of alleviation. All too familiar is the sight, on a winter's morning, of the naked corpse of a man, woman or child, frozen to death on the side path; and there is no one to remove the corpse, unless it be the tradesman, under whose frontage he
735 sought shelter and died. The gathering which we
575 witnessed at Pingliang was an assembly of the Beggars' Trade(less) Union, when they collect an enforced contribution from each business house in the town—a tax which none dared refuse, since their appointed Head controlled a band of defenders, who were ready to deal summarily with any shopkeeper who might offer a blow in lieu of the dole. The police were helpless in face of this Corporation; and thus the beggar asserted his right to live.

797 For an hour our litters threaded their way through the crowded streets before we reached the Mission Compound, where we were the guests of a Swedish missionary and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Törnvall. Our hearts warmed with admiration for the unassuming man, on whose face long suffering had left indelible marks. With him we visited the spacious buildings of

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Our expectation was not in vain, for only a few days 797
later Dr. Kao informed us he had been approached by 342
one of the leading gentlemen of Suchow, with the suggestion that he should rent his vacant house for the Bible-School premises, and also he had added the polite words, that it would give him the greatest pleasure if the three ladies would occupy the pavilion standing in his flower-garden, and which was now quite empty. It sounded rather like a fairy-tale, somewhat too good to be true; nevertheless, a few days later we moved our belongings bodily to Chang-si-yeh's attractive property.

On the west side of the roadway that traversed it were the two Bible-School courtyards; one filled with living-rooms, while the other contained a spacious hall, suitable for the Class-Room and the Sunday services. The third courtyard was only waste ground, but our students soon levelled and planted it out as a vegetable garden; here, also, the preaching-tent was pitched. On the east side was the entrance to Mr. Chang's own private house, and through this we passed into a charming flower-garden, backed by an orchard. Under the cloudless October sky, the autumn-tinted fruit-trees looked very lovely, and we felt the lines had indeed fallen for us in pleasant places. An ornamental building of carved wood faced the parterre, and if the structure was somewhat flimsy (being mainly composed of delicate fretwork and white paper), it yet commanded a delightfully sunny aspect, and a glorious view of the snow-capped Tibetan mountains, some rising to 15,000 feet. The single room within was of considerable size, and held two recessed *kangs*. The central portion we immediately arranged as our dining and guest-receiving room, while each end was furnished to suggest a bed-study-sitting-room.

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797 The floor was of very loosely trampled earth, and there
342 was no ceiling, the roof being merely of pine-wood rafters, boarded on the outside. Strange to relate, even these bright premises were not free from the universal hauntings, for on the verandah stood a sedan-chair which inspired such terror to the whole family that none would venture to sit in it. Some months previously Mr. Chang had celebrated his birthday with a banquet, to which he had invited all his relatives and friends. Having feasted not wisely but too well, he sat down in this chair, and throwing out his chest disported himself with the typical gestures of a Chinese Mandarin. While the younger men of the party carried him joyously to and fro, he made suitable faces, saying: 'Now do I look like a Mandarin?' After a few minutes of this sport he stepped out from the chair, when, to the horror of the whole party, it was found that his mouth remained permanently twisted on one side; and as an added terror a few days later his wife developed a similar affliction.

776 It was most unfortunate that the time of our moving in coincided with the prolonged period, during which the god controlling the element of Earth forbids mankind to disturb his dominion. We were therefore implored not to build our kitchen stove, not to plaster a wall, nor even to mix the mud necessary to stop the crevices through which the wind was whistling, until this season expired. Courtesy demanded that we should not outrage the feelings of our kind host, but we decisively informed him that as Christians we were entirely freed from the power of demons, and the bondage of such superstitions.

His reply was: 'That is true and right, and I know that none of these things can harm *you*, because you are under the complete protection of your God. I, on the

floors of on an average 2,900-2,700 meters high. 000

Even toward the end of September it was very rainy in and around 132
Tao tschou. The precipitation remained within modest amounts but the sky was usually overcast. This was probably the reason why the night temperatures were not yet low and, in spite of the 2,760 meter altitude, hovered between +2° and +6°, whereas at noon the air warmed up at various times to more than +10°. As a rule there was almost no wind on the ground. The rain clouds came from the southeast or the west. On September 16 in the early morning we had snow with a gentle east wind and a westerly drift of clouds and only on the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first I noted thunderstorms in my meteorological diary. All three thunderstorms came from the west. September 24 when I said farewell to Tao tschou and its hospitable Americans, was a day of rain so that the animals slipped on the sticky loam earth and the pack animals were hardly able to make any progress. Mr. Ruhl accompanied me on the first two marches. So at first 797
I had to say goodbye to Mrs. Ruhl, my extremely gracious and pretty hostess and her little baby. Even though the mission house in Tao tschou presented a very good and neat appearance - everywhere the guiding hand of the practical American woman was to be felt - nevertheless for a woman of our Western culture residence in the city must have been torture. Year in and year out one hears about nothing but war and pillage here, and the missionary work bears occasional fruit only among the Chinese and the widowed or lonely old Chinese women. Tangible success in mission work among Tibetans and Mongols is not to be thought of, of course, because of the omnipotence of the lamas. Besides, the European also battles the severe highland climate and the homesickness that comes from this seclusion from the world. In the summer of 1907 there was an imperial Chinese postoffice in- 205
stalled, but because of lack of other interests it was only obliged to forward missionaries' letters and every tenth day a messenger arrived who delivered mail that had been en route six weeks from Hsingan fu. As in Hsining fu, the population is frequently afflicted with diphtheria, 164
scarlet fever and smallpox. Typhus and syphilis of course also reap large harvests and among the lung diseases of the region asthma plays an important role. A large percentage of the missionaries contracted smallpox. Mr. Simpson had acquired pock marks up there in carrying out his profession. A missionary who had just come up from the coast where he had been freshly vaccinated, died shortly before my arrival, of variola.

361 are under the tschi li tschou of Tsinchow, were sacked by the long-haired ones and have since then not regained their former prosperity. Corresponding to the well-kept appearance of the dwellings of Tsinchow was a beautifully cultivated temple hill, Taischan, on which, among ancient trees, stands the Taoist and Buddhist pantheon, and which is also used as an entertainment park on festival days. In the Tschung tsch'eng, the center of the city, I visited a very pretty mosque which is over 400 years old. In the da (large) tsch'eng which is also enclosed by a wall, are the yamen of the dao tai, the tschi li tschou and a major; in the walled hsi (west) kwan are the large commercial concerns; while in dung (east) kwan are the extensive buildings of
[797] the apostolic vice-regency of South Kwan, in which I was warmly welcomed by Bishop Ter Laak. These Belgian missionaries said that
133 the Tsinchow district has a great many earthquakes. Count von Széchenyi knew about these, too, and in the history of China there are several major catastrophes mentioned which struck the region of Kung tschang fu and Tsinchow. Besides, in this region I noted many and large landslides. Here mountain sides of loess a kilometer square slide off on their clayey substratum along with all their fields and villages.

554 One morning in the main street of Tsinchow I met a good old acquaintance, the scholar Li, who was with us in Tibet in 1904. As he spoke of his present position, a satisfied smile broke out over his entire, broad face. Originally tailor by trade, then shoemaker, painter, beginning with his 38th year student, then secretary and maker of calendars, in between small merchant, finally schoolteacher for children of 10, then our scholar, he was now, in keeping with the needs of modern times, professor of French at the newly-built college in Tsinchow, and a very respected man who moved only with the greatest dignity and very slowly crossed the street, "practicing quiescence." Meanwhile he had made a map of the entire Tschou bailiwick, having been commissioned to do so by his superiors, and whereas at that time when we left Lanchow fu with him for Tibet, he knew only 10 Latin words, he could now already "count in French." He had 50 pupils of the ages between 20 and 35. His teaching position earned him 20 taels a month with which he also supported his family which he had left in Lanchow fu. He was now a small lao ye, a gentleman official, and on the street he was greeted on all sides with veneration.

178 Of the new era which had begun for China one was little aware in Tsinchow, except for the school, its classes for foreign languages

487 Shensi from Kansu. I had come down another level into the lowland, a formation of land which our map had not yet indicated. Down in the province of Shensi I again stood on my familiar Shensi-Ordos clod
[316] of earth. Here, too, at Lung tschou, the Chinese have since olden times worked coal pits which yielded good coal. But because the roads are too poor, the coal is sent only for a distance of a two-days' journey, beyond Kien yang hsien.

My journey continued without stopping, ever deeper into the
[797] rich, the beautiful, the new China. In Kien yang hsien I was invited for supper by two gracious Swedish ladies who were doing quiet missionary work all alone here in this outpost. A further day's march brought me into the city of Feng tsiang fu, and the next day saw me in the city of Ki schan hsien; herewith I had reached the big old Szechwan road. Everywhere there were magnificent hotels by the side of the road. Large carts loaded with snowy cotton were heading into the cities. In one day I road through half a dozen chief cities of districts. At Sien yang hsien for the last time we crossed the Wei Ho which at that city is muddy and thick and only 360 meters above sea level. Here the Szechwan road on which I traveled at the end and the cart road to Lanchow fu unite. There are seven large ferries to take care of the heavy traffic during the high waters in summer, while every winter a trestle bridge is built. Round about on the flat hills are old earth mounds which have been the burial places for countless emperors of the old dynasties, those of Hsingan fu, the Tschang ngan of old.

000 /328/ Ever since I had left Lanchow fu I was goaded on by the fear that on account of my detour I might arrive in Hsingan fu later than my carts and chests and that my property might get lost if there was no one to receive it at its place of destination. But now, after much telegraphing back and forth, it turned out that they had not even left Lanchow fu. Again my mind had not worked sufficiently in the manner of the Chinese merchants. It had occurred to some clever individual to use my shipment in order to smuggle a few boxes of water-pipe tobacco through the customs. But it had been done too boldly and so everything, my chests as well as the tobacco chests, were confiscated. Finally Mr. Shields was called in by the draymen to help because he had recommended the hang to me. When he came to the custom station the officials and soldiers were rummaging, amid pouring rain, among the bird skins, butterflies and the various oddities. Without Mr. Shields' help I would again have had to undertake the month-long trek to Lanchow in order to get my belongings.

798

798 RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE--rivalry between sects; religious persecution and intolerance; concept of heretics; suppression of dissenters by established religions (e.g., massacres, inquisitions, discriminatory legislation); martyrdom and martyrs; antireligious proselyting; etc. See also:

Ethnocentrism . . . . 186 Civil liberties 641
Stratification . . . . 563 Religious skepticism 771
Ingroup antagonisms 578

/Salars/

Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isolation of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect," among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

Because the Moslems in China have throughout history persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women, for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home heighborhood.

Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves was at times considerable. As an illustration one might remember that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

5: Tafel--278 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
N.W. China AF13

T 133 In the region of the Hsining River we again traveled between loess-covered red clay mountains to the town of Ping tschung yi and then through the so-called Hsiao hsia (small gorge), both of them places where in the last Mohammedan war there were bloody clashes.

C 797 361 On December 25, I was in the city of Hsining fu. I soon found a pretty, albeit dirty, but at any rate homey inn, and that evening I could already spend with Mr. and Mrs. Ridley, the English missionaries of the China Inland Mission, to whom so many Tibetan travelers are indebted. With two boys of five and three years and their adorable little daughter who was then six months old, the courageous couple were again living all alone among the Chinese in the rude frontier town in which they already in 1895 lived through the terrible four-month siege by the Mohammedans. The last European whom Mr. and Mrs. Ridley had seen, had come through Hsining fu a half year before. I found a large Christmas tree in their simple Chinese house, and on that evening I was even permitted to appear as "Grandfather Christmas" with a long white beard, with a stick and a rod and a well-filled sack, and help give the children the type of Christmas celebrated in their homeland. I would not have dreamed of all this on the night before when in the pitch dark I was still sitting on my pony in a temperature of 15° and in a dry, biting mountain wind, until I finally found a hut on the gates of which we had to knock for a long time before we were admitted.

C 727 Of course, nothing had changed in Hsining fu since I had left it in November 1904 together with Mr. and Mrs. Filchner. Chinese cities probably do not change much anyway. There was meantime only the small war that was taking place on the Hwang Ho below the city of Kue de ting and the city had not yet calmed down during the first few days after my arrival. An anxiously-awaited execution order had just arrived from Peking and, at the imperial command, a few leaders of the hostile party, an aristocratic Salar and a few Tibetan chiefs and lamas were now being beheaded just outside the west gate. This was a big event because of the importance of the persons. Many people had gathered from far and near for this performance and the soldiers who were in charge of the execution were very frightened. They purposely walked back and forth excitedly while the preparations were going on and meanwhile one of them on whom the executioner's sword had heretofore not been seen, knocked off all the heads in such a way that no one could tell who actually did it.

133 the river, a great deal of loess mixed with broken stones can immediately be seen, and for the first time since I left Hsining fu I again saw a cart. /302/ (1) The higher up I climbed on the other

[493] 1. The boundary marking the distribution of the North Chinese two-wheel horse cart extends from here along the mountainous country I had just traversed eastward and keeps to the north of the Tsing ling pass in the North Chinese loess country. It is unknown in all of Szechwan and Kweichow, Hunan and in large parts of Hupeh.

361 side, the purer became the loess masses. At Lao tschai ni, a Chinese town, 3,015 meters high, I had already reached a typical loess village and caves in the loess. Four kilometers farther and only 250 meters lower lies the commercial city of Tao tschou, the Tibetan Batse.

It was nine o'clock and had grown dark when, with great effort and exertion, I reached the city, and ör gen, the second night watch was long past before the tormented tsung ye who in the darkness had [97] lost the path, finally discovered me. Long before that, the friendly members of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Americans Mr. and Mrs. Ruhl and Mr. and Mrs. Simpson, had found me and invited me to supper in their new home in which the former couple 000 did Tibetan missionary work and the latter, Chinese. My stay in the border city lasted from September 9 to 23 and was made pleasant by the hospitality of the missionaries who did not rest until, on the third day, I moved out of my grimy hotel and into their home outside the city. Meanwhile I discharged the caravan, paid off the servants and escort and presented the tormented tsung ye and his men with a mule and three horses, besides money and food supplies. I had never before on any of my journeys had such apt companions who were so willing to serve me. When the tsung ye said farewell his whole face lighted up and I, too, felt his relief over the fact that, in spite of my vagaries, he was able to deliver me safely at the appointed place. I sold two more mules here and only Brdyal and six animals remained. A team /hang/ of mules brought the large pieces of baggage to my depository in Lanchow fu, and my time was occupied arranging my diaries and developing my photographic plates. Only a few more than 400 plates turned out successfully on the last journey, one and one-half boxes (420 plates) were destroyed by water, while 280, all of those taken with the polyscope camera, were spoiled because they

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
621 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
769 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire
community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting,
and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working
with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
621 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and
184 do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have
795 a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-com-
munal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.
[346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is
used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather
[871] at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn
the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read
the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
[785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in
their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they
[796] eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a com-
munal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call
and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded
men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders
may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly
mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to them-
selves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they"
[794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of
the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and
cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it
rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show
more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their
Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by
their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations
between the villagers and the local or county government. The
county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chi-
nese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no
[578] relations with each other. There is always antagonism between
Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
[798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are re-
sponsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious
habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher
population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful.
Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for
628 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to Mecca.

e. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations mentioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to "strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general terms in Sura ii, v. 186., between the regulations of the fast and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . . Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans, on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

"Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those who have received the Book, until they humbly pay tribute out of hand." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not dead but living in the presence of their Lord their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura iii, vv. 163-4]

Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obligations, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gambling and usury are forbidden along with the making of images or representations and a number of the practices of pagan Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans, and inheritance are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an institution, but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined. Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely condemned, and rules of social behavior are laid down in several passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

D. The Sects of Islam

The two major sects of Islam are the Sunna and the Shi'a. Both of these camps are divided internally into numerous subsects, a discussion of which will not be included in this chapter.

The schism between the Sunna and Shi'a occurred first on the political question of the legitimate succession to Muhammad's leadership in the Islamic world. The Sunnis claimed that the Caliphs were the legitimate heads of the Islamic community. The Shi'a followers repudiated the first three Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar and Uthman, as usurpers, and declared Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, to be the true successor, and his house to be the only source for the selection of future Caliphs.

The Shi'a sect seceded on a purely political basis, but it also began to develop its own characteristics in matters relating to religious doctrine. It spread widely in Persia and Iraq and assimilated a great amount of the esoteric non-Moslem doctrines which prevailed among the newly converted Moslems.

In particular, a special doctrine concerning the nature of political leadership of Islam divides the Sunnis and the Shi'is. The Shi'is attribute to the Imam (the political leader) a spiritual function which the orthodox Sunni theologians never granted to their Caliphs. This doctrine of the Imamate gradually crystallized into definite theological form. The Imams acquired a superhuman character and their decisions on both political and theological questions are not to be contested.

The mystical movement in Islam, Sufism, found followers in both camps, and is popular mainly among the masses of the people.

E. The Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang

The majority of the population of Sinkiang is Moslem by religion. The Moslems include the Eastern Turkis, the Kirghiz and Kazakh nomadic tribes, a small number of Chinese Moslems and a few Afghans, Indians and Tajiks, most of whom reside only temporarily in Sinkiang.

The Turks of Sinkiang are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. Unlike the Chinese Moslems, they have maintained close ties with the rest of the Moslem world. The idea of the cohesiveness of all believers is very strong in Islam. The Turks of Sinkiang not only feel strong national ties with their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan, but they also consider themselves an integral part of the Moslem world community. In the past they recognized as the chief of all believers (emir el mu'minin) the Khan of Bukhara, and they looked to the Sultan of Constantinople as the political leader of Islam.

Sinkiang can be called a Moslem country, but it has features which are peculiar to it, and which have greatly changed the

or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of service to its members and had a much stronger control over them than did the local government. To a great extent it had trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had created considerable resentment and suspicion among the authorities and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

Though subscribing to all important religions in varying proportions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. However, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary significance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their memory always present. Those living now are only the present custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household together with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

"At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be, is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely correct order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulously observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon, in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices, to the Queen of Heaven.

N 771 182 N (769) "The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relationships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act according to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi Desert, 165-166.)

S 771 795 [575] Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin, almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

N 795 *668 177

A. Islam

When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the years following World War II and when they first came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support. Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950, which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools, provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Moslems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

N [798] These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

795 648 *668 177 793 in the Northwest was utilized primarily as propagandists. In April, 1951, three thousand Moslem ahungs and mullahs from forty-five mosques in Urumchi held a mass meeting to denounce the United States and, later in meetings of their congretations, they made speeches to persuade the Moslem people to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the Appeal for the Five-Power Peace Pact, and to protest the rearmament of Japan. On May 2, 3,500 people, led by ahungs and mullahs of 46 Urumchi mosques offered prayers for world peace. The mass rally initiated a drive for funds for the purchase of planes, tanks and heavy artillery for the Chinese troops in Korea. The minority peoples of Sinkiang donated funds sufficient, it was reported, for the purchase of thirty planes and seven artillery pieces. The religious leaders of Yin-chuan in Ninghsia donated funds for a fighter which they named "Mohammedan."

795 798 *668 177 In a way, the acquiescence of the Moslem leaders to assist the Chinese Communists in the promotion of propaganda has been a reason for the comparative moderation of the Communist regime toward Islam in China. The attitude of the Chinese Communists toward the teachings of Muhammad has followed very much the line adopted in Soviet Russia. The evolution of the Soviet authorities toward Islam has undergone the following stages: (1) the attack on the teachings of Muhammad as the deification of big capitalistic merchants exploiting the unhappy poor, (2) the argument that Islam was originally the ideology of the peasantry but was later corrupted by the aristocratic class. This view was rejected as being too favorable to Islam. (3) The anti-religious propaganda lines that Muhammad was a myth or that Muhammad was the leader of a feudal revolution. (4) The argument that finally prevailed was that of S.P. Tolstov, that Islam emerged from a social-religious movement which evolved from the feudalism following the disintegration of Arab tribal systems. (Essays in the History of Research into Islam in the USSR, published by the History Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, cited in Missionary Bulletin, September, 1955.)

In China, the argument for and against the teachings of Muhammad also raged in Communist publications early in 1951. Lu Hung-chi, in an article in Kuang-ming jih-pao (January 10, 1951) charged that Muhammad, figuratively speaking, held a gun in one hand while he reached into the pockets of the people for money with his other hand, and that his teachings were an excuse for robbing the people. This article aroused a storm of protest from the Moslem residents of Peking and prompted Ma Chien to write a rebuttle entitled "The Sword of Muhammad," published in the Hsin-hua Monthly (February, 1951 issue), stating that the sword of Muhammad was for self-defense, aimed only

795 798 *668 177 795 648 *668 177 at the counter-revolutionaries and not to coerce the people to become converts. In this article, Ma Chien skillfully diverted the attention of the people from Islam to the United States as the enemy of the nation, saying that it was American imperialism, not Islam, which aimed at the conquest of Asia and the enslavement of the Asians. This line was immediately adopted. On May 16, 1951, the Jen-min jih-pao carried an article entitled, "The American Imperialists are the Deadly Enemies of the Moslems of the World." On April 16, 1951, another article appeared in the Jen-min jih-pao, signed by forty-nine prominent Moslem leaders in Peking, entitled "Moslem Brethren of the World, Rise up to Halt the Crimes of the American Imperialists." The cry was re-echoed by Moslem leaders in the Northwest. Ma Liang-chün, imam of the Chinese Moslems in Sinkiang, issued a proclamation under the title "Moslem Believers, Take Positive Action and Struggle to Crush the Germ Warfare of the United States." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 13, 1952.)

795 *668 177 Thus, by joining the Resist United States and Aid Korea Movement, which was raging at a frenzied pitch in 1950-52, the Moslem leaders in China were able to deflect attacks on Islam launched by some of the Communist publicists. But with the conclusion of hostilities in Korea, the Chinese Communists began to re-evaluate and to revise their policy toward the Moslems in the Northwest. Moreover, by 1954, when Communist China had gained ascendency in Chinese Turkestan and political domination over the Moslem population in that region, there was less need to pacify them by promises. The year 1954 also marked the end of the period of New Democracy, which called for a United Front of all the peoples, and the commencement of socialism, in which the CCP would emerge paramount.

795 641 *668 177 The change of Communist policy toward the Moslem peoples of the Northwest as in other parts of China is seen in the official documents of the Chinese Communists. In contrast to the Common Program of the CPPCC, the blue print for the period of New Democracy, in which, in Article 53, the national minorities were promised freedom to develop their languages and to preserve or reform their cultures and religions, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (adopted in September, 1954,) pointedly omits the freedom of religion for the national minorities. Article 3, which discusses the rights of the national minorities, states that "all the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways." Only in Article 88 was there the provision that the "citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief," and, according to Mao Tse-tung's definition (in his People's

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

795 Democratic Dictatorship, 1949), the term "citizen" is restricted
641 to certain select classes of people, not all the people.
*668 Moreover, as the Communist officials have frankly stated,
177 toleration would be granted to only religious faiths which (1)
795 have been purified of foreign influences and "feudal supersti-
• 798 tions," (2) contribute toward the increase of production, and
*668 (3) do not conflict with the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao
177 Tse-tung. In other words, the Chinese Communists sanction
only religions that have been tamed, domesticated, and cleansed
of political coloration.

In the implementation of this policy of the Central People's Government, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, announced in February, 1955, that only "legal religious activities would be permitted by the people's government," because, he said, "individual counter-revolutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam and, under the cloak of religion, are carrying on counter-revolutionary activities." (Sinkiang jih-pao, February 25, 1955.)

The stiffening of Chinese Communist policy toward the adherents of Islam represented, actually, no radical change but rather the shedding of the pretense of benevolence toward the nationality minorities whose attachment to their religion was stronger than their allegiance to the state. It represented, too, a recognition by the Chinese Communists of the fundamental differences between Islam and Communism and of the impossibility of rationalizing these differences. Islam, with its strong social principles for the regulation of state and homelife, conflicts with the totalitarianism of Communism. As Moslem
795 leaders of Asian countries have pointed out, Communism advo-
*668 cates the use of force against those who would not readily
177 accede to it; Islam teaches men to bring others to follow the
way of God by peaceful means. Communism does not respect the sanctity of human life, but teaches violence and favors the organization of society based upon atheism and anti-religion; Islam provides for individual rights and freedom, and encourages humanitarian services, compassionate feeling toward all living beings, apart from devotion to God.

795 Besides being a religion, Islam in Chinese Turkestan has
also been a strong political force welding the multi-racial
182 groups together in their struggle for self-rule and their resis-
tance to oppression. The insurrections of the Moslems against
[669] the Chinese in the beginning of the nineteenth century have been
led by religious leaders, the Khojas; the widespread uprisings of the Moslems in the 1860's were led by Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Kansu, and by Yakub Beg, who bore the title of Commander of the Faithful, in Kashgaria.

000 The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were

795 the Communist soft-glove treatment. It is known, however, that
792 they are used widely as Communist propaganda agents.
*563 In Tibet, on the other hand, and that includes the Tibetan
*668 parts of Chinghai, the position of Lamaism is infinitely stronger.
177 There was no sign of weakening in the adherence to the old faith,
795 and militant Lamas were always in a position to incite the lay
792 population to concerted action. This has again been shown in the
171 recent rebellious outburst in Tibet, which seems to be partic-
*668 ularly strong in Southern Chinghai. Occurring at a time when
177 the Dalai Lama was back in Lasa and the first steps had been
taken to grant Tibet "autonomy" status (Reuters, April 26, 1956), this outburst is all the more surprising as it sets off the leading Lamaist clergy not only from the Peking regime but also from their spiritual head. Ruthless suppression measures which included the bombing of Lamaseries have thus far apparently not succeeded in quelching the rebellion. Mention is made of a Tibetan Resistance Party (Mim ang, literally, People's Organization) led by Lamaist clergy and joined by officials, traders and other laymen (Himalayan Times, Kalimpong, May 13, 1956: New York Times, June 30, 1956; AP, July 7, 1956).

795 C. The Fate of Christianity

Christian missionary activities and Christian establishments
• 798 in the Northwest have been predominantly Catholic. The Com-
*668 munists had some dealings with Catholic priests and Catholic
177 communities in the Yenan period. The staunchly anti-Commun-
[797] ist stand of the Catholic Church had at that time given rise to
friction and incidents, even though the Communists still wanted at that time to avoid drastic action. In Mongol Catholic communities they had attempted to undercut the prestige of the priest in case he was a foreigner, but they learned from experience that they did not fare better when a Mongol Catholic priest was put in charge. The strong cohesion between the community and the priests forced the Communists repeatedly into making concessions. A perusal of the records, however, creates the impression that dealings with the Catholic Church were handled locally and incidentally only, and that no plans were yet devised for how to take care of the Catholic Church.

795 After the general conquest, however, a pattern emerged
*668 which shows that an over-all policy was applied to the region.
This policy was apparently inspired by Lenin's doctrine that
177 Bismarck's head-on collision with the Catholic Church, the
798 Kultur-kampf, was a folly. A propaganda front of "religious
freedom" was therefore maintained all through the years. There was apparently, particularly in the beginning, a certain amount of local lattitude in the interpretation of this principle. In a

795 number of parishes, religious life went on without major inter-
*668 ference up until about 1951. For the strategy of interferences the
177 Communists drew on earlier experiences in Manchuria and
• 798 Inner Mongolia, where "spontaneous action" had frequently led
to situations that were deemed undesirable by the regime (see Northeast Handbook, Religion). From the pattern of events the following strategic rules can be derived:

1. Do not attack the Catholic Church as such.
2. Attack certain Church institutions which are either most dear to the hearts of the communities or most efficient in maintaining an active community spirit.
3. Avoid making martyrs.
4. Attack individual functionaries of the Church on non-religious charges.
5. Draw the utmost propaganda advantages out of every case.
6. Separate foreign leadership from indigenous communities.
7. Substitute a malleable "Catholic" organization for the existing Catholic Church.

Not even the first of these principles was generally applied. Even though the "freedom of religion" line was never officially abrogated, repeated anti-religious propaganda campaigns were entertained to create an atmosphere in which individual believers would sever their connections with their Church. In the case of Catholics these campaigns proved essentially a failure. It was furthermore made perfectly clear in interrogation of Church officials that there was no room for religion in a Communist state.

Catholic institutions most heavily attacked were the orphanages and the Legion of Mary. The Communists did not tolerate the possibility that an institution of such incisive charitable effect as an orphanage should remain in the hands of the Church. The public trials of the Sisters who were in charge of these orphanages are among the most vicious on record; incredible charges such as child murder and selling into prostitution were preferred against them. The Communists even risked considerable opposition and resentment to eradicate institutions which would so obviously ingratiate the Church to the communities.

The campaign against the Legion of Mary started early. It reached its pitch in 1951, but has not subsided.

The treatment dealt out to Catholic priests, sisters, brothers and laymen showed some local variations. There are instances in which torture and indignities were only sparingly applied. In most cases, however, it was attempted to go all the way to the point of martyring—an attempt, by the way, that was not always successful. Insufficient food, shackling, beatings by fellow prisoners used as stooges, constant disturbance of sleep,

continuous interrogations and then trials before People's tribunals and confrontations with hysterical crowds, parading through the city, were the methods most frequently used.

In the second half of 1951 and all during 1952 and 1953, the campaign against the Catholic hierarchy went on. Most of the bishops and priests were charged with collaboration with imperialistic countries, spying, and membership in the Legion of Mary. Many of them were thrown into jail or kept under house detention, and then one by one they were expelled. It is strange to note that, particularly in the beginning, the Communists wanted it to seem that they left voluntarily, and all kinds of torture were applied to make them sign petitions for an exit permit. Among those expelled were: Archbishop Theodore Buddenbroek of Lanchou, Kansu; Bishop Melckebeke of Ninghsia; Prefect Apostalic Jerome Haberstroh of Hsining; Bishop Larranga-Lana of Ping-liang, Kansu; Prefect Apostalic Pierre Maleddu of Hsing-an, Shensi; Bishop Peter Grimm of Ch'inchou, Kansu; Bishop Joseph Maggi of Han-chung, Shensi; Bishop Pierre Moretti, of T'ung-chou, Shensi, and Bishop Fulgence Pasini of San-yüan Shensi. Priests and Sisters were also forced to leave, so that by January 1, 1956, no foreign church official was left in the Northwest. However, as in most of the dioceses concerned, the indigenous priesthood, Chinese or Mongol, was well developed, this loss of foreign leadership did not hurt the Catholic Church in the Northwest so much as the Communists had hoped. Chinese priests were not spared the persecution that their foreign brethren had experienced. They were pilloried and jailed in great numbers; but they stood up to the test remarkably well. Even under the most restricted of circumstances they maintained church services and contact with their communities. It is reported, for instance, that an unnamed Chinese bishop carried on in Lanchow after Archbishop Buddenbroek had left, and even went on ordaining new priests.

The attempt by the Communists to substitute an "Independent" or "Reformed" Catholic Church for the original structure failed dismally in the Northwest. Also in other parts of China this movement has found only negligable response among the Catholic clergy, with the exception of a few show pieces which, of course, are always produced when foreign visitors are at hand. When the movement started, a few among the clergy in the Northwest might have believed that the Holy See would condone such a compromise. Excommunication of the collaborators soon dispelled this belief, however, and in no known case does a priest in the Northwest support the movement. The Communists tried for a time to bring in some "progressive" priests from outside, but apparently none could gain a foothold in Northwest communities.

N /Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/
157 because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week
485 a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour
[434] at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of
[654] which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year,
and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never
thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and
occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they
do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she
will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble
her again."

N
157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and
physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human
being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he
shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes
S N or reactions.

485 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that
795 Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of
the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This
798 is a very particular observation, as in other places in the North-
west, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaur-
ants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In
many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business,
so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests
abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan
which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed
inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between
host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even
S N to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is
485 somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experi-
795 ence of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and
True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was
114 different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were
798 known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard,
and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu.
We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran
was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an
insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was
kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have
been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure relig-
ion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged
that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly
stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus
S N 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he
795 heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means
554 like to make others understand that they are wealthy people.
485 "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree,
114 he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the partici-
181 pants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship
526 distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son,
[593] if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce
as that between two other persons.

*563 In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-
speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite
[184] different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-
speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race
different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group.
Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their
co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the
basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the
racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another
[178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional bar-
riers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting
*563 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the north-
177 ern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and
learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders
were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered
them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools
and learned the Chinese language they immediately become use-
ful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of
learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the
southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his
wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans
in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous
observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced
798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent
*563 incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we
have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in mat-
795 ters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border
differ from those already described in that they place a greater
emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Con-
fucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become
almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course,
give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confu-
cian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the
Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possi-
bly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear
more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao
district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the seden-
621 tary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organiza-
tion permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in
184 the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

000 purge took place.

N

*668 In order to control Christians, the Communists sponsored a movement to reorganize the churches. Following the principles

798 of Communism all the churches were supposed to be combined under the leadership of the Communist government. The movement started with a government-sponsored statement entitled, "Road for Chinese Christian Churches in Reconstructing New China." All Christians were asked to sign their names to this statement. To most Christians, this movement was a rebellion against God. To the Communists, any Christian who refused to sign was a potential "counter-revolutionary". According to the Communist report, 1,527 Christians signed the statement in August and 1,741 signed in September of 1950. Among these, 44 were in Shensi and 1 in Kansu. (Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, December 5, 1950). No detailed figures of the later years are on hand but it was the start of a continuous persecution of Christians loyal to their faith.

An editorial of the Jen-min jih-pao of July 7, 1955 complained about sabotage activities of "reactionary" religious groups in Shensi and Kansu during 1954 and recommends: "We must take effective actions and resolutely beat the sinful activities of all the reactionary religious groups.... We must severely suppress these religious leaders. As to the common believers... we must order them to register in the government and force them to sign a pledge to withdraw from their religious organizations."

S The Sinkiang jih-pao of June 18, 1953 discussed the activities

668 of people's courts in the district of Urumchi: "When the land re-

423 form began, the personnel of the courts cooperated with the land

692 reform teams to penetrate into the villages. They called various meetings and publicized the policy, function and missions of the people's court... They encouraged the mass to accuse the landlords,.... Generally they would arrest the landlords... confiscate their property and publicly liquidate them. When a case could be used to educate the people they would convict the man in public trial before a mass meeting. For instance, after the arrest of the unlawful landlord Je-he-p'u (most likely an Uighur) of T'o-k'e-sun, the team and the court organized a small scale liquidating meeting against him in his village. Then they organized a large scale liquidating meeting in the hsiang with deputies from every district of the county presented.... In less important cases, the landlords were warned before the public... and forced to admit their sin and publicly accuse themselves... The important point is to use the local people as the judge and the jury. ... For instance, when the 3rd hsiang of the 3rd district of Shanshan publicly accused the local despot and landlord P'ai-tsu-nan (probably an Uighur), the judge and the jury were all minority cadres. The mass was very much pleased, saying, "Now... it

collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Furthermore, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.). It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

4. Religious organizations

Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, especially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

C. Centers of Resistance Abroad

It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a centralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

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of age, tall, handsome, strong of body and independent of mind. She walked into our courtyard on the first Sunday we were in Suchow and heard us speak of the Saviour we were there to preach, whereupon she turned to the crowd of women, saying: 'Every word of this is true.' From that day she never missed attending service, and helped us in every way she could.

As has been already recorded, the first night in Suchow was spent at an inn which was very cold and uncomfortable, and we could not remain there. The landlord was a tall ex-soldier of a Shantung regiment, and although we left his inn, he came to see us in our new quarters and was extremely friendly. A few weeks later his wife brought the little baby with her to Sunday service, then returned home, and before night the child was dead. Instead of yielding to terror and superstition she asked her husband's leave to come and stay with the women-students for a few days, for they talked with her of Christ, and this comforted her.

A Moslem merchant was also among those who believed, and his gentle little wife very gradually, but surely, yielded to the faith which recommended itself by the change it had wrought in her husband's treatment of her.

We commenced the winter term of the Bible School under apparently auspicious circumstances, yet those who were leaders in the work were profoundly conscious of a persistent premonition, pointing to impending trouble. The crowds were greater than ever, and praise of the Christian community, its kindness and philanthropy, was heard on all sides. The victories already won, however, were not to be allowed to pass unchallenged. The hostility of those spiritual forces which had met us, on the threshold of the Temple Courts of Hell with a sneering query: '*What? So* you *have*

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come too,' was gathering impetus for a more organised attack than any to which the Christian community had hitherto been exposed. Severe financial loss was incurred through the death of mules, horses, sheep and cows, in which live stock the Church funds were invested. One of the most valued Christian leaders was at death's door with rheumatic fever, and hope of his restoration was almost abandoned. He, however, slowly recovered, but when barely convalescent, received news that his two cousins who had but recently left us on a visit to Honan, were murdered by brigands on the road. A few weeks later came a letter, telling of a robber-band attack on his home, and the capture of the head of the house. A large ransom was demanded for his release, and the whole clan impoverished itself to raise the money, yet when this was handed over, they merely received the information that his body would be found in a certain well, and so it proved to be.

There had, moreover, been trouble lately in Kanchow, which clearly showed us the active opposition of enemies. The Kanchow Christian farmers had not sown any opium, and so many had registered as enquirers as to cause a positive difficulty to the Local Official in the raising of the twenty-four-thousand-dollar opium tax, at which sum the crop under his control had been assessed. These wheat-growing farmers did not place themselves in a position of financial advantage, as the value of the opium crop, even allowing for the tax, was almost five times that produced by grain. As friction increased, the local tax-gatherer determined to wreak vengeance on the whole Christian community, and thus the plan of revenge was laid with a craft and subtlety such as is difficult for the Westerner to grasp. An old man, seventy years of age, so poor as to be nearly starving, was secretly approached with the offer of

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money, a few days of feasting, and the promise of generous sacrifices after death, in exchange for the risk he should run of losing his life in an organised mêlée at the time of a coming fair. After some bargaining the matter was settled, and the tax-collector proceeded to secure the services of certain young roughs, always ready for a fight. The compact, however, was not kept as wholly secret as the parties intended, for some young girls overheard the conversation, and subsequently repeated it to their friends. On the morning of the fair a band of Christian men and women were selling books near the theatrical stage, when the tax-gatherer's gang began to pick a quarrel with them concerning the offence offered to the gods by their preaching. In a moment others joined in, and there were hot words and hard blows on both sides. Benches were used as weapons, and shortly afterwards the old beggar was lying dead, while the Christians were falsely accused of having killed him! It so happened that the more important Christian farmers were detained that day at a village three miles distant, but in a few hours' time a squad of soldiers arrived from Kanchow and took prisoner twenty Christian men, including even those who could prove an *alibi*. For weeks they lay in prison, without trial or proper investigation, wholly dependent for food on the charity of the Christian community, and not until one of them died, as a result of neglected wounds, was release on bail obtained for the remainder, the official refusing even to coffin the dead man until his old mother made her wrongs known by sitting the whole day wailing, in Eastern fashion, in the Yamen court, while the birthday festivities of the Mandarin were in progress! The facts of the story gradually became known, but no trial was held, and the accused were left in the supremely unsatisfactory condition of

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being refused all opportunity for clearing themselves, 798
although the whole populace declared them to be 624
innocent. Dr. Kao was actually with us at distant
Suchow when the incident occurred. Subsequently, 798
however, he made an open enemy of the Kanchow
Official by peremptorily refusing to consider the case on
a suggested compromise basis, *i.e.* that as a life had
been sacrificed on either side, and honour was satisfied,
it only remained for the parties concerned to seal their
agreement by feasting !

The circle of those bound together to wreak vengeance on the Christians and their leader was growing, and they were now joined by an influential man of whom Dr. Kao had made an enemy by refusing his donation of several hundred dollars towards the hospital work, a gift which had been offered on the tacit understanding that having accepted it the doctor would cease his open denunciation of the opium traffic.

During the winter months of 1925 the Provinces of 635
the North-West Frontier were placed under the juris- 701
diction of Marshal Feng, and the city walls were
covered with excellent proclamations, forbidding soldiers
to oppress the people, and promising adequate protec-
tion to farmers bringing in their produce, it being the
custom of the local battalions to ill-treat persons and
seize goods at their pleasure. These proclamations
were received with acclamation by the people, but were
obviously *not* liked by the officials or the soldiers.

One day in January 1926, Dr. Kao, walking along the street, met a crowd running towards a back alley, where on following them, he found five men beating a young villager so severely as to endanger his life. Several of the assailants were soldiers, and one, armed with a hammer, was proceeding to break the youth's skull when, without a moment's hesitation, the Doctor

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the same hour as the carter died—a life for a life, while the local garrison was most indignant at the suggestion that one of their number should be executed on such a trivial charge as the death of a common carter, and swore vengeance. However, after forty-eight hours of extreme anxiety, our relief knew no bounds when a slight improvement, following on a severe operation, showed itself in the patient, and he eventually recovered, the two lives being saved, as the soldier was released.

The New Year festivities were at this juncture in full swing, and the friendliness on all sides was such that we greatly hoped the ill-feeling produced by this incident had passed over. Our guest-rooms were daily crowded with visitors, and the tent would barely hold the congregation which gathered each evening.

It came like a bolt from the blue when one day Dr. Kao walked into our sitting-room with the startling announcement :

'The compound is surrounded by men sent to arrest me!'

'To arrest you!' we exclaimed. 'Impossible! On what plea?'

'I am accused,' he quietly said, 'of leading an armed mob to break open the city gaol in order to release a certain Moslem prisoner. The man, as we all know, has been living in his own home for months, nor have I been inside their prison. The accusation is futile, but the power of the accusers is tremendous ; and chief among them is the Governor of the prison himself, *the master of the little slave whose foot I amputated.*" Then, showing a visiting-card, he added : 'This card has just reached me from the Judge, who is a patient of mine, and who asks for a visit from me. I know he never sent it, and it is but a trap to get me quietly into the Yamen and arrest me there, for they fear a hubbub among the

people. I expect you agree with me; I had better go; and so I just came in to say good-bye. Our life and death are in God's hands, as also the reputation of His Church. He will vindicate His Name.'

Commending each other to the care of God we parted, and he proceeded in company with Mr. Chang to the Yamen. As the two men left the house and walked down the streets, knots of Yamen runners, who had been placed at various points from which they watched the doors of the compound, closed in behind them, so that, as they reached the Yamen gate, they were completely surrounded by soldiers. As they entered the courtyard, the Civil Magistrate appeared, who shouted angrily: 'Seize that fellow Kao!' Immediately a dozen hands took hold of him, and thrust him into the Black Hole of the inner prison, reserved only for condemned criminals.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE STORM

Dr. Kao's arrest took place on February 17th, 1926, and it was June 1st of the same year before he left Suchow for Lanchow, to be present at the enquiry into his case. For forty-two days he was incarcerated in the Black Hole, which is an inner apartment of the prison, without any window; it contains, however, a small aperture in the roof to admit a little air and light. The cell was so unspeakably filthy that the Doctor's first request was for some quicklime to scatter on the floor and under the boards of the *kang*, on account of the numerous rats, and other even worse vermin. The only door was the one by which the gaoler entered,

and in it was a small grating through which the food could be passed. Next to this was the gaoler's own room, and beyond that again was another cell, in which twenty prisoners were incarcerated, most of them heavily ironed; this room, too, was in almost total darkness. None of all those wretched prisoners were permitted to leave their cells except for a few minutes once in twenty-four hours, and all were entirely dependent upon their relatives or friends for their food; consequently death from starvation was all too frequent, while, according to Dr. Kao's own account, the nights were made hideous by the agonised cries and groans of these most miserable of men.

For some days after the arrest we suffered intense anxiety from the fact that no message whatever could reach us direct from the Doctor; moreover, persistent rumours were afloat that he was to be shot. Of course he was regularly supplied with food from the Mission Compound, but we had no certain means of knowing whether he really did receive it or not. Those first days of suspense were, indeed, terrible. The Civil Magistrate, it must be explained, had secured to the accusation brought by him against the Doctor the signatures of the two other most important officials of the city, each one thereby declaring himself personally cognisant of the offence. Consequently, when the answer ultimately came from the provincial capital of Lanchow, it was couched in these terms: 'Since you affirm Kao to be guilty of breaking open the prison of Suchow with an armed mob, you may inflict the extreme penalty of the law; but if later investigations should prove him to be innocent, you will personally be held responsible for your action.' The three officials then pronounced themselves prepared to take this responsibility; but did so as a means of currying favour with the local garrison,

in the secret hope that the ever-shifting sands of the political hour-glass would produce new conditions, capable of manipulation, if needs be, to cover over such an insignificant incident as that of the execution of a Christian leader. They were strengthened in this expectation by reports of successful demonstrations by the anti-Christian organisations in large cities.

To us the reply from Lanchow seemed to hand over the situation to our enemies; nevertheless, prayer was constantly made by the whole Christian community to God for Dr. Kao, and we waited for the answer to come.

By the law of China, it is the Civil Magistrate who pronounces the sentence upon the prisoner; nevertheless, it cannot be carried into execution without the additional authority of the District Judge; therefore, when this Official was approached and asked to ratify the sentence upon Dr. Kao, he very indignantly replied: 'I refuse to condemn a man whom we all know to be innocent. Every child in the Suchow streets knows that the prison door has never been forced, nor has any prisoner there been unofficially released.' And from this position no persuasion moved him, although he was perfectly aware that such opposition might ruin his magisterial career. We, on our side, at Dr. Kao's request, refrained from any kind of interference or interposition, with the exception that we duly informed our Lanchow friends of all the facts, urging them, if possible, to use their influence to secure an impartial enquiry, which must necessarily be held by officials other than the local authorities. As a result of this appeal, a telegram was presently received from Lanchow, ordering the case to stand over until the arrival of a Special Commissioner appointed for the examination. The natural effect of this communication, following on the action taken by the District Judge, caused some degree

of trepidation in official circles, one result of which being that it immediately secured for Dr. Kao the privilege of receiving visitors, ourselves among the number. We always found him cheery and serene, although the sanitary conditions were so bad that they told seriously on his health, so much so, that when at last he emerged into the open day, he fell to the ground overpowered by the effect of the light. Many a time did we remind each other that although he had not broken open the city gaol and released its prisoners, we were yet all at that very hour seeking to preach liberty to the captives held in the strongholds of the Power of Evil.

It was with a peculiar sense of triumph that we brought the news to the prison, one Sunday afternoon, of the first baptismal service in Suchow having taken place that day.

The turnkey was increasingly friendly to his genial, though intractable prisoner, and when the doors were closed for the night, allowed him to leave his cell and preach to the other captives. The accusation was hanging on the evidence of one witness, namely that of the Governor of the gaol, and owner of the little slave-girl mentioned in a previous chapter. He was a man of weak and shallow nature, to whom cruelty of any kind partook of the nature of an amusement. He had bought over several witnesses, but when they heard the rumour of an investigation by a Commissioner appointed from Lanchow, they backed out and declared that only fear of torture had led them to give evidence. He began to realise, when it was too late, that each of the other officials had left himself a possible loophole of escape, which, if acted upon, would leave the whole burden of the responsibility upon his own head. Surreptitiously, therefore, he began to make preparations for a hasty exit into Turkestan; but this being prevented by his

superior, it soon became the city talk, that whereas formerly he looked like a man, now his face resembled that of a terrified ghost.

Meanwhile the Commissioner from Lanchow arrived, and only made himself known after spending several days *incognito* in an inn, under the guise of a merchant. He easily satisfied himself that the accusation brought against Dr. Kao was without any foundation, and he collected witness from every tradesman in the vicinity of the prison, to the effect that the gaol had never been attacked at all. He personally visited the prison court, and noticed that this cell now bore a new red paper notice stating that: 'This room is to be called a House of Detention.' This was a ruse by the Civil Magistrate, to justify himself for having placed an untried prisoner in a condemned cell.

Before returning to Lanchow, the Commissioner insisted upon immediate removal to the real 'House of Detention,' where was a sunny courtyard, surrounded by decent rooms, each containing only one occupant. Here, Dr. Kao soon resumed his normal appearance; he was allowed to shave and keep his hair cut; visitors came freely, and things in general were decidedly better. All the same, it was still a prison, and many of his neighbours had lived there for years, awaiting a trial that never came; fed from their homes by little slave-girls sent in with their meals, and who slipped their slender bodies between the thick wooden bars of the locked entrance gate, with basins of rice for their masters' dinner. Some of these men had settled to a dull apathetic endurance of a wrong that could not be righted, many found a solace in the deadening fumes of opium, but there were a few who abandoned themselves to such a frenzy of despair that within a few months they were released by death from the hands of their enemies.

One or two there were who vowed to know no rest until this system of bribery and corruption should be overturned, which made it possible to incarcerate innocent men, sometimes for life, without trial and without appeal.

Kansu was at this time in a political ferment. Some months previously General Feng's troops had assumed authority in Lanchow, and were gradually making their power felt throughout the province. His appointment of his own men to positions of importance caused the greatest excitement and apprehension among the local authorities, and the city walls were posted with the announcement that anyone spreading reports on political or military matters would be shot.

The first we saw of Marshal Feng's officers was one Sunday morning at the early Communion Service, when two finely-grown, well-set-up soldiers, in spotless uniform, walked in, taking their place among the little group of believers, thus openly associating themselves with Christianity. They only stayed a few days, however, but were soon followed by recruiting officers, and lecturers, who addressed themselves to the populace and preached equality and the rights of the proletariat, and when the city walls were covered with anti-British posters. It was all very chaotic. But the recruiting fell off, because the people said, 'Under Feng you *must* fight, so what's the use of his good pay if you die?' Then the posters quietly disappeared, but the authorities left ours up intact—one did not know what to expect! At last an officer appeared, sent by Feng, under whose superintendence the city was entirely transformed in only a few weeks. The main streets were widened and levelled; a market-place was erected where the peasants might sell their goods unmolested; industrial institutions were opened for the poor children, and other

public works set on foot for the unemployed. Suchow was transformed! But still Dr. Kao's imprisonment dragged on.

Finally, on June 1st, the trial of our patience came to an end. A student arrived in our court at dawn, saying that Dr. Kao was under orders to leave that morning for Lanchow, there to stand his trial. In spite of final delays and procrastinations, that same afternoon he left on foot for the eighteen days' tramp to the provincial capital. Here he spent some months, during the greater part of which he was able to live with his own friends. When the trial finally took place, he was declared innocent, and acquitted on all charges.

Many had been the orders and counter-orders, the subterfuge, and the conflicting motives at work, under the shifty régime of Chinese officialdom. On his release General Feng appointed him to the position of Medical Officer in charge of Red Cross work at his own Military Hospital, and his return to the far North-West has been temporarily delayed.

804

804 WEIGHTS AND MEASURES--methods of measurement (e.g., comparison with parts of the body, use of mensurating tools, use of weighing and measuring machines); customary and standardized units (e.g., of length, area, volume, weight, heat, angles, electrical energy); complex techniques of measurement (e.g., surveying); governmental supervision of weights and measures; etc.

See also:

Architectural draftsmanship	341	Money	436
Weighing and measuring machines	408	Coast, geodetic, and geological surveys	854
Mensurating tools	413	Conception of space	822

439 435 *175 B. Imports: 6,456,722

cotton piece goods	669,884	
raw cotton	47,353	
paper	102,340	
iron and copper goods	40,362	
tea	145,786	
seafood	68,755	
chinaware	13,850	
silk	193,264	
tobacco	48,300	
sundries	5,015,022	
miscellaneous	113,793	
Grand Total		7,993,554

Source: Shina Shōbetsu Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 634-37.

C. Ninghsia

366 487 The trade in Ninghsia is centered around its capital city, Ninghsia, which is the midpoint of the two important trade routes in the Northwest, one being the Yellow River, and the other being the caravan routes. The Yellow River route is usu-
487 484 ally divided into the following six sections:

Table III: The Yellow River Route (downstream)

[804]

Places	Length (li) (1 li = 1890 ft.)	Days of Journey
Hsi-ning–Lanchou*	480	3-5
Lanchou–Chung-wei	740	3-4
Chung-wei–Ninghsia	350	3-4
Ninghsia–Shih-ts'uan-tzu	190	2
Shih-ts'uan-tzu–Teng-kuo	200	2
Teng-kuo–Pao-t'ou	1,000	7-10
Total	2,960	20-27

*Including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-ho.
Source: Shino Shōbetsu Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 640-41.

487 The caravan routes consist of the following:

1. from Hsi-ning to Ninghsia via Lanchou,
2. from Sinkiang to Ninghsia via Alashan,
3. from Pao-t'ou to Ninghsia via the Ordos,
4. from Ping-liang, Kansu, to Ninghsia via Hua-ma-chih.

[492] A caravan used to have thirty to fifty camels, each camel carrying about 375 pounds of goods and traveling about fifty to seventy li a day. (For modern highways see section Communications.)

439 435 *175 According to 1933 statistics, the total value of exports and imports of Ninghsia amounted to 6,310,000 yüan, a little less

a correspondingly important part in Chinese history. In 712
more recent days too, during the troubles since the fall of
the Manchus in 1911, it has once more figured prominently 487
in the manœuvres of Imperial, Revolutionary, and Republican armies, brigands, and train bands, while in times of peace it lends itself admirably, flanked as it is by river and mountain, to the levying of likin and other barrier tolls dear to the Chinese official. It is a compact little place, with ramparts and gates remarkable for their massive size even in China, the land of walls, overlooking the Yellow River, which pouring down from the north in a turgid yellow flood here strikes the Ch'inling Shan and turns sharply to the east.

As we approached T'ungkuan some one noticed three 651
strange pack mules which had attached themselves to our caravan. Enquiries elicited the fact that they belonged to a merchant who was endeavouring to smuggle three loads of Price's candles through the frontier barrier into Shensi by this means. We had unwillingly to cut him adrift. Unless accompanied by transit passes goods in transport through the interior of China are taxed again and again at every point where a barrier can be erected until the prospective profit on their sale is eaten up by these tolls and their further transport becomes futile.

From the railhead at Kuanyint'ang to T'ungkuan is 804
called a distance of 280 li, and can be done in three days. As far as Lingpao the li are "short li"; thence to T'ungkuan they are "long li"; the difference is most marked, the short and the long li averaging about a quarter and a third of a mile respectively. This absurd and typically Chinese arrangement is said to be due to the fact that the authorities of Honan Fu endeavoured in days gone by to lay claim to the fortress of T'ungkuan on the ground that it was nearer to their city than to Hsian Fu.

A peculiar four-wheeled cart of prehistoric appearance 493
is used round T'ungkuan, the only place in China where I have seen a four-wheeled native vehicle. Even the huge carts which one meets on the grasslands of the Mongolian border or in the sands of Western Kansu, regular ships of the desert, and often accommodating whole families, are always of the familiar two-wheeled type.

From T'ungkuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which 000

805

805 ORDERING OF TIME--sense of time; conception of a minimal unit of time (e.g., a moment); divisions of the day and night (e.g., hours); divisions of the year (e.g., weeks, months, seasons); longer time spans; solar, lunar, and stellar reckoning of time; methods of dating; calendar and calendrical knowledge; use of aids to measure the passage of time (e.g., sundials, clocks); etc. See also:

Annual cycle of economic activities 221
Clocks and watches 408
Routine activities of a typical day 512
Holidays, birthdays, and anniversaries 527
Age levels and age terms 561
Ceremonial calendar 796
Conception of time 822

broken hearts, nor can anyone leave China by this road without peculiar pain, and even tears.

'When I leave thy gates, O Kiayükwan,
My tears may never cease to run.'

The most illustrious of all the exiles who have trod this *Via Dolorosa* was the great Sage and Philosopher, Lao-dze, who here turned his back on the land which had refused his teaching, and sought for himself an unrecorded grave in the wilderness beyond.

Among all those tragic inscriptions, from the day of our visit, one message of *Hope* now hangs, printed in crimson letters so large and clear, that every tear-filled eye can see it: '*Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.*'

CHAPTER XVIII

A PRODIGAL SON

The Chinese, together with other ancient peoples, observe the lunar month, and date their calendar by the Agricultural Year; New Year's Day, consequently, falling irregularly between the last week of January and the middle of February, marks also the time for the sowing of the crops. The official calendar, issued by the Peking Board of Rites, is often at variance with local almanacs, so that we found the people of Suchow were much disturbed as to whether the first day of the first moon should be the coming Thursday or Friday. The question was not decided until Wednesday afternoon, when the Town Crier, beating a gong, patrolled the streets announcing in a loud voice, 'To-morrow is New Year's Day!'

812

812 PHILOSOPHY--degree of development and acceptance of elaborated metaphysical and epistemological systems (e.g., theories of being, of supersensible reality, of experience, of understanding, of knowledge); theoretical foundations of ethics (e.g., divine will, moral order of the universe, free will and moral accountability of the individual); ethical systems (e.g., hedonism, utilitarianism, perfectionism); teleological evaluations (e.g., theories of the highest good, idea of progress, pragmatism); theologians and philosophers (e.g., number, characteristics, status, sources of support, activities); etc. See also:

Ethos	181	Cosmology	772
Ethical ideals	577	Theological systems	779
Legal liability	672	Social philosophy	829

in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

816

816 APPLIED SCIENCE--extent to which exact science is applied to practical problems; areas of such application; proliferation of laboratory and research facilities; sources of support; applied scientists (e.g., number, activities, organizations); etc. See also:

Medical practice	76	Civil engineering	331
Conservation	185	Chemical engineering	381
Fisheries research	228	Mechanical engineering	401
Veterinary science	232	Navigation	502
Agricultural science	242	Aeronautic science	507
Pharmacology	276	Government-supported research	654
Forestry science	313	Military science	711
Mining engineering	316	Medical research	742
Metallurgy	325	Scientific education	874

between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years, the extreme northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

821

821 ETHNOMETEOROLOGY--ideas about night and day, dawn and twilight, rising and setting of the sun, phases of the moon, eclipses, solstices and equinoxes, and the succession of seasons; notions about heavenly bodies (e.g., sun, moon, stars, constellations, planets, comets, meteorites); ideas about meteorological phenomena (e.g., clouds and fog, frosts and drought, rain and snow, ice, hail and sleet, winds and whirlwinds, storms, thunder and lightning, rainbow, parhelion and aurora); associated behavior patterns (e.g., greeting the dawn, dispelling an eclipse); etc. See also:

Climate	132	Cosmology	772
Navigation	502	Nature spirits and gods	776
Reaction to disasters	731	Omens and astrology	787
Magical weather control	789	Development of scientific astronomy and meteorology	815
Ordering of time	805	Association of lunation with menstruation	841

are ferried across on a small raft of inflated skins (called *p'ifatzu*), but the animals have to swim. Owing to the rapidity of the current and the frail nature of the skin-raft (a light wooden platform resting on nine blown-out yak hides) the passage is rather exciting. Inducing the animals to swim across was a long and tedious business, and not without danger for them, but all our mules and ponies were eventually got across with no worse damage than one pony lamed. The water was icy, and the wretched animals were shivering with cold when they emerged, notwithstanding the season of the year, which was mid-August. Leaving the river the path enters a narrow gorge in the mountains and almost immediately commences to rise steeply. From the river to the top of the pass (between 13,000 and 14,000 feet) is a hard climb of four hours or so by a bad rocky trail. The summit is a narrow ridge of bare rock composed of bright green and red slabs of shale. We missed the view as we reached the pass in a bitterly cold snowstorm, through which I caught a glimpse near the top of some animals which looked like wild sheep. This range is known locally as the Tapan Shan, and is a most formidable barrier. It is noted amongst the Chinese for its noxious vapours, which are supposed to rise from the ground on the higher slopes, and most of our party crossed it with scarves wound round their faces; it is a waste of time trying to explain even to educated Chinese that the air is not noxious, but only rarified; they have not the least objection to your believing in the rarified air theory, but intimate that they know better. My experience of high passes on the borders of Kansu and Szechuan is that the effects of rarified air are much worse on the razor-backed passes, like the Tapan Shan, than on even higher divides which are approached by easy slopes.

The ascent of the Tapan Shan is steep enough, but the descent on the other side is much worse, and the trail very rough and rocky. Eventually a gorge is reached, which is followed for three hours' march to a solitary Mahomedan inn called Tuchia T'ai. By the time we reached this spot, although the snow had turned into rain as we descended, and then ceased altogether, everyone was pretty well tired out; but the accommodation was limited, and the

pass. There were only a few brief, clear moments when the hard, stinging kernels of snow permitted our watering eyes to catch a glimpse of the wild landscape of the pass. At such moments the chaos of partially crumbled slabs and heaps of rock covering an ancient, tremendous glacier circle that had its mouth towards the north, was all the more imposing.

Nowhere in this Burkh' an Buda mountain range did I see areas of eternal snows. Although there is more precipitation here than down below in the Tsaidam basin, it cannot withstand the drying power of the sun.

The peaks around the Türketse pass are almost buried in mounds of slab and rubble and this illustrates the earlier, gradual recession of the glacier in this entire region.

"Haya! ien tshi da de ch'en ā!" "Alas! how very big is the ien tschi!" sighed the Chinese when they finally reached the top and sank down completely exhausted from the great exertion caused by the mire and the rarefied atmosphere. /8/ The idea that a particular type of gas, ien tschi, is very "big" on the heights of Tibet, and that this causes difficulty in breathing in the mountains, is widespread. We were also quite painfully affected by the sudden low temperature (at noon it was still around the freezing point) together with the west wind that howled around our ears, especially after the warm July days in the lowlands. I was scarcely able to steady the metal eclimeter, and only shaky marks appeared on the damp, cold surface of the paper.

From the 4,815 meter Türketse pass the descent is very gradual toward the south. The entire southern slope of the great Tsaidam border range is buried under huge moraines. We Europeans call this mountain range by the collective term Burkh' an Buda; however, the natives, the Mongols, use this name for only one of the more prominent peaks that is to be found somewhat to the west of my route.

We were all happy that the notorious ascent into the Tibetan highland had been accomplished without losses, and there seemed to be no further difficulties in the way of leading the over-exerted animals to succulent pastures on that same day; for in the distance we saw the most inviting-looking green spots in the region of the Alang Nor. However, my four-footed friends were not to partake of a green meal on that day, although from that vantage point travel in Tibet looks so simple not only at home but often on the road itself. We found ourselves on a flat part of a southern slope, on rubble imbedded in sand that was completely soaked with the water of the summer rainy season. There was absolutely no plant covering or roots which might

the Alang Nor, (Alak Nor), (Plate I). There were lush meadows along the lake shore. Otherwise there were alternate swampy places, spots with grass that grew 10-15 centimeters high, and sections of gravelly rubble. Sand dunes had formed around a small hillock of rock in the middle of the valley, and their thin covering of grass gave off a faint green shimmer. However, not the smallest shrub was to be seen. The steppe seemed dead. But how quickly it came to life not far away with antilopes, kyang, wild yak, wolves, foxes, marmots and bears when I took up my Zeiss field glasses! Several times one of my men came galloping excitedly up to me and pointed to a moving dot in the distance. Fortunately, however, the supposed Tibetan turned out to be a harmless bear or kyang. There were also huge herds of wild yaks on the plains, and they could be seen many kilometers off in their black pelts. They were proof enough that for some time there had been no one in the valley. Incidentally, these wild yaks are by no means altogether harmless. Although I took every precaution in our new camp and always kept two men on guard, nevertheless that afternoon a yak bull suddenly stood in the midst of my grazing cattle. The black giant seemed to be larger than life next to my tame animals, and he glared haughtily and rather surprised at the inferior creatures. I hesitated a moment, undecided whether to reach for my camera or for my rifle. My watchmen had fled when the monster had come racing up grunting and shaking his huge and bushy black tail. However, before I stepped out of my tent with my camera and gun a tragedy had happened. In a blind rage the bull had rammed his pointed horns into one of my animals, through the pillion, and tossed it into the air. The monster trudged off when he heard the shouts of distress coming from my men, and was pursued by the bullets of my watchmen who had recovered their courage. However, one of the best yak oxen lay dead on the ground.

After I lost the greater part of my equipment and with it my European tent in the attack on the Koko Nor I had had to make shift with a thin Chinese tent. This always caused great difficulty when I had to change my photographic plates. Even with the thinnest crescent of the moon in the sky it was not dark even under my blanket. On the night of August 5 there was a full moon and therefore no prospect of sufficient darkness throughout the night. I was therefore not a little happy when a bank of clouds in the east brought absolute darkness into the interior of my tent. I quickly decided to change plates, but while I was in the midst of doing this I was interrupted by a strange occurrence. My companions outside suddenly made a most frightful racket. Their

shots and yells sounded as though robbers were outside the camp; they beat on lids and cooking pots like mad, in fact, on anything that makes a noise. The sharp whistling of shots pierced the shouting. At any moment I expected bullets to fly through my tent, as they did that time at Amne Maschin. As quickly as possible I /11/ packed away my plates and dashed out of the tent, cocked a Mauser pistol in each hand. The noise did not cease. Those of my men who were not shooting were swinging their swords which gleamed in the magic light of the camp fire. Threateningly one of them brandished his long lance. H'an and Tsch'eng dash up to me: "The monster, the voracious frog of heaven (1) has appeared in the sky!" ---

1. Called arha by the Tsaidam Mongols; it is the Ra hu of Indian mythology. The monster is also often addressed as wolf.

It was an eclipse of the moon. The cloud bank had disappeared and the full moon stood in a clear sky, but only a fast-disappearing part of its orb was bright, the greater part of it lay in the shadow of the earth. That was why it was so nice and dark in my tent! When the occultation grew less an altar was erected, incense was burned and they all fell on their knees and made a kowtow to the beloved and happily rescued celestial body.

In the southern part of the Alang Nor plain (2) there was a steep

2. It is also often pronounced Alak Nor.

ascent. It was necessary for us to reach a plateau that rose up in terrace formations. Many erratic granite and lime blocks a cubic meter in size towered out of the red disintegrated sand masses. They not only enabled me to make deductions concerning the history of the terrace, but also made me fear a renewed, difficult struggle with bottomless moraine mire.

We were still at the bottom of the slope when I inadvertantly came upon a huge herd of wild yak. I counted 1,200 animals. They were outlined against the autumnal green of the meager pasture in the shape of a black, roundish mass. As usual the animals had drawn close together during the night. Huge amounts of droppings that covered a whole hillside and were recognizable at a distance of one kilometer betrayed their resting place for the night. At seven in the morning they were scattered over a wide area grazing, and a space of several

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all the lamas labored under the delusion that their Great Lama could be hexed or lose his life if a competent magician, an enemy of tantrism, touched his clothing, in fact, if he even touched the soles of his shoes; and all of them were firmly convinced that this exorcism would be even easier if a photograph were made. (1)

1. Meanwhile photographs of the Dalai Lama were taken in India. A detailed study about Tobden Dalai Lama is Rockhill: The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa. T'oung Pao 1910, I. 1-104.

After this interview I hurriedly rode back to Hsining fu and without delay began to equip my new caravan. /Fig. 5 appears here in the original text./

The goba, the Lhasa "gentlemen," appeared more numerous than ever in Hsining fu during the years in which Tobden Lama resided in Gum bum. The picturesque, gaily-clad and dark-skinned figures representing the Tibetan aristocracy appeared in all the market places. With their little mustaches and imperials on their chins they made an almost Western impression on me. With the help of interpreters, they traded for the mules of the Amdo peasants, that were for sale and for the few other things that are valuable /95/ enough to be transported across the barren Tschang tang to Central Tibet. Inasmuch as I wanted to make rapid progress on my new journey, I this time also collected a caravan of mules and horses and was in sharp competition with the gobas. Good mules which up here are very small in comparison to those that are raised in Shensi, are, in ordinary times, as expensive as four yak cows. The prices soared amazingly because of the presence of so many Central Tibetans. With great difficulty I finally got together 28 animals, among them 18 mules.

On January 14 - I was in the midst of this peculiar business and had, that day, been called into the street for the fourth time already in order to look at horses - it suddenly grew very dark. The sky was clear and cloudless, as on every winter day. Not a breeze stirred. Evening seemed clearly to be approaching. Angrily I growled at my servants that they had once again forgotten to bring me my noon-dinner. In reply I could still hear them cry out: "Or tse bu h'au!" (The day is no good, it is an unlucky day!) and then I trotted up the street to see the horse that was for sale. It chanced that my way led me past the gate of fu yamen. A great many soldiers and musicians were assembled in the broad courtyard, all of whom were solemnly engaged in playing

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drums, gongs, shrill whistles, cooking-pots and anything that made a noise, and were, like children, producing an ear-splitting racket. In their midst stood the prefect in full official dress with his blue button and the feathers on his hat, as well as the embroidered heraldic bird on his chest. In front of him a wash bowl had been set up into which he kept looking with a worried expression, and behind him on a wooden frame the symbol of "gluttony" had been drawn on paper.

From a near-by temple also came the sound of hollow drum beats and from all the larger courtyards came similar ghastly caterwauling. This was the way these people defended themselves against - the eclipse of the sun which occurred on this day. All those who had an official position - and there are certainly not a few in Hsining fu - felt duty-bound to make a racket along with all their employees; but they were joined by all the wealthy people of the city, all the craftsmen and peasants who tooted and banged in an effort to rescue the sun and drive away the bad voracious monster that threatened to consume her. Weeks ago already an order had been issued to this effect from the astrological office in Peking. Like a great strategist the prefect, in the midst of his troops, strove for the success of his weapons. And once again he was in luck! The monster docilely retreated. The sun shines again in its usual fashion. When the danger is over, the prefect offers a kowtow, nodding his head nine times, and then disappears, smiling in a superior way, inside his yamen. Contentedly the soldiers march home and everyone continues his usual pursuits.

The eclipse was not total. At the height of the eclipse a tiny crescent was visible on the lower rim. But it grew dark enough so that all the animals prepared to go to their resting places; the chickens /96/ gathered in their coops as they do at night; the sparrows continued to quarrel and preen for a short time, but then quickly slipped into their hide-a-ways for the night, under the eaves. Absolute quiet prevailed in the animal kingdom, only humans had to go on like mad playing their miserable musical instruments until it grew light again and the day began anew for the sparrows and the four-footed animals.

I recruited six men to accompany me on my new venture. Again the supply was tremendous. I had to overcome all kinds of tricks and intrigues in order to prevent getting people who had never before been in the steppes or in the highlands. The ones I had hired already were bribed by the others for a recommendation. They quickly learned a few snatches of Tibetan in order to be able to say they understood

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822 ETHNOPHYSICS--popular conceptions of matter, energy, and their properties; notions about space, time, and gravitation; ideas about form, color, and sound (e.g., color symbolism, patterned use of color); beliefs about shadows, reflections, and echoes; notions about electricity, magnetism, chemical properties (e.g., alchemy); etc. See also:

Telephone, telegraph, radio, and television	20	Chemical engineering	381
Ideas about heat, light, and fire	37	Mechanics	401
Art and music	53	Optical instruments	416
Data on sensation and perception	151	Ideas about the soul	774
Photography	218	Mensuration	804
Metallurgy	325	Development of scientific physics and chemistry	818
Civil engineering	331		

/The Tibetans/

3. Social values and customs

a. Virtue

Early social values and customs of the Tibetans were derived from their religious code and legal concepts. Their leading forefathers formulated a set of virtues for the laity, which bound them together as a people, and it is said that these virtues are still the basic moral code of the Tibetans.

The sixteen early Tibetan virtues are: "To have faith in 'The Chief Rare Ones' (Kön-chok); to perform religious observances and to study; to honor one's parents; to respect the virtuous; to honor elders as well as those of high birth; to pay heed to relatives and friends; to be useful to one's country; to be honest; to realise the proper use of food and wealth; to fol'ow the examples of those who are good; to show gratitude to benefactors and to return their kindness; to use correct weights and measures; to be free from jealousy and to be at harmony with all; not to listen to the words of women; to be gentle in speech and acquire skill in conversation; to bear sufferings and distress with patience and meekness." (Bell 1928:11.)

b. Etiquette

In Tibetan etiquette, the presentation of a katag may not be made except in the presence of others. The katag is a small rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is considered the most respectful. The katag of thin raw silk is used at common social occasions, or presented to a living Buddha or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin with designs of a Buddha on it. This type is used solely for an audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or presented to a Buddha image to show reverence.

When one visits relatives or has an audience with a Living Buddha or high official, the katag is presented first. The recipient will give one in exchange, but perhaps not until the return visit. The manner of presenting the katag varies with rank. For one of higher rank, such as an elder, t'u-kung or Living Buddha, the giver presents the katag with both hands. The receiver may not receive it personally, however, so the giver places it under the dignitary's chair and backs out. Two persons of equal rank simply hand the katags to each other. A person of high rank grants a katag to a less exalted person, he ties it around his neck. If there are other gifts, they may be placed on the top of a katag.

Strict etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor approaches a tent, he should call loudly to his host (for protection from the dogs). The host appears to greet the guest, and allows the guest to walk before him into the tent. Host or hostess lays a sheepskin or felt on the ground for a seat. The left side of the tent is the honored side. Hostess and women guests occupy the

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823 ETHNOGEOGRAPHY--notions about water; ideas about hydrographic phenomena (e.g., oceans and seas, waves and tides, currents and whirlpools, rivers and streams, lakes and springs, floods); ideas about topographic phenomena (e.g., hills and mountains, canyons and valleys, caves and grottoes, striking natural formations, volcanoes and earthquakes); notions about minerals, metals, and precious stones; geographical and geological lore; directions (e.g., upstream and downstream, cardinal points); ideas about the beauty of nature; associated behavior patterns (e.g., attempts to quell earthquakes); etc. See also:

Geographical environment	13	Disaster relief	731
Settlements	36	Flood myths and mythical cataclysms	773
Place names	103	Nature spirits and monsters	776
Land use	311	Surveying	804
Water supply	312	Development of scientific geology and geography	818
Routes and maps	487		

(eighth century A.D.) and a Sung edition of the Tripitaka. It gained its name through the Buddhist monk Wei-ko (Sung times) who used to stay there overnight and was called the Sleeping Dragon.

Another one is the K'ai-yüan-ssu, built in 713 A.D., which is adorned with many famous inscriptions and also was once famed for its library. Few religious relics are left now at this place, which has become a center of high-class girl entertainers instead.

One of the landmarks of Sian is the Glazed Tile Pagoda, Hua-t'a, built during the times of the Five Dynasties. Other famous pagodas in the neighborhood are the Great Swallow Pagoda, Ta-yen-t'a, belonging to the temple Ta Tz'u-en-ssu, in which the pilgrim Hsüan-tsang was active, and the Small Swallow Pagoda, Hsiao-yen-t'a, built in the beginning of the eighth century.

The best-known Taoist temple was the Ying-hsiang-kuan, which was made the main center of Taoist devotion by Emperor Jui of T'ang in 708 A.D. at a period when the Imperial house of T'ang showed pride in its alleged descendence from Lao-tzu, the great patriarch of Taoist religion. In Kuomintang times the temple was converted into a school.

The plain around Sian is dotted with many tombs of past emperors. These artificial hills are held in great reverence by the local population and many myths have taken their origin here even though it is not known whose august remains these hills cover.

Shensi is also the site of one of the Five Sacred Mountains of China, which formed part of the Imperial cult and to which regularly Imperial sacrifices were offered. The worship of these mountains belongs to the oldest religious traditions of China. All through historic times down to and including the last dynasty, the Emperors went there in person for regular services or at least had themselves represented by topmost officialdom. At least since T'ang times large temples were erected to the spirit of these mountains. They were, however, not only depositories of memories of this official cult, but as pilgrimage centers of organized groups and individuals, they have accumulated religious traditions and historical relics devoted to all sections of the population.

Even though the Western Peak, Hua-shan, has to cede priority to the Eastern, T'ai-shan, it always was, and still is, one of the most important centers of pious activities. Numerous temples, shrines, caves and pavillions testify to this fact. Most of them are outside institutionalized Imperial ritual, but are maintained by local religious groups or sects and by the donations of visiting pilgrims in search of delivery from some bodily or spiritual troubles.

According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been connected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been transformed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

rest-house in the midst of a group of trees, the whole picture being reflected in the water, wherein numbers of little black ducks with white beaks disported themselves, dipping and reappearing continually. The little divers found the current to be so strong, that as soon as they reached the western extremity they rose above the water and trusted to their wings for the return journey rather than battle against the stream.

There is another curious phenomenon, the facts of which we were able to test. We were told to slide down the sandhill propelling ourselves by movements of our hands. This we found to be a very simple and effective way of descent, as the whole warm dry surface moved with us. At a certain point a loud, clear, vibrating sound responded to our movements, resembling the twang of a mighty musical instrument, which sound seemed to proceed from the very centre of the hill.

Another name for the locality is 'The Door of Thunder,' from the extraordinary sounds that sometimes are heard, when the whole valley echoes and re-echoes with a noise like that of rolling drums, and when the sand, moved by the vibration, starts rolling, and continues to roll for hours on end. It is most amazing that this little lake and its surrounding temples should not long ago have been buried under the sandhills. Certain it is that, however fierce the wind, it always carries the sand away from the surface of the water; were it otherwise one windy season must be enough to alter the whole aspect of the scene.

'The Side Door of Paradise' is a name frequently used by Buddhist pilgrims when speaking of this lake. Only a few hundred yards from the rest-house is a sand-choked depression, with temple buildings almost wholly submerged by drifting sand, and here was formerly a sheet of water as clear as that of the Crescent

[At the Lake of the Crescent Moon --Analyst]

Lake itself. Its purity was offended by the act of two women, who determined to force an entrance to Paradise by the crystal gate of these pure waters. Throwing aside their garments they plunged beneath the surface and were never seen again, but the lake immediately receded and allowed the shifting dune to cover it!

The popular idea of buried buildings and great subterranean caverns, which account for all these mysterious effects, are probably correct, nor is it surprising that many tales are related to account for them. The whole neighbourhood is full of interest, and some day, doubtless, will be called upon to give up its secrets to scientific excavators.

Just when we were leaving the rest-house, a lama came towards us, having travelled barefoot from the sacred mountain of Shansi, prostrating himself at every few steps. It was near sunset; his red and yellow robes were soiled, and he himself weary and travel-stained, so that he was now calling in at this temple for a night's shelter. We stopped and spoke to him, and then all sat down by the wayside to talk.

'From what Province do you come, lama?' we enquired.

'From Utai Mountain, in Shansi,' he answered, 'and the road is long; it has taken me six months to reach here.'

'And where are you going?'

'To Lhasa, through those mountains,' waving his hand in the direction of the Southern Hills.

'What is the purpose of your pilgrimage?'

'To fulfil a vow made many years ago.'

We handed him a copy of St. John's Gospel, in which he at once read aloud the opening words: *'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and*

The ting told me of his adventures in the grasslands. He kept repeating how glad he had been to get out again alive. It was a dreadful land, this prairie land. He had been obliged to ride through the cold steppes for months on end. It was like winter in the middle of summer. And these bad roads, these storms in the passes! He told of wolves, bears, even tigers, and said that the dogs of the nomads were as large as calves and much wilder and more snappish than raving lions. And then the rivers! He said he had to ride through them on horseback or swim across. When he came to Denang, thousands of heavily armed Ngolok had surrounded him and threatened him. Amid threats they had called out to him: "We Ngolok are as numerous as the stars in the sky; what do you think you can accomplish with 45 men?" He said they had acted like disturbed hornets! The supreme authority of the Chinese emperor was in no wise acknowledged. They even wanted to stamp their riding boots on the imperial seal, which is a sign of the deepest disdain. He had been unable to accomplish a thing and for this reason the expedition even cost him a great deal of money. He lost his own riding horse and many yak who succumbed as a result of great exertions. The Chinese government finally paid part of the damage in order to satisfy the Lhasa Tibetans and above all the monasteries. "You who were born earlier, wait until the amban gives you soldiers to take along. You had better go to the lake in summer," thus spoke the friendly ting mandarin.

I replied, "Your illustrious colleague, the sub-prefect of Hsining, told me that it is impossible to launch a boat on the lake, it won't stay afloat, that a /179/ a ship sinks immediately, and that the waters of the Koko Nor do not have the power to keep a ship afloat."

"Of course, if you must go out on the water and visit the island then you can only go now. I, too, know that the waters of the western sea do not have any supporting power." (1)

1. A superstition to which the Chinese cling tenaciously. There is not a ship to be seen on the entire lake.

"I shall see that you get soldiers during the time of the New Year," concluded the Chinese district chief, picked up the cup of tea which was set before him, noisily sipped a few draughts and took his leave.

Dankar ting is a city of about 8,000-10,000 inhabitants and an

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824 ETHNOBOTANY--notions about plants in general; ideas about particular plants (e.g., mistletoe); cultural uses of plants; native terms for plants; knowledge of poisonous plants; associated behavior patterns; etc. See also:

Agriculture	24	Materia medica and pharmacology	278
Textile uses of plant fibers	28	Lumbering and forestry science	313
Native flora	137	Forest products	314
Collecting	222	Arrow poisons	411
Fish poisons	226	Development of scientific botany	815
Food taboos	262		

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278 824 the air and even without sun. The Koko Nor rhubarb is bought up by the merchants from the neighboring province of Shensi. For this reason it gets into the hands of Europeans mostly under the name of Shensi- (pronounced: Shansi-) rhubarb. There is also Szechwan, Shanghai-, and Canton-rhubarb, all drug-names which have been introduced by European export firms on the coast or on the Russian border.

424 278 437 /342/ Dankar and Hsining (1) as well as Suchow are the places

1. At the time of my journey Hsining exported 1,000 and 1,200 picul.

where the merchants from the Chinese lowland, the "Shensi- and Canton guests," take the medicinal plant from the rhubarb-gatherers of the Koko Nor in November and December. These merchants are almost exclusively Kansu Mohammedans who set out in groups of 30 to 40, under the leadership of a master. In this way 400 to 500 men journey annually from the valleys of the Hsining prefecture in order to hunt for rhubarb. These leaders are small, independent employers who take the risk of a journey into dangerous Tibet. They pay their men two to three taels a month with free maintenance. In order to be assured in advance of a certain price for their goods and not be subject to too much subsequent speculation, the merchants of the lowland usually bear the cost of the equipment and the rather expensive licenses which may be bought from the amban yamen and also from the individual native chieftains. All my Mohammedan servants had already been in the Ts'ao ti digging for rhubarb. The chief harvest time is September when the small fruit is ripe. Then the rhizomes are less juicy. Of ten pounds of freshly-dug roots, about seven pounds remain after they are dried. In July, on the other hand, they are so spongy that only three pounds remain out of ten pounds, and the efficacious ingredients are not present in such large amounts as in the fall. In the winter and as long as the plant has no leaves, the rhizome is considered "empty."

The gatherers dig out the rhubarb very carelessly. They pull all the larger stalks, those that are more than five or six years old, out of the earth and drag them along with roots attached to the camp sites. There the ring-shaped stricture where the plant part goes over into the rhizome is cut; then the rhizomes are peeled, all the hair

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roots are cut off with a knife, as well as all the old leaves, everything that is, as the people say, "black." Thereupon the clean, wet pieces of root a few inches long are pierced with an awl and strung up on strings to dry in the air. Careful drying is of the utmost importance for the quality and the price. The bulbs may never be exposed to the sun. Thus, they are carefully hung up between the branches of cedar trees (there are no houses or roofs in this region) and where there are gaps in the branches these are filled in with twigs. If the sun dries the roots they are said to become black and the Chinese buyers will not take them or only at much lower prices. The buyers at the Dankar market cut them open in order to see whether they have any black spots. /343/ (1) Only pieces that are yellowish- 278 824 437 278 437

1. See in this connection: A Tschirch: "Studien über den Rhabarber und seine Stammpflanze" in Festschrift für Professor Ritter, Vienna 1904, and the report based on my personal observation: A. Tschirch, Arch. d. Pharm., 1907, p. 680 and Schweiz. Wochenschr. f. Chemie und Pharm. 1910, no. 12, "Zwei interessante Pflanzen des Berner Botan. Gartens," with a good illustration of Rheum tanguticum which was grown from the seed I gathered at the border of Tsaidam (near Dulan gomba). - Further, see C.C. Hosseus, Osterr. botan. Zeitschr. 1911, no. 12, "Die Stammpflanze des offiziellen Rhabarbers"; Arch. d. Pharm. 1911. p. 419, "Rheum palm., die Stammpflanze," Südd. Apoth.-Ztg. p. 239.

The pieces, which are peeled on the spot, are examined in Dankar and cleaned again, then packed in boxes which are sealed with oiled paper. All the exporters of medicinal rhubarb in Shanghai say that it is extremely hygroscopic. It must be very carefully handled in the moist coastal climate. There it is often re-dried in order to keep it from getting moldy, but then it often loses its quality. The so-called Muscovite rhubarb which comes over the Russian-Mongolian border and via Kiakhta travels through a drier climate and is therefore justifiably considered better, aside from the fact that it derives from North Tibet, that is, from the Rheum palmatum which contains 2.8 to 4 percent oxymethylanthrachinonen.

red all the way through bring a good price in Dankar. Twelve to

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278 437 fourteen taels were paid in 1894 for 100 catties. At the beginning of this century the price in Dankar dropped to 8 to 9 taels. The rhubarb from Kue de brings 1 to 2 taels less because its rhizomes are blacker and are therefore considered less efficacious.

824 386 262 The Mongols and Tibetans use this rhubarb only for dyes, not for medicinal purposes. On the other hand, they use the stems of another kind which the Mohammedans call sche hoang, that is, stone-rhubarb, with leaves that are only slightly slit, as a vegetable.

000 On July 10 I left the Schang yurts. I had set Bárun-Tsaidam as my next goal, in order to supplement my supply of flour, which I had not succeeded in doing in Schang. In Barun there is supposed to be more barley than in Schang.

We had some difficulty in getting started. The small animals had not got used to each other. The 37 head which I bought always tried to stray apart and head for any larger herd. It was a mystery to me how my men with unfailing accuracy always extricated my animals from a flock of many hundreds of sheep and goats. But the Chinese are good at things like that. It always amuses me to recall an example illustrative of this distinguishing trait. It happened at an inn in the lowlands. A guest and, of course, a grass widower had just returned home from market carrying his supper consisting of meat, eggs and flour, and the necessary fuel for it under his arm. He threw the bundle of twigs down in front of the door of his room. While he was in the room in order to fetch his cooking pot and pan, a policeman who was keeping the all-too troublesome gapers away from me, hoping to earn a good tip, got himself a stick from the bundle of faggots of my neighbor and paraded up and down with it at some distance in front of the gate of the inn. The grass widower returned. He took up his bundle and immediately discovered the damage. A mere glance, and he recognized his property in the hands of the policeman. Now, there was a second policeman with a similar stick in his hand, standing at the gate, but the injured man had immediately picked out the right one and also got back what belonged to him. The lies and excuses of the policeman were powerless against his plausible arguments. He was able to give a minute description of his firewood.

133 We traveled over low hills and a small saddle: at the end of our day's march we crossed over the Yogh'ore gol, the outlet of the Tossun Nor and the Alang Nor. The Yogh'ore Valley is wide and flat-bottomed, the river is /344/ divided into several branches and was now, at the time of the monsoon rains, rather deep. I had

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825 ETHNOZOOLOGY--notions about animals (e.g., mammals, birds, reptiles, fish, crustaceans, insects); ideas about particular animals (e.g., snakes, fireflies); technological and other cultural uses of wild animals and their products; native terms for animals; associated behavior patterns (e.g., avoidance of snakes); etc. See also:

Collecting, hunting, and fishing	22	Native fauna	136
Animal husbandry	23	Proper names of animals	552
Public health and sanitation	744	Animal divinities	776
Remedies for snakebite	752	Totemism	61, 779
Germ theory of disease	753	Animal sacrifices	782
Vampires and werewolves	754	Development of scientific zoology	815
Animism	774		

of the North West and must consume a great deal of grain. 136 Strangely enough the Chinese peasants, often poor to the verge of starvation, seldom touch them,[1] partly because of 262 the cost of powder and shot, and partly perhaps because of 136 the curious prejudice the Chinese cultivator has to eating anything wild, for fear lest it should make him "wild in the 825 heart." The ordinary Chinese appear much to prefer a skinny old chicken to a nice plump pheasant because the former is not wild. While we were routing out pheasants on these hills we put up four deer, apparently a large kind of roe, which showed very little alarm and kept on reappearing at intervals for the rest of the afternoon.

The T'ing, usually translated "sub-prefecture" and now 634 abolished, appears formerly to have been always the centre 563 of a sort of military district located in mountainous country for the purpose of holding aboriginal tribesmen of some kind in check. Thus one will find many T'ing on the western confines of Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kansu facing the Tibetans; in the Miaotzu country of Kueichou and adjacent provinces; on the borders of Lololand in Szechuan; on the Burma-Yunnan frontier; and in Northern Shensi on the Mongolian border; but not in provinces like Anhui, Kiangsu, Shantung, etc., which have never contained a non-Chinese population. There are quite a number of T'ing in the Nan Shan of Shensi. But every vestige of an aboriginal non-Chinese population seems to have disappeared, if it ever existed. I have a vague recollection that some European scholar has evolved a theory that the non-Chinese tribes now living in Southern China originated in the mountains of Southern Shensi. Incidentally it may be noted that the former T'ing are usually marked in foreign maps of China as more important places than the Hsien. But with the exception of a few larger places such as Tachienlu and T'engyueh, nine out of ten of the T'ing are miserable little walled villages in the mountains, nowadays ranking as the poorest of third class Hsien.

Leaving Fop'ing the track climbs up the range im- 487 mediately to the north by zigzags to reach the pass about a thousand feet above the valley, whence there is a fine 133 view over a wilderness of mountains all around. To the N. and N.W. lies T'aipai Shan, a bare rocky ridge still carrying a good deal of snow in May. This pass (about 7000 feet) is

1 [pheasants - ANALYST]

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826 ETHNOANATOMY--conception of ideal bodily proportions; ideas about the torso and its parts (e.g., belly, breasts, buttocks, navel, neck, spine), skin and pigmentation, hair (e.g., axial, body, facial, head, pubic), head and its parts (e.g., brain, ears, eyes, lips, mouth, nose, teeth, tongue), limbs (e.g., arms, legs, hands, feet, fingers, toes, nails), blood, veins and arteries, bones, fat and muscles, nerves and sinews, internal organs (e.g., heart, intestines, kidneys, liver, lungs, stomach); interpretations of physical abnormalities (e.g., albinism, clubfoot, cretinism, dwarfism, harelip, hermaphroditism, hunchback); associated behavior patterns; etc. See also:

Adornment	30	Defectives	732
Anthropometric measurements	141	Surgery	752
Bathing and laving	515	Use of hair and nails in sorcery	754
Athletic sports	526	Relation of body and soul	774
Race prejudice	563	Development of scientific anatomy	815
Blood brotherhood	608	Notions about the genitalia	831
Blood vengeance	628	Ideals of erotic beauty	832
Taking of trophies	727	Ideas concerning menstrual blood	841

/The Chinese/

knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs. The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin. These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases. Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.

Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the existence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth. According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is disturbed, disease follows.

These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated population, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population. In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases. Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China Handbook.

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot, who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sanitation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day

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827 ETHNOPHYSIOLOGY--ideas about anal reactions (e.g., urination, defecation, farting); circulatory reactions (e.g., heartbeat, pulse); dermal reactions (e.g., flushing, fever and temperature, perspiring, shivering, itching and twitching, sloughing of skin and hair); facial reactions (e.g., laughing, smiling, grinning, sneering, frowning); nasal and respiratory reactions (e.g., breathing, panting, sneezing, running of nose); ocular and auricular reactions (e.g., weeping, blinking, dilation of pupils, ringing of ears, secretion of wax); oral reactions (e.g., salivation, spitting, swallowing, vomiting, coughing, hiccoughing, yawning); ideas about digestion and respiration; notions about heredity; associated behavior patterns (e.g., scratching, congratulations upon sneezing); etc. See also:

Genetic and ontogenetic data	14	Eating	264
Drinking, smoking, and narcosis	27	Humor	523
Sleeping, elimination, and bathing	51	Sorcery with exuviae	754
Sickness and therapy	75	Relation of breath to soul concepts	774
Death and mortuary customs	76	Taboos on looking, listening, and speaking	784
Sex	83	Development of scientific physiology	815
Reproduction	84	Ideas about suckling	853
Ideas about language	191	Ideas about development and maturation	856
Gestures	201	Cleanliness training	863

outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal social stability of family and community at the expense of personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

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829 ETHNOSOCIOLOGY--social philosophy; interpretations of the society's charter; native ideas about social relationships and social structure; concepts of society (e.g., social contract); notions about culture and cultural change; economics and political behavior (e.g., mercantilism), racial inequality; etc. See also:

Population policy	168	Criminology	674
Sociocultural trends	178	Penology	681
National character	181	Welfare policies	746
Social planning	185	Theological systems	779
Development of nationalism	619	Missionary programs	797
Constitution	642	Philosophical systems	812
Principles of taxation	651	Development of scientific anthropology, sociology, and economics	815
Policies of government regulation	656	Educational policies	871
Political movements	668		
Jurisprudence	671		

The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AL 1

we strolled between the flower-beds listening to singing 351
birds, which, alas ! were in cages concealed among the branches of the trees. The arrangement of the garden was highly skilful and artificial. In one place a miniature mountain showed tiny paths connecting shrines and temples, all built to scale, while the whole was watered by the ramifications of a sparkling little stream, on the banks of which stood diminutive men, women and children—the whole happy-family scene conveying the impression of a life spent in Elysian fields, which no disturbing element could touch. A good 351
deal of the verdure in the flower-beds was supplied by 262
asparagus plants, known to the Chinese as 'Dragon's
Beard,' which seems to be indigenous to Kansu, but 824
which, strange to say, the people do not care to eat. 137
Many are the bitter weeds, leaves and buds which the Chinese cleverly convert into palatable food, but the delights of asparagus have not yet been discovered by them, and it is distressing to a Westerner to see the shoots allowed to go to leaf without ever being cut.

The meal served to us was of the usual kind, com- 262
mencing with dessert and *hors d'œuvres*, and proceeding to chicken, fish, birds' nest soup, and sweet rice ; then reverting to sharks' fins, seaweed, and apricot-kernel syrup ; ending with plain boiled rice, rolls, and several basins of vegetable soups with meat balls, while on this occasion a seasonable dainty was provided in the shape of light fritters, made from the petals of the tree-peony. As we were by now on a footing of intimate friendship with these ladies, the social intercourse and delightful food thus prepared for us made a pleasant interlude coming between the exacting claims of the last days.

Late one evening a Suchow man of our acquaintance, 521
Mr. Li by name, called, bringing with him a gentleman 172

seeds of rhubarb in case I found any. 137

In the 13th century, already, Marco Polo reports that rhubarb was gathered in the Koko Nor region and from there sent to the rest of the world. In our time Prschewalski brought back bulbs and seeds as well as dried plants from the Koko Nor on his Tibetan journey in the years 1870-1873, and after that the Koko Nor rhubarb was classified as Rheum palmatum L. var. tanguticum Maximowicz. But in the course of the years the specimens grown from Prschewalski's seeds in the botanical gardens of St. Petersburg, Bern, etc., changed so much and became so similar to our ordinary Rheum palmatum hortorum, moreover, such a large number of new species have been said to be the original plant of the medicinal remedy we use, that the question of its origin still seems unsolved.

Thus, I was very pleased to be able to send Professor Tschirch an envelope containing rhubarb seeds which I had myself gathered in the woods between the rocks near Dulan gomba (37° northern latitude, 98°, $40'$ longitude east of Greenwich), and that from these seeds, in defiance of all primitive methods of transportation, young plants came up in the Bern Botanical Garden, a year later and long before I left Tibet, which helped solve the problem conclusively. In the Schweizerische Wochenschrift für Chemie und Pharmazie, 1910, number 19, Professor Tschirch reports that from the seeds I sent him Rheum palmatum L. var. β-tanguticum Maxim. developed, in fact, that this species is so different from Rheum palmatum, that he feels inclined to classify it as a different species, as Rheum tanguticum.

Rheum palmatum is confined to Northeast Tibet, to 278 the highlands of the Nan Shan and Koko Nor, whereas the 324 very different Rheum officinale occurs in the more moist south and southeast of the Tibetan mountains. Hand in hand with the variety of species and climate goes the /342/ method of treatment of the bulbs once they are dug out. In Szechwan and South Tibet the root must often be artificially dried in ovens because the summers are too wet. In the north, at Koko Nor, the people who gather rhubarb take the greatest care to dry the bulbs in

in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

THE FAMILY

I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

/Mongols of the Northwest/

pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang. For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai, Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification, which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols. (Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and their supreme representative, the court of the government in Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having performed special, mostly military, services for the court in Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the Northwest thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of gods') rather than Peking. For the religious world is the real and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiritual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essential to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous, and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes. Whenever Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that they have even more in common than only external appearance and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open, on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hills or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent observations, which might add up to some general notions. In the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred Cable and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towardsthem. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners. Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

extremely obedient and timid toward the government officials. Anyone who has some connection with the government can command the service and materials of the small people. One who has just a sword may act as a lord in the Chinese rural community. The common people in these communities are too meek and ignorant to resist. The rural people in general are primarily concerned with their food problem. Their attitude toward anything is affected by this problem. Their attitude toward the coming of the Communists, for example, was quite interesting. They were anxious to know how far the Communists were and how great the possibility was of their coming. When they were asked how they felt about the coming of the Communists, the answer was that what they feared mostly about the Communists was that the Communists might eat up all the food they had and then they would be left to starvation. They seemed to believe that the Communists would not persecute them because they were just poor people. They had heard that the people in Szechwan called the Communists the misfortune bringers. It meant that wherever the Communists appeared they would bring misfortune. The Kansu people would not care how sweet the Communist promises might be, if the Communists had to live off the province's scanty food supply, they were not wanted. This shows that the economic conditions in the Northwest, as in other places, had great influence on the people's political attitude.

However, this does not mean that the Chinese peasants in the Northwest care only about their stomach and overlook all else. They also resent the fact that the government officials and the local gentry looked down upon them and treated them as people of little value. It is reported that bad administration of the local government at that time was the reason that the local Communists, led by a man named Liu Tzu-tan, were able to make considerable progress among the peasants in a big territory between the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. The Communists gave the people many kinds of little or temporary advantages and made all sorts of big promises. At the moment they looked much better than the local government officials and therefore they won the people's confidence and support. It is reported that when the government tried to call the people in the villages to a meeting so they might be enlightened about the government's policy, very few came. But whenever Liu Tzu-tan wanted a mass meeting, the peasants swarmed into wherever the gathering was held. Liu Tzu-tan knew the common people's psychology and their dire needs, and he skillfully played these factors for his purpose. Consequently, his movement was very successful among the rural masses.

According to Fan Ch'ang-chiang's report, the Chinese farmers in the areas between Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia were by and large landowners, not tenants. The areas were very thinly populated

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and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's attitude toward land must have been different from that of the people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood. Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might mean nothing.

Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This complication influenced not only political and social affairs but also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in the province of Chinghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from China Proper, chung-yüan. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrimination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political, economic, and military positions and they were the predominant group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese toward the Moslems.

About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou, Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communities stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

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individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall, were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason, in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and submissiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open discontent. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime.

who are recalcitrant in maintaining their reactionary standing and military and government officials of the former Chiang government still cling to the shameful and parasitical way of life without engaging themselves in proper employment but commit various practices of thieft and swindling. Some ruffians indulge in drinking and assaulting women. Some illegal prostitutes and professional gamblers convert their brothels and gambling houses into dens for robbers, thieves, and ruffians, and into hotbeds for nourishing crimes. Some unscrupulous second-hand goods dealers and hotel keepers collude with burglarious elements to dispose of spoils and even act as chief planner of crimes. More serious still, a batch of habitual thieves who sneakily move around various places even collaborate with one another to commit theft and robbery in an organized manner, using arms to threaten people and to carry out violence. Some culprits refuse to repent during reform through labor and even escape from jails to continue their crimes. Some burglarious elements who sneaked into our province from other provinces and who also belonged to the category of counter-revolutionaries carry out their counter-revolutionary sabotage activities in the form of criminal offense or impose themselves as military and government personnel to commit extortion and blackmailing. Some ruffians even intensified their activities to rob and rape women."

12. "An address delived by Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o, a deputy from Chinghai, at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National Congress:

"'Recently, in some nomadic areas (in Chinghai) we discovered rumors spread by the enemies, saying, "To start cooperatives in nomadic areas is just another form of confiscation of cattle and sheep." It definitely hurt the productive morale of the people....

"' Furthermore, there are numerous counter-revolutionary elements carrying on sabotage under the cover of religion. This is often discovered in the area of minority groups. For instance in some nomadic areas in Chinghai, people rumored that a Heavenly mandate had descended, saying that the world would be destroyed soon. The people would suffer in great calamities, etc. It was a disguise of the devil to disturb the common people... But a lot of those who had faith but were short of wisdom believed it.... They interrupted their productive activities and devoted their time wholly on chanting Buddhist scriptures every day, hoping that by doing so they may escape from the disasters....

"'The counter-revolutionists are so active that we cannot afford to neglect them. We must get rid of the idea that everything is in order.... We must suppress them.'" (Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 69.)

13. In the Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 197, there appeared

"An address delivered by Sun Tso-ping, a deputy from Chinghai,

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836 PREMARITAL SEX RELATIONS--presence or absence of a standard of chastity for the unmarried; variations in the standard (e.g., by sex, by class status); basis of the standard (e.g., material or ethical considerations); prevalence of premarital liaisons; degree of social approval or disapproval; seduction; assignations; permanency and exclusiveness of premarital unions; reciprocal behavior of lovers; incidence of rivalry and jealousy; termination of liaisons; evidence as to infertility of premarital unions; etc. See also:

Fertility, contraception, abortion, infanticide, and illegitimacy	84	Idealization of chastity	831
Trial marriage	583	Sex training	864
Courtship and behavior during betrothal	584	Adolescent activities	883

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable. Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Monogamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modifications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accordingly. The most common and least complicated arrangement in this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried children. The family may also include several grandchildren born to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage, and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with their parents. A daughter also may bring her husband into her family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons. The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own, severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more additional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son marries, and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the continuity of the family. There is much greater degree of stability and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

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837 EXTRAMARITAL SEX RELATIONS--presence or absence of an ideal of marital fidelity; cultural definition of adultery (e.g., applying to both spouses, to wife only); allegations of promiscuity; incidence of adultery for both sexes; prevention (e.g., cloistering of women, chastity belts); initiation and conduct of adulterous liaisons; cicisbeism; keeping of mistresses; culturally sanctioned extramarital relations (e.g., wife lending, sexual hospitality); etc. See also:

Prostitution	548	Ceremonial license	786
Concubinage	596	Privileged sex relationships	836
Punishment of adultery	684	Illegitimacy	848

they are considered man and wife, and the woman then gets a dowry from her family. If she is no longer satisfied with the union, she may choose a new spouse at any time. The children who immediately after birth are given some animals from the herd, remain with the wife. Often the women change husbands so frequently or have so many lovers at once that one is tempted to speak of polyandry or pangamy.

The town of Barun kurä lies between swamps and in the middle of a scrubby wood. It consists of a few miserable huts, and crumbled gates of which there is just enough left so that one can see they are Chinese in style, and chiefly of the dsassak's houses enclosed by an extensive courtyard. (1) The buildings of the town serve the Barun

1. Rockhill, Diary, p. 165, discovered that the town was built as late as 1846 and was largely destroyed around 1886 at the command of the one-time major domo of the dsassak, Dowe, because the house owners refused to pay taxes to the dsassak.

chiefly as storage places for everything which they cannot take along on their frequent journeys. Among the permanent residents, there are only a lot of old women as well as old men who no longer care to live with their families, besides Chinese merchants who are in debt, and orphans who have been forgotten by their parents.

We lived in a tent in the dsassak's court. After we had set up our tent and got settled, we were invited to have tea in the dsassak's reception room. This was a low room measuring three by four meters. The dsassak sat down on a thick cushion on the rear wall, while at his right sat an elderly lama from the Gum bum lamasery, a Mongol from East Mongolia, who was the priest of the house. The rest of us sat in a circle around the coal brazier which stood in the middle of the room. I was seated alongside the lama. To the left of the dsassak sat his brother who was also a lamaistic priest, beside him sat the wife of the dsassak, and farther down, near the door, my companions and the prince's retinue. The room was more than simple. The walls, like those of all the houses of the village, consisted of stamped loess-loam and dried bricks, and the furnishings consisted of a few cupboards of the most slovenly kind of Chinese workmanship and dirty, pulo-canvas-covered pillows that served as seats. The room was lighted by the door opening and a small latticed opening without a paper window, high up on the wall.

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842 CONCEPTION--theory of impregnation and paternity; fertility and sterility (e.g., incidence, conceptualization); desire for children and preferences as to sex; methods of inducing conception and of counteracting barrenness and sterility; treatment of barren women and sterile men; methods of influencing conception (e.g., determining sex, preventing twins, inducing healthy offspring); prevention of conception (e.g., continence, coitus interruptus, contraceptive devices); attitudes toward birth control; etc. See also:

Sex behavior	83	Notions of reincarnation	776
Population policy	168	Ideas about heredity	827
Sterilization of defectives	738		

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apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

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844 CHILDBIRTH--ideas about childbirth; attitude of the community; importance of first and subsequent births; preparations for delivery; place of birth; witnesses, assistants, and excluded persons; role of midwives and obstetricians; onset and duration of labor; facilitation of delivery (e.g., pressure, massage); posture in childbirth; receiving the baby; severing and tying the umbilical cord; expulsion of placenta; disposal of exuviae; immediate care of mother and child; cleansing, bandaging, and medication of mother; adjustments to postnatal hemorrhage; treatment of baby (e.g., initiation of respiration, cleansing, swaddling); etc. See also:

Birth statistics	163	Hospitals	743
Infant and maternal mortality	165	Medical personnel	759
Birth registration	217	Special mortuary rites	766
Birthdays	527	Omens, divination, and astrology	787

/The Tibetans/

are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama. With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

"Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity." Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bundle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend.

/The Chinese/

by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sanitary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the midwives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and child.

Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem. Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook). In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

E. Efforts of the Government

The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

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846 POSTNATAL CARE--care of postparturient mother during period of recuperation (e.g., rest, isolation, medication, sex and food taboos); duration of lochia and its disposal; visits and presents; resumption of normal life (e.g., gradual, after lapse of a specified time); purificatory rites; special care of child between birth and sloughing of umbilical cord; conceptualization and disposition of umbilical cord; treatment and disposition of motherless infants; special behavior of father (e.g., couvade); etc. See also:

Gift giving	431	Purification	788
Adoption	597	Infant feeding	853

The position of women is probably most clearly expressed in the fact that for forty days after a woman has given birth she is considered unclean. She may not leave her hut for ten days and may not even sit out in her yard, for she is unworthy for the sun to shine upon. During the first ten days even the husband is considered impure and may not associate with anyone. If he is a shopkeeper, custom forces him to close his shop during this interval or, if he does not wish to do this, to hire a substitute for this period, /242/ but he himself may not enter his shop or his place of business. For this reason many Chinese husbands quickly set out on a journey when a birth in the family is imminent, in order to avoid the suspicion of uncleanness.

Only a few days after my return from the Gum bum monastery my landlord in whose spacious buildings I had rented the third and last courtyard with its adjoining small house, died. His body was laid out for the next few days directly in front of my separate courtyard entrance, and there all the various funeral ceremonies took place so that I could view the entire proceeding at leisure. The family of the deceased had immigrated only a few generations before from Shensi, and so they were still considered strangers, they came from "down below," as the people of Hsining say. Thus, there were not many relatives and the family was not wealthy, so that everything was relatively simple and was done as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, according to our conceptions the ceremoniousness was tremendous.

The man had reached a ripe old age and had then died very quickly. But his relatives had succeeded in observing the etiquette of putting on his shroud, a long, padded silk gown, while he was still alive and also in moving him from his bed beside the stove onto a small bench and laying him out in the center room of the main house, so that his soul might more easily find its way out into the open. Thus, at the very last minute his sons had proved themselves pious children. Immediately after the man died money was placed in his mouth, so that he should not be mute when reborn, but he was neither washed nor were his eyelids closed. During the first few days he lay in the death chamber as though he had been forgotten, and the doors and windows of the room were wide open. All I heard during the day was the man's name being called and the words "father" and "grandfather," and on the first evening a long train of Taoist priests set out from the house, bearing many lanterns, and gongs, triangles and drums through the streets of the

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848 ILLEGITIMACY--[illegible]

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

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Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more additional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son marries, and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

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852 CEREMONIAL DURING INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD--[illegible]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems (Duggans)/

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

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/The Tibetans/

are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama. With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

"Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity." Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bundle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend.

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853

853 INFANT FEEDING--conception of lactation, milk, and colostrum; beliefs about sucking; initiation of suckling in newborn infants; stimulation of the flow of milk; routine of nursing (e.g., posture, intervals); feeding problems; treatment and behavior of the nursing mother (e.g., diet, sexual abstention); communal nursing; fosterage; adjustments to death of mother; supplementary feeding (e.g., age at beginning, appropriate foods and their preparation); method of feeding (e.g., bottle, cup, spoon); etc. See also:

Malnutrition 146
Dairy products 234
Diet 262
Ideas about breasts 826
Weaning 862

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854

854 INFANT CARE--care of routine bodily needs; cleaning; dealing with excreta; clothing and swaddling; provisions for sleep (e.g., cradles, cribs); playing with infants (e.g., fondling, dandling, rocking, crooning); emotional care (e.g., distracting techniques, methods of soothing, guarding against emotional upsets); watching and tending; special dangers ascribed to period of infancy; protection from real and supernatural dangers; hygienic and therapeutic measures; methods of holding and carrying infants (e.g., on back, astride hip); distribution of care among members of the family; institutionalized care (e.g., nurseries); etc. See also:

Cradle songs and lullabies 533
Preventive medicine 751
Medical care 758
Disparagement 784
Cleanliness training 863

endless. In vain I looked for a bit of driftwood on the shore, which even the Arctic Ocean casts up along the coast. The long, salt waves surge and break on a dead shore and the fresh blue that contrasts so sharply with the fallow autumnal green of the detritus slopes of the mountains /82/ is a delight only on the first day. The magic of the Koko Nor lies only in its remoteness from the world, in the difficulty involved in reaching it, in the danger that today lurks on its shores!

On the afternoon of November 8 I reached the east shore. We finally found life again near the place where my present path crossed the route we took at the time of our sudden attack in January. This is the land of the Tibdia-Tibetans. We stayed overnight with them. There was snow on the ground and the air was damp and cold.

Early on the morning of November 9 we crossed the Lala pass (3,885); a narrow saddle in the rock mountains to the east of the lake. The snow there was meters deep. From here the way led at once into a steep valley overgrown with shrubs where around noon we already found a few houses. By five in the afternoon I rode through the gate of the western suburb of Dankar - the long, weary retreat had come to an end. I felt as safe as though I were at home again.

Twelve kilometers from Dankar near a Tibetan town Lala, there stands a lonely rock dating from the 51st year of the Emperor Kien lung (1786), which marks the boundary between China and Tibet, but the grass pastures on the slopes of the mountains reach almost up to the walls of the city. Near the place where the border rock stands the air grew noticeably dustier. A fine mist descended on the countryside which lay glistening in the winter sun. In one corner of the valley we came upon thick masses of loess and then a village of loess caves. Finally we met Chinese, met a man dressed in indigo cotton clothes, carrying a bird cage in which he was taking his beloved dicky bird out for a walk.

The first question of my two companions was always: How was the harvest? How expensive is wheat? How much are beans? The answer was a happy one: We had a "ten-tenth" harvest. For a pound of wheat we are paying only 15 cash (one and one-quarter Pfennig). It could not be better. All at once I was in the midst of Chinese culture, surrounded by purely Chinese traits and images. There was a peasant with large round spectacles plowing by the wayside. Small, adorable Chinese children played in the thick dust of the road just outside the gate. Their mothers let them play around half-naked, defying the winter cold. The boys had a little iron chain with a padlock around their necks, to show that they were chained to the family and could

6: Tafel--129 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

not be carried off by evil spirits. There were other boys whose parents had arranged their hair like that of girls in order to deceive the evil spirits, for in China not even the devil bothers about a poor little worthless mite of a girl. The important thing for humans and therefore also for the forces of evil is the son and heir who will offer prayers and sacrifices on the future grave of his still-living father.

We passed little wooden boxes that reminded us of European mail boxes. But nobody thought of mail at that time in Dankar. The boxes bore the label: "Remember paper with writing on it!" and were set up - as everywhere in the kingdom of 18 provinces - so that people would not commit the sin of stepping on printed or written paper which is sacred, as everyone knows. There was a huge proclamation stuck to the first Chinese house we passed. It was signed by the ting of Dankar and proclaimed to the people that the Dalai Lama of Urga had moved to Gum bum. The people should willingly pay the required contributions /83/, and if the Fan tse accompanying the Lama should be impudent, they should not immediately pay them back in kind.

Life in the city of Dankar had changed very much. It was the time when the nomads were in the habit of trading in their year's supply of grain. Besides, at the news of the arrival of the Dalai Lama, hundreds and thousands of pilgrims had arrived who were following him to Gum bum. Day by day the largest yak- and camel-caravans arrived in the suburbs and again departed from the large market place as fast as they could. Once 60 camels marched by on the way to Lhasa, bearing gifts which the high priest had received in Mongolia. Most of the gifts consisted of silver, guns and cartridges. On the backs of the animals gay yellow flags fluttered, bearing the Chinese insignia of Hsi tien (western heaven), that is to say: Central Tibet, and with that everything crossed the border duty-free. The lofty lord seemed to have made good use of his time.

The Dalai Lama lived in the Gum bum monastery, but a large part of his retinue stayed in the city of Dankar where the Lhasa government in any case always had resident commissars. It is difficult to say whether the latter represent largely commercial or political interests.

Around this time a younger brother of the Dalai Lama died in the city of Dankar. His body was cremated in a desolate mountain gorge north of the city, and everything was carried out with the greatest luxury, fit for a real prince. He was bound together in a

855

855 CHILD CARE--supervision, care, and support of children from earliest independence (e.g., walking, talking) to puberty; distribution of responsibility among parents and other relatives; institutionalized care (e.g., day nurseries); beliefs and standards concerning proper clothing, feeding, and housing of children; provisions for physical and mental health; protection from physical and social dangers (e.g., confinement, removal of dangerous objects); attitude of adults toward children (e.g., indulgent, indifferent, censorious); spoiling and coddling; mistreatment and neglect of children; etc. See also:

Discipline and training	86	Preventive medicine	751
Family relationships	593	Medical care	758
Care of orphans	736		

If this law is fully implemented, it provides security for the workers and their families. However, we have no knowledge of how close to the letter of the law the practice of the government is. Nor do we know what percentage of the workers enjoy the benefit of this law.

Child-welfare is highly valued in China, whose future rests on the health and upbringing of its children. Therefore, extensive child-welfare programs have been adopted. Since the Communist society demands that women participate in industrial and construction works and contributed to the economic development of the country, provisions had to be made to take adequate care of their children. For this purpose many nurseries were established which provide a place for the children during the day time. Government orphanages were established as well, supplementing the already existing institutions. The aged, however, do not receive as much attention in the Communist society since they are viewed as being of no productive value to the society.

87

87 EDUCATION--general statements dealing with several aspects of the more formal and institutionalized aspects to the educational process, especially instruction conducted in schools, by specialized tutors, or through formal apprenticeship. For informal education see 86.

3. Kansu: The educational program was more advanced than in the other provinces in the Northwest. The number of schools and students as of 1945 was as follows:

Table 4

No. of Schools and Students in Kansu, 1945*

	Teachers	Students
1. Middle Schools		
a. Under Provincial Bureau of Education		
(1) Hsia-ho Normal School		112
b. Private		
(1) Northwest Middle School, Lan-chou	25	211
(2) Ch'ing-yun Middle School, Wu-wei	28	314
(3) Yun-t'ing Middle School, Lin-hsia	11	74
(4) K'uei-feng Middle School, Lin-hsia	9	68
2. Primary Schools		
a. Border Region Nationality Schools		
12 schools	85	2,124
b. County (Hsien) Nationality Schools		
129 schools	313	7,198
3. One mobile team of teachers for Mongols in northern Kansu		

*(Ministry of Education, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

II. Chinese Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. Education under the National Government

During recent decades, the education in Northwest China has been backward compared to that in the coastal provinces. The educational standards within Northwest China also differed greatly. Generally speaking, the farther the people lived from the big cities, the less they were educated.

Even though the general Chinese school system was introduced also to the Northwest, in remote places the so-called schools were scarcely different from the old-fashioned tutor system.

The provincial authorities were handicapped by the shortage of funds as they struggled to set up schools with what little was appropriated to them by the Central Government. In 1935, the Central Government appropriated half a million dollars for border education, and within two years the following schools were established:

In Kansu: A training class for village teachers and fifty-five primary schools.

In Chinghai: A normal school for the teaching of Mongolian and Tibetan at Hsining, two middle schools, 143 primary

871

871 EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM--degree of development and elaboration of formal education; prevalent types of educational specialization (e.g., schools, tutors, apprenticeship); source of support of teachers and educational institutions (e.g., fees from students, ecclesiastical aid, private gifts and endowments); systematization of education (e.g., local school boards, state educational agencies, voluntary organizations of educational administrators); degree of standardization as to levels, policies, and curricula; primary objectives of formal education (e.g., piety, morality, citizenship, vocational skills, intellectual leadership); diffusion of education (e.g., educational statistics); etc. See also:

Literacy	212	Reformatories	738
School buildings	346	Philanthropic foundations	741
Public support of education	658	Sunday schools	794

saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence. When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

B. History of Islam in Kansu

There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648. Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950, they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iranian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers, merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt observance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems. Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese village. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village. In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulae, even if they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they" As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

However, in numerous economic activities, there is nonadmitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

EDUCATION

I. Nationality Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. The Traditional Pattern

During the Manchu period, education in the Northwest was characterized by permissive and non-interfering policies of the government. This meant that the minorities were able to maintain and develop their own educational systems. During this period schools connected with the mosques, in the case of the Moslems, and the monasteries, in the case of the Buddhists, were the primary educational institutions. The minorities were allowed to formulate their own educational principles. It may be noteworthy that in the Manchu period, eighteen medrese, mosque schools, existed in Kashgar alone. Reading and writing were taught in these schools, and up to two thousand students were enrolled in the schools in any given year. The total number of medrese in the Northwest during the Manchu rule is unknown, but it is safe to say that each Moslem community had at least one educational institution.

1. Moslem schools

The Mohammedans have two kinds of school. The mekteb, elementary school for children, is administered by the local mosque. These schools provide education for all male children older than six. Since 1923 the Mohammedans have initiated the same educational provisions for girls.

The program of a mekteb comprises, first, the memorizing of a surprisingly high number of suras (chapters of the Koran), then the study of the Arabic alphabet, which is used by the Uighur. By memorizing various suras the pupils acquire some hundred Arabic words by the end of the first year, though their meanings do not become clear until the fifth year when the teaching of Arabian grammar is begun. Between the fifth and tenth years the curriculum covers advanced Koran exegesis, the history of Islam, geography and basic arithmetic.

The medrese, the institutions of higher learning, also teach such familiar subjects as al-mantik (logic), al-arithmāṭīḳī (arithmetic), al-handasa (geometry), al-hai'a (astronomy), al-ṭibb (medicine), al-falāḥa (agriculture); also some subjects which are specifically Islamic in nature, such as al-kalām (theology), al-taṣawwuf (ceremonies or practical theology), 'ilm al-ilāhīyāt (metaphysics), al-'arūḍ (metrics) and al-ḳāfiya (prosody).

As in elementary schools, the method of education consists primarily of learning by rote (talkīn) and dictation. Those

Those

students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustādh (honorary title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like "ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school teacher).

Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (ḥānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmetulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bēk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest China and their enormous monk population of course colored the whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was customary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or other abnormality.

The philosophical college (Tib.: tsan-nyid) offers the study of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes subdivided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming (Tib.: dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks. The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajnāpāramitā, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the "other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcendental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries, antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all categories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas, volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the Precious Stones, and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six contain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-seven to ninety-eight contain the tantrus and dharanis, sentence of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

The philosophical college does not procede according to the

792 arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with
794 the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.:
873 C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each
[779] student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult
passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

An important part of instruction is frequent disputations be-
[876] tween the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervis-
ion of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan ṅags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more
than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next
[554] college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric
sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

[779] To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study
large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never
learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery
[179] showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses
in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural by-products. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

658 B. Nationality Education under the Republic
• 871 The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that
179 the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational sys-
*563 tem as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Educa-
tion became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

N
658 The plan was to enforce four years of compulsory education in
• 871 lower elementary schools, and a great effort was made to estab-
179 lish new schools in all the major centers of the nationalities. In
*563 Sinkiang, however, this development had not yet superseded the
importance of the mosque schools. Figures (for 1941) on the
S
871 number of schools and on school attendance are as follows:
162

Table 1

No. of Schools and Students in Sinkiang, 1941*

	Schools	Students		
		Male	Female	Total
Chinese Public Schools	236	9,461	1,979	11,430
Mosque Schools	1152	62,198	12,982	75,180
Total	1,388	71,659	14,961	86,610

* (Hsü Ch'ung-hao, Hsin-chiang chih-lüch, 1944, pp. 232-233.)

S
871 According to another source, the schools were mostly es-
563 tablished and operated by the cultural associations of various
nationalities in Sinkiang. These cultural associations maintain offices in most of the cities of Sinkiang, with headquarters in Urumchi. They were supported by the ahungs, the village head men, living buddhas, princes and native chieftains, and they had a greater influence upon the promotion of education in Sinkiang than the provincial bureau of education. The number of schools operated by these cultural associations and the number of students enrolled in the schools in the year 1938 were as follows:

Table 2

S
[162] Schools Operated by Cultural Associations in Sinkiang, 1938*

	Schools	Students
Uighur Cultural Associations	1,540	89,804
Kazakh Cultural Associations	275	14,322
Moslem Cultural Associations	1	44
Mongolian Cultural Associations	24	917
Total	1,840	105,087

*(Ch'en Chi-ying, Hsin-chiang Niao-k'an, Changsha, 1941, p. 36f.)

The Uzbeks, Tatars and Kuei-hua (White Russians) also have cultural associations which operate schools. Statistics about them, however, are not available. It is possible that there is a

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schools.

In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.

Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan People's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

During the war against Japan, with the migration of the coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest enjoyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

Under the school system of the National Government, children started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocational schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

college level:

Hsining Normal College, Hsining, Chinghai
Northwest Normal College, Lin-hsia, Kansu
Su-chou Normal College, Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu
Sui-ning Normal College, Huang-ch'ü-ch'iao, Ninghsia
A T'ien-shan Normal College was being planned for Sinkiang.

The vocational schools that existed in 1946 were:

Ning-hsia Vocational School, Ninghsia City, Ninghsia
Chinghai Vocational School, Nieh-yuan, Chinghai
Labrang Young Lama Vocational School, Hsia-ho, Kansu
Yü-shu Vocational School, Yü-shu, Chinghai

The Mongols in Ninghsia had two primary schools which served the purpose of vocational schools, both at Ting-yuan-ying for the Edsingol Banner. (Ministry of Information, Border Education, 1948).

B. Education in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area

The Communists in the Shen-Kan-Ning border area had their own educational system. This is described by Edgar Snow as follows:

"It should be explained that under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political—even the littlest children learning their first characters in the shape of simple revolutionary slogans, and then working forward into stories of conflict between the Reds and the Kuomintang, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, with plenty of heroics about the Young Communists and the Red Army, and promises of an earthly paradise of the Soviet future.

"Under institutional education the Reds already claimed to have established about two hundred primary schools, and they had one normal school for primary teachers, one agricultural school, a textile school, a trade-union school of five grades, and a Party school, with some four hundred students. Courses in all these lasted only about six months.

"Greatest emphasis naturally was on military education, and here very much had been achieved in two years, despite all the handicaps of the little beleaguered State. There were the Red Army Academy, and the cavalry and infantry schools, already described. There was a radio school, and a medical school, which was really for training nurses. There was an engineering school, where the students actually got the rudimentary training of apprentices. Like the whole Soviet organization itself, everything was very provisional and designed primarily as a kind of

rear-line activity to strengthen the Red Army and provide it with new cadres. Many of the teachers were not even middle-school graduates. What was interesting was the collective use of whatever knowledge they had. These schools were really Communist not only in ideology, but in the utilization of every scrap of technical experience they could mobilize, to 'raise the cultural level.'

"Even in social education the Soviet aims were primarily political. There was no time or occasion to be teaching farmers literature or flower arrangement. The Reds were practical people. To the Lenin Clubs, the Young Communist Leagues, the Partisans, and the village Soviets they sent simple, crudely illustrated Shih-tsu, or 'Know Characters,' texts, and helped mass organizations form self-study groups of their own, with some Communist or literate among them as a leader. When the youths, or sometimes even aged peasants, began droning off the short sentences, they found themselves absorbing ideas along with their ideographs. Thus, entering one of these little 'social education centres' in the mountains, you might hear these people catechizing themselves aloud:

"'What is this?'
"'This is the Red Flag.'
"'What is this?'
"'This is a poor man.'
"'What is the Red Flag?'
"'The Red Flag is the flag of the Red Army.'
"'What is the Red Army?'
"'The Red Army is the army of the poor men!'

"And so on, right up to the point where, if he knew the whole five hundred or six hundred characters before anyone else, the youth could collect the red tassel or pencil or whatever was promised." (Edgar Snow: Red Star Over China, 1938, pp. 254-257.)

Early attempts to promote education by making it compulsory and by replacing the Chinese script with a system of phonetic Latinization had to be abandoned again.

In later years the Anti-Japanese University and the Lu-hsün Art College were their major institutions of higher learning. During the war several colleges were merged into Yenan University, which then was composed of a College of Administration, a College of Natural Sciences and a College of Art and Literature. The courses in the first two colleges took three years and the Art and Literature course, two years. Earlier attempts to duplicate the more formal curricula of Nationalist universities had been given up and education was "brought into harmony with the actual conditions of the people under the New Democracy." In the 1940's, Yenan University was one of the

graduated in four years a total of 11,000 students into the ranks of the cadres. Deserving boys of Mongol descent were also sent to study in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, which was regarded as the model for the national minorities.

Short-term Training Classes: The first thing the Chinese Communists did upon entering Sinkiang was to set up twenty-five classes to train cadres in three-to-six month courses. By summer of 1951, these training classes graduated 3,600 cadres from 13 different nationalities.

Colleges: There were by 1955 thirteen institutions of higher education in the Northwest. The most important was the Northwest Revolutionary University located at Sian. Founded in 1950, it conducted courses on Marxism-Leninism and the writings of Mao Tse-tung with the aim of "reforming the intellectuals." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 8, 1953). In 1953, after having graduated 12,000 cadres, its name was changed to Northwest Cadres School of Political and Legal Science. The Nationality College at Lanchou was under the direction of Wang Feng, who was head of the United Front Work Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. The Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, headed by provincial governor Burkhan, was distinguished by a faculty of 350 Soviet advisors who made up 43% of the teachers. It graduated 1,700 minority cadres in 1953. The Sinkiang People's Government and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party each have a cadre school which, along with the training classes, turned out 10,000 cadres by the end of 1955. By the summer of 1955, these two cadre schools and the Sinkiang Nationality College trained a total of 396 teachers and 4,355 educational cadres.

The nationality autonomous areas were also used as nurseries for the incubation and training of nationality cadres. In Chinghai over a third of the native cadres were selected from activists in the people's governments.

The purpose of study in the cadre schools was to "enable the students to shake off the bad influences and to strengthen their patriotic ideology." The cadres were drawn from the ranks of the students and from "upper religious circles" and, "on returning to national minority areas, they were able to conduct propaganda in a correct manner, do work actively and promote solidarity among various nationalities in pushing forward political, economic and cultural enterprises." (Kuang-ming jih-pao, February 24, 1954).

Allowing for the possibility of some duplications in the figures, the number of national minority cadres trained may be estimated by adding the numbers mentioned in the Communist press (see Table 2).

Table 2

NATIONAL MINORITY CADRES TRAINED IN THE NORTHWEST

Sinkiang			
Veterans of the Ili Revolt			17,000
Graduates of 25 training classes in 1950			3,600
Graduates of the training classes in 1951			1,200
Graduates of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau cadre school in 1951, 1044, 84 per cent were natives			877
Graduates of the Sinkiang Nationality College, 1953			1,700
Educational Cadres, from Sinkiang Cadre School			4,355
Graduates of the training classes in 1954			200
Graduates of the ~~Provincial Government~~ Cadre School			296
Cadres promoted from activists			
In 197 hsiang	308		
In Ili, Kashgar and Yarkand	934		
In Bavenkara NAA	80		
In Qizil Su Kolkhoz NAA	1,100		2,422
Total	2,422		
Total			31,650
Ninghsia, summer 1954,			2,300
Kansu, Graduates of the Lanchou Nationality College, 1950-54			2,500
Chinghai			
Number as of summer, 1954		3,471	
Cadres promoted from activists			
Yu-shu Tibetan NAA	250		
Huang-nan Tibetan NAA	258		
Hai-pei Tibetan NAA	302		
Mongol-Tibetan-Kazakh NAA	340		
Shun-hua Salar NAA	190		
Total	1,340	1,340	
Total		4,811	4,811
Shensi, Graduates of the Northwest Nationality College at Sian, 1950-54			2,543
GRAND TOTAL FOR THE NORTHWEST			43,834

This figure, 43,834, is not far from the figure of "over 40,000 cadres of national minorities" cited by Wang Feng, chairman of the Commission of Nationality Affairs of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in December, 1953 (NCNA, January 6, 1954).

As to the total number of cadres in the Northwest, it is necessary to deduce from the statistics given in the Communist press to obtain an estimate. In September, 1955, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, claimed that there were 36,000 national minority

159 under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their
614 father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion
635 of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother,
Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with
[648] Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

159 Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a
[701] commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i,
was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he be-
[635] came a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

159 For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the posi-
635 tion of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks:
185 First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the
[276] purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he
• [871] conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during
[499] his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

159 Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of
771 religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling
641 of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment
635 toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

159 When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed
669 director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

487 be any main roads leading anywhere from Lonan no diffi-
culties were raised except over the prevalence of brigandage.
579 Brigands are of course almost universal in China nowadays, but they are always supposed to be worst in districts marching with a provincial border line, such as those we were now traversing. But our party was too formidable a one to have anything to fear from local brigands such as these.

487 A long day's march brought us to Shang Chou. The track follows up the flat valley of one of the headwaters of
133 the Lo Ho for 20 li, and then crossing a low rise, drops over the edge of the red plateau of Lonan into a narrow winding gorge hemmed in by bare mountains of red sandstone, which is followed until it debouches on to the valley of the Tan Chiang a little above Shang Chou.

634 Shang Chou is nowadays a decayed little place, though formerly quite an important centre, a *Chou* in charge of
487 four surrounding *Hsien*. After the Revolution of 1911 the former *Fu*, *Chou*, *T'ing*, etc. (Prefectures, sub-Prefectures, and so on) were all reduced to the rank of *Hsien*, or district, of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class, the class being determined largely, it seems, by the land-tax receipts, and, as many districts have been entirely renamed, most of the existing maps of China are in this respect out of date. Shang Chou, now called Shang Hsien, is a 1st class district. It lies in the valley of the Tan Chiang, an affluent of the Han River, on one of the most important trade routes in and out of Shensi, that from Hsian Fu to Lant'ien, across the Ch'inling Shan by two low passes, and down the valley of the Tan Chiang to the mart of Lungchuchai, whence boats ply *via* Chingtzu Kuan in Honan to the Han River, Laoho K'ou, and Hankow; though the importance of this route has somewhat declined since the railway from Honan Fu has reached to within three and a half days of T'ungkuan.

At Shang Chou we were in the basin of the Yangtzu, the insignificant rise on the edge of the plateau of Lonan being the Yangtzu Yellow River watershed.

• 871 We were here quartered in the local school, which, as we usually found to be the case, was easily the best and cleanest building in the place. The existence of a comparatively well-kept school house, with maps and educational

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certain amount of overlapping of the figures in Tables 1 and 2.

During the war years there was an expansion of schools in Sinkiang. By 1946 the number was as follows:

Table 3

Schools in Sinkiang in 1946 *

1. Schools under the Provincial Bureau of Education
   a. Higher Education: 2 (the Sinkiang College and the Sinkiang Women's College, both at Urumchi)
   b. Middle Grade Schools:
      (1) Middle Schools
         Senior Grade: 4 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 4 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chuguchak)
      (2) Normal Schools
         Senior Grade: 2 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 5 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chugachak, one at Aksu)
   c. Vocational Schools
      Senior Grade: 2 (one at Ining, one at Chuguchak)
      Primary School Level: 4 (Urumchi, Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu)
   d. Public Schools, primary level: 580
2. Schools under the Cultural Associations:
   a. Primary Schools: 1,883.

*(Ministry of Information, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

Government sponsored education of Mongols and Tibetans was already initiated in 1910, when the comptroller-general of Chinghai founded the Chinghai Mongolian Academy at Hsi-ning. This school was conceived for service to the Mongol Banners exclusively.

A somewhat peculiar situation existed in Chinghai after the revolution of 1911. Chinghai in this period was ruled by Moslem generals, who persued a rather fair policy toward ethnic groups. The activities of one of these Moslem generals, Ma-Ch'i, should be stressed. The goal he set for himself was the introduction of at least one primary school in every community of Chinghai, regardless of the ethnic composition of the particular community. His activities were marked by his insistence that all children should learn Chinese in addition to their own language. Besides, he developed and enlarged the training of the ahung (teacher or lowest priestly rank). His first act upon becoming vice-governor of the province was the establishment of

the first middle school in this area.

After the revolution of 1911, the Chinghai Mongolian Academy was renamed Ning-hai Mongolian and Native School, and was now open to other ethnic groups such as Tibetans, Chinese and Moslems. In 1919 this school added a department for the training of elementary school teachers. Since the enrollment of Mongol and Tibetan children steadily decreased after 1919, the government ordered the Mongol nobles to send the children under their jurisdiction to this school. In 1926 the school was again enlarged, and renamed the Planning School of Frontier Development. After the addition of a middle school to this institution, it became the center of secondary education in the area. The curriculum of this school comprised language training in Mongolian, Tibetan and Chinese. Otherwise the school program corresponded to that of other middle schools in China proper. In 1929 the department of vocational education was separated from the school and became the First Provincial Vocational School. The Planning School itself was then renamed First Provincial Middle School. About this time other schools, such as First Provincial Normal School, First Provincial Girls' Middle School and First Provincial Agricultural School, were founded.

In 1930 the First Middle School provided a Mongolian and Tibetan normal division as a course of study; this division became in 1937 an independent Tibetan and Mongolian Normal School under the supervision of the Chinghai Bureau of Education. The authorities of the Chinghai Moslem Association, to eliminate the differences between the various minorities, established also their own middle school.

There were three cultural organizations in Chinghai worthy of note, namely the Tibetan Language Study Association, which translated the Three Principles of the People into Tibetan, and provided Tibetan school children with Tibetan reading and grammar books; the Tibetan Culture Promotion Association, which was founded in 1931 and which was supported by military and political leaders. Its objectives were to propagate the Three Principles of the People in a manner that would awaken the Mongols and Tibetans from their so-called backward cultural condition. A further goal of this association was to unify Tibetan and Mongol culture, and to maintain the physical existence of these minorities. Third, there existed a "Moslem Promotion Association which was primarily concerned with promotion of general education among the Moslems of Chinghai and their indoctrination with the Three Principles of the People. A further objective was to overcome certain racial resentments that existed among various minority groups in the area. Branch associations were set up in all counties (hsien) where Moslems live. The headquarters for all branches was located at Hsi-ning,

*563 and attached to these headquarters was a primary and a middle
• 871 school. The Moslem Promotion Association, discussed here,
*175 operated a total of eighty-three primary schools, twelve of them senior primary schools. They had a total of 5,300 students and 201 teachers.

*563 The main purpose of the government during wartime, in
658 bringing educational facilities to the Northwest, was to unify
871 and reconstruct the cultures of the ethnic minorities along Chinese principles with equal emphasis in primary education
*175 on citizenship training, language, vocation and hygiene. In secondary education, the Kuomintang government attempted to develop or initiate technical abilities.

During World War II the Kuomintang government showed some interest in the education of the nomadic Tibetans. Chiang Kai-shek induced some tribal leaders to carry a school tent with their tribes. These tents served as primary educational centers. This move was revolutionary, as it was the first type of education, or at least of organized education, to reach the nomadic Tibetans.

Up to 1945 the educational program sponsored by the provincial authorities was as follows:

1. In Chinghai: As of 1943, there were eleven nationality schools operated by the Mongolian-Tibetan Cultural Promotion Association. These eleven schools supplemented the forty-four Mongolian-Tibetan Nationality Schools already in existence. Following the transfer of the Chinghai headquarters of the Mongolian-Tibetan Cultural Promotion Association to Yü-shu in 1943, six more nationality schools were established, of which two were directly under the administration of the association. In addition, the association established two training classes for teachers of Mongolian and Tibetan, one at Ta-t'ung and one at Yü-shu. Hsi-jao-chia-tso, with the financial assistance of the Ministry of Education of the National Government, also established a training class for the teaching of Chinese language to the native teachers.

2. In Ninghsia: The educational program of the local authorities received a boost when the Yün-t'ing Educational-Cultural Fund of one million dollars was appropriated. The money, however, was in depreciated currency of the National Government and did not amount to much, but with it the provincial authorities were able to set up twelve Yun-t'ing Primary Schools which had a total of twenty-five hundred students. In Ninghsia the number of mosque schools was much fewer than in Sinkiang. Here there were, up to 1945, only twelve classes with a total of two hundred and forty students. There were two nationality schools, one at T'ao-yueh and one at T'eng-k'ou, one banner school and a teacher training class in the Alashan Banner.

*563 3. Kansu: The educational program was more advanced than
658 in the other provinces in the Northwest. The number of schools
871 and students as of 1945 was as follows:
*175

Table 4

563 No. of Schools and Students in Kansu, 1945
87

162	Teachers	Students
1. Middle Schools		
a. Under Provincial Bureau of Education		
(1) Hsia-ho Normal School		112
b. Private		
(1) Northwest Middle School, Lan-chou	25	211
(2) Ch'ing-yun Middle School, Wu-wei	28	314
(3) Yun-t'ing Middle School, Lin-hsia	11	74
(4) K'uei-feng Middle School, Lin-hsia	9	68
2. Primary Schools		
a. Border Region Nationality Schools		
12 schools	85	2,124
b. County (Hsien) Nationality Schools		
129 schools	313	7,198
3. One mobile team of teachers for Mongols in northern Kansu		

*(Ministry of Education, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

II. Chinese Education in Pre-Communist Times

871 A. Education under the National Government

184 During recent decades, the education in Northwest China has been backward compared to that in the coastal provinces. The educational standards within Northwest China also differed greatly. Generally speaking, the farther the people lived from the big cities, the less they were educated.

Even though the general Chinese school system was introduced also to the Northwest, in remote places the so-called schools were scarcely different from the old-fashioned tutor system.

658 871 *175 The provincial authorities were handicapped by the shortage of funds as they struggled to set up schools with what little was appropriated to them by the Central Government. In 1935, the Central Government appropriated half a million dollars for border education, and within two years the following schools were established:

In Kansu: A training class for village teachers and fifty-five primary schools.

In Chinghai: A normal school for the teaching of Mongolian and Tibetan at Hsining, two middle schools, 143 primary

[illegible]

[illegible]

Another factor [illegible]

[illegible]

facilities were [illegible]

[illegible]

with twenty [illegible]

[illegible]

This was [illegible]

teacher's [illegible]

[illegible]

Extra-curricular activities [illegible]

students in the Northeast [illegible]

[illegible]

from students of different [illegible]

110 from Mukden, [illegible]

Changchun, [illegible]

colleges and universities. [illegible]

progressive in thought [illegible]

of social activities [illegible]

[illegible]

Athletic competitions [illegible]

[illegible]

2. Higher education

Institutions of higher [illegible]

[illegible]

The following [illegible]

Northeastern University, [illegible]

[illegible]

Northeast Engineering College, [illegible]

Northeast Agricultural College, [illegible]

Northeast [illegible]

873 September, 1955, is a place where cadres and students trans-
874 ferred into Sinkiang from other provinces receive their agri-
*668 cultural training. It is more of a training camp than a regular
177 college.

B. Nationality Education

1. The general trend

871 Under the Communist regime, educational activities among
*668 the ethnic minorities of the Northwest are reported to have in-
177 creased sharply. The Communists recognized early that by emphasizing the issue of education among the some thirteen nationalities in the Northwest, they could further consolidate their hold over these minorities. In line with their policy of placating the Moslems (See Religion), educational developments in Sinkiang have been widely publicized. It is not easy to make sense of the different sets of figures given. The most meaningful are tabulated in Table 7.[1]

In this table, the figures of Burkhan's report of January 1, 1953, are so inconsistent with the rest that they probably have to be discarded; otherwise the figures appear mutually compatible. According to the percentages given, the number of schools in the years before 1949 should have been about two hundred, and the number of students slightly more than two hundred thousand.
[114] These figures do not coincide with pre-Communist statistics. One fact emerges clearly from the figures of Table 3. All the mosque schools and their students must be included in them. In view of the shortage of educational personnel it is highly questionable whether staff and curriculum of these schools can be adjusted within a reasonable amount of time to the exigencies of Communist education. That this problem is realized is shown by reports that more than 130 middle and primary school teachers of all nationalities were inducted for special political training in the Sinkiang College, the Northwest People's Revolutionary University, and the Northwest Normal College in 1955 alone. In 1954, 126 teachers of all nationalities were given political indoctrination courses in so-called "spare-time improvement classes" in Urumchi, Kashgar, Sha-che and Khotan. Such classes were also operated in other areas, with particular emphasis upon the training of primary teachers. Schools of all levels are adopting advanced teaching methods and experiences and the teachers have reached the stage "of carrying out their work with preparation and planning" (Current Background, Oct.
[875] 25, 1955). The number of politically reliable teachers might have increased somewhat through these measures. In view of the prevailing need, the figures given are still pitifully low. The basic question of whether the ahung can be entrusted with Communist education remains unsolved.

1. [See p. 323--Analyst]

The Communists are, however, careful in giving the appearance of promoting the special characteristics of the different nationalities, and of using national forms in teaching. Where the nationalities have written languages, they are used in textbooks. In the last few years there have been compiled, translated, published and supplied more than four million copies of middle and primary school textbooks in Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, Mongolian, Uzbek, Tatar and Kirghiz. The new teaching material used has been as far as possible adapted to the actual living conditions of the different nationalities, and teaching methods have been adopted which are familiar to the different nationalities and suitable to their mentalities.

2. Higher education

Efforts to build up institutions of higher education for the nationalities have been particularly publicized. The Sinkiang Medical College and the August First Agricultural College have been mentioned earlier. Of particular importance, however, were the institutions for the training of nationality cadres. The foremost school in the country which serves this purpose is the Nationalities School in Peking (See IMAR Handbook, Education). The Northwest, however, has two institutions of its own, the Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, Sinkiang, and the Northwest Nationality College at Lanchou, Kansu.

The Northwest Nationality College was reorganized in 1950 from the so-called Study Class on Problems of the Tibetans. Up to 1953, it had graduated more than 1,800 students and in 1953 it was attended by more than 1,300 students from 13 different nationalities. The school includes three sections:

(1) The training class of administrative cadres:

(2) The College, with four departments, namely, languages, political science, law, and animal husbandry and veterinary medicine. The students majoring in law or political science graduate in two years; those majoring in languages or animal husbandry and veterinary medicine graduate in three years.

(3) The sub-freshman.

On February 18, 1954, Jen-min jih-pao reported that up to then the Northwest Nationality College in Lanchou graduated 2,573 students; and that there were 786 students in attendance. These students came from thirteen nationalities, namely, Mongol, Tibetan, Uighur, Chinese Moslems, T'u-sin (Mongours), Tung-hsiang, Salar, Pao-an, Yü-ku, Kazakh, Uzbek, Manchu and Chinese. Teaching was offered in all these languages.

On January 10, 1955, the New China News Agency reported that the Northwest Nationality College graduated another 465 students of the various nationalities. Most of these were "positive elements" in the pastoral areas and minority cadres serving in the government above the ch'ü level in Kansu, Chinghai

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thou-
sand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate
area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the
monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese bor-
der.

792 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic
monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more
871 complete systems of education and organization than are to be
found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tash-
ihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic
degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in
Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have
generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage.
[778] Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's
birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang
from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries
[423] own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in
the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious.
[651] Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on
their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries,
these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious
reverence.

792 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the mon-
asteries perform many functions for their subjects and believ-
901 ers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and
Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective mili-
tary force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who
have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the
fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth
of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the
safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor
is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking
life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat
meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies
[669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem re-
bellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against
the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger
threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an
inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely
795 in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The relig-
ion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conver-
sion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam,
remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure,
the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas
that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

N 464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that
N [162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected,
N [871] it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. Moreover, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.

N 464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted
*668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and
177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the
167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of
[466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers
S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in
[464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border
[066] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

S 464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This
701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the
708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction
668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in
177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

S.Cable & French M-3 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

distinct classes—the lamas, and the laity. These latter are a wholly uneducated, spontaneous, and trustful people. Many of them would sit with us for hours, and would return again and again, bringing small offerings which they exchanged for coloured pictures. The layman is accustomed undeviatingly to shelve all responsibility in matters deemed spiritual on to the shoulders of the priest, who is paid and kept solely for this purpose, with the result that the lamas' whole existence being dependent upon the populace, it is to his advantage that ignorance and gross superstition should be maintained. Yet even among the lamas some seem to have aspirations after better things. There is one Living Buddha who stands out in contrast with all his fellows. He made a pretext to visit our tent, where he sat, spellbound, listening to the story of the Prodigal Son.

'The forgiveness of that young man by his father is a thing I can understand,' he said; 'but what of the burden of sin of previous lives, which binds us to the Wheel of Life?' 'The Lord Jesus Christ is the Door *out* from all the past, as well as being the Entrance *into* a new and an Eternal Life,' was our answer. He listened thoughtfully, and when he left accepted a copy of the New Testament in Tibetan, which he carefully hid in the folds of his red shawl.

CHAPTER XII

IN THE VILLAGES

On our return to Kanchow we found the wheat-harvest almost over, and the season now suitable for conducting classes in village centres. These were very

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

largely attended, as many as eighty men and women registering in one locality. The majority were illiterate. We therefore considered it best to insist on all students becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, resulting in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

pictures on the walls, in practically every district city throughout China (of which there are nearly 2000) evidences the excellence of the principles governing the administration of the country. In the middle schools English, the official "foreign" language, is taught. Unfortunately in too many cases the local school does little more than represent the principle of education. The Chinese have a well-known saying *Yu Ming Wu Shih*, which means "theory without practice"; this saying holds good of most things in China, especially those connected with the Government of the country.

The magistrate of Shang Chou at the time of our visit was rather a remarkable character, and a "Ta Ko" (lodge-master) in the notorious secret society called the Ko Lao Hui. It is improbable that any foreigner knows much about the secrets, the history, doings, and aims of the Ko Lao Hui, but during and since the Revolution it has been the great power in Western China, particularly in Shensi and Szechuan. Originally anti-dynastic, it worked very much in the dark in the days of the Manchus, and for a magistrate then to have been a member would have been an unheard-of scandal. With the overthrow of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui came out more into the open. The revolution in the West was largely their work, and the bands of the T'ung Chih Hui who rose in Szechuan against Chao Erh-feng in August 1911, and whose rising brought about the military revolt at Hankow which ultimately swept away the Manchu Dynasty, were Ko Lao Hui partisans under another name. On the coast the revolution was to a large extent a matter of hoisting republican flags, and whole provinces joined the republican cause with their Generals and Governors at their heads. In the West, thanks to the Ko Lao Hui, the revolution was a real rising of the people, led by some of their least desirable representatives, against their rulers, and was accompanied by much more bloodshed, including the terrible massacre of the Manchus at Hsian Fu.

After the fall of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui reckoned Yuan Shih-k'ai as their chief enemy, and perhaps this was not the least of the latter's many admirable qualities. After his death their power and influence rose almost unchallenged, and at present they are in many parts an absolute curse to

Hui Hsien to the Chialing Chiang, and the other *via* Hsiho Hsien, Chieh Chou, and P'ik'ou; these are all mule trails.

Ch'in Chou is the seat of a Taoyin, a General, and a magistrate, by whom we were most hospitably entertained, being lodged in the local middle school. The latter provided quite luxurious accommodation, consisting of remarkably fine spacious buildings. There were plenty of students too, and the popularity of the government schools was here, as elsewhere in this remote province, very apparent. English, nowadays the official foreign language of China, is taught. I am not in a position to give any opinion as to the standard of the work done in these middle schools in Kansu but it is evident that they are more popular than the missionary schools, which is perhaps hardly to be wondered at. Immensely beneficial as the educational work of the missionaries is to the Chinese, it has the disadvantage, from the Chinese point of view, of being adulterated with evangelistic effort; so that the student, athirst for Western knowledge, has to swallow the Christian powder skilfully hidden between layers of scientific jam. Then there is always the underlying feeling against the alien institution, and also the fact that all the missionaries who engage in educational work in China are not always well qualified to lead their pupils very far. In Kansu missionary schools exist in only a very small way; but in some provinces, notably Szechuan, large institutions have been established, including a university. These remain, however, like the Christian Church in China, purely foreign institutions for the Chinese under foreign management, and for that reason are not always appreciated by the Chinese as they doubtless deserve to be; the latter would probably prefer that the foreign teachers should offer their services in the government schools.

From Lanchou Fu we had so far been following one of the main trade routes of Kansu, but we now turned westwards *en route* for T'ao Chou on the Kokonor border, following a very rough mountain trail through the heart of the western extremity of the Ch'inling Shan. Our first objective was the little district city of Li Hsien, distant two days' march, lying on the headwaters of the Chialing Chiang and therefore in the basin of the Yangtzu.

Leaving Ch'in Chou the path runs up a bare valley

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927

AF13 Northwest China AF13

The mother's parting threat to her son, when he left the house, was expressed in these words: 'The day you join that Church you may order my coffin, for I will not live to endure such a disgrace.' His answer was: 'There is a way of life and a way of death. If you *must* choose the way of death, I shall mourn for you. But as for me, my path is that of Life.'

On our next visit to Fuyi we were the guests of the Mandarin for seventeen days, during which time, at his request, we gave instruction in Phonetic Script to both boys' and girls' schools. Although the town is small, the schools are important, and supply a number of students to the Provincial College at Lanchow. This visit afforded us the opportunity, under particularly happy conditions, to hold evangelistic services for children and for adults. The first Christian worship in Fuyi was led by Mr. Tu, whose name was in the mouth of every man of the neighbourhood. 'What *shall* we see next?' they said. 'Tu ru tao has joined the Christians!'

CHAPTER XV

NEARING SUCHOW

THAT same evening we left Fuyi for the city of Kaotai, which is the next important centre between Suchow and Kanchow. The fertility of this district can be judged by the daily market, where splendid vegetables of every description are for sale. This was the melon season, and half-a-dozen varieties of excellent quality were displayed in abundance. In view of the lean days to come, we stocked ourselves well with them, as also with carrots, celery, potatoes, egg-plant, and, for the

The greatest object of interest in Hsingan fu is an ancient museum, 217
the Be ling, the forest of inscription stones, a small cypress wood with pavilions and temple-like buildings in which for many years already hundreds of stone slabs bearing inscriptions and classical paintings were gathered together for official reasons into a gold-mine for Sinology. A few months before my arrival the famous Nestorian tablet had been hastily brought there from its former place in the western part of the city by 50 coolies because it was in danger of being taken along by an American collector. It tells of the great dissemination of Nestorian Christianity in China during the eighth century. Besides that, every stranger is supposed to look at the old governor's yamen in which Emperor Kuang sü and Empress Tse hi had lived during the Boxer Rebellion. After the court left, this yamen remained unoccupied because no one else was considered worthy of dwelling in the imperial rooms. The rooms were very simply furnished. On the walls hung kakemonos, flowers and luck-bearing Chinese pictograms, many of which the Empress Dowager was said to have designed and painted herself. In the courtyard of the one-time imperial palace I was shown a walled cistern that was many meters deep. In it - my cicerone said - the unfortunate emperor attempted
to commit suicide in order to escape the torments of his aunt. Much 701
more entertaining, were two festivals which were celebrated in the city while I was waiting there. One of them was a large parade of the Manchu garrison which at that time with 3, 900 families (about 15, 000 souls) occupied the entire northeastern part of the city; the
second festival was a pupil and student celebration that took place 871
on the old Chinese parade ground in the northwest corner of the city. On the one hand, the class which was at that time still in control and the banner people, the mainstays of the ruling dynasty; on the other hand, Chinese youth who were celebrating the end of their annual examinations, those new educational methods which were supposed to lead the kingdom of the middle, the Chinese common people, into new paths, to new bloom. In place of the old state competitions in which calligraphy and poetry and essays, interlarded as much as possible with quotations from the classics, were the dominating factors and determined the maturity and dignity of the candidate for the highest posts in the state, /329/ and for which one prepared privately, the Manchu had set up schools in which mathematics, natural sciences, foreign languages and political science were taught and examined. Now a general sport festival ended the school year of the elementary schools, of the preparatory schools, and of the

technical and cadet institutions, all of which together represented tremendous progress on the road toward modernization. Whereas, for reasons of state, an effort was being made to modernize Chinese youth and make it conform to Western ideas, whereas outside the west gate of Hsingan fu two permanent camps of two Chinese infantry regiments drilled in uniforms resembling those of the Japanese army, in leather boots with side-arms and modern repeater guns, the troops of the ruling Manchu group stood before their chief commander carrying the oldest kind of muzzle loader, the cannonaders brought medieval muzzle loader canons to the parade, which looked like playthings, and in the cavalry division which was scantily mounted, every other man, at least, carried a flag that covered him up completely and a quiver with a dozen bows. Besides, scarcely 1,000 men appeared for the parade. We are not surprised, therefore, that the Manchu who pursue such a short-sighted policy and equip their own people so poorly, should have meanwhile been overthrown from their privileged position and succumbed almost without a struggle. When in 1912 the news reached Europe that the entire banner garrison of Hsingan fu was overcome and massacred by the Chinese in one night, one could, strictly speaking, only marvel at the fact that this had not happened before; it only showed that the Manchu as such were not so very much hated by the Chinese people and that they were impediments only for a few ambitious young Chinese and officials. In the 260 years of their rule the Manchu had become too completely Chinese in their entire thinking and feeling. The small Manchu group - in 1912 it did not even number one and one-half million souls including women and children and the banner men - had forgotten its own language almost completely and had cultivated Chinese literature more than any national dynasty before it.

The greatest change in China has been brought about by the introduction of the postal system and, in connection with that, the Chinese press which became possible only through the postal system. Whereas in Lanchow fu a Chinese seldom took a letter to the post and there were no newspapers either in Tibet or in all of Kansu and wherever I had stayed during my journey, in Hsingan fu whole cart-loads of magazines and pamphlets arrived from Shanghai, Hankow and Tientsin. The people of the city pounced on new reading matter and all at once it had become a necessity for them. It was the post, the regular couriers introduced by the Europeans, who spread the new ideas and the changes throughout the country.

872

872 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION--tutorial education; primary schools (e.g., private, parochial, public); periods of instruction (e.g., terms, vacations, hours per day, days per week, weeks per year, years required for graduation); compulsory or voluntary attendance; objectives (e.g., universal literacy); curriculum (e.g., subjects and their progression); grading and advancement; educational aids (e.g., textbooks, stationery, blackboards); ceremonial (e.g., graduation); special institutions for very young children (e.g., nursery schools, kindergartens); etc. See also:

Books and writing materials	21	Ethical ideals	577
Religious beliefs	77	Civics	641
Traditional history	173	Arithmetic	803
Reading, writing, and spelling	212	Ethnogeography	823
School buildings	346	Informal transmission of social norms	867
Music	533	Teachers	875

EDUCATION

I. Nationality Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. The Traditional Pattern

During the Manchu period, education in the Northwest was characterized by permissive and non-interfering policies of the government. This meant that the minorities were able to maintain and develop their own educational systems. During this period schools connected with the mosques, in the case of the Moslems, and the monasteries, in the case of the Buddhists, were the primary educational institutions. The minorities were allowed to formulate their own educational principles. It may be noteworthy that in the Manchu period, eighteen medrese, mosque schools, existed in Kashgar alone. Reading and writing were taught in these schools, and up to two thousand students were enrolled in the schools in any given year. The total number of medrese in the Northwest during the Manchu rule is unknown, but it is safe to say that each Moslem community had at least one educational institution.

1. Moslem schools

The Mohammedans have two kinds of school. The mekteb, elementary school for children, is administered by the local mosque. These schools provide education for all male children older than six. Since 1923 the Mohammedans have initiated the same educational provisions for girls.

The program of a mekteb comprises, first, the memorizing of a surprisingly high number of suras (chapters of the Koran), then the study of the Arabic alphabet, which is used by the Uighur. By memorizing various suras the pupils acquire some hundred Arabic words by the end of the first year, though their meanings do not become clear until the fifth year when the teaching of Arabian grammar is begun. Between the fifth and tenth years the curriculum covers advanced Koran exegesis, the history of Islam, geography and basic arithmetic.

The medrese, the institutions of higher learning, also teach such familiar subjects as al-mantik (logic), al-arithmâṭîkî (arithmetic), al-handasa (geometry), al-hai'a (astronomy), al-ṭibb (medicine), al-falāḥa (agriculture); also some subjects which are specifically Islamic in nature, such as al-kalām (theology), al-taṣawwuf (ceremonies or practical theology), 'ilm al-ilāhīyāt (metaphysics), al-'arūḍ (metrics) and al-ḳāfiya (prosody).

As in elementary schools, the method of education consists primarily of learning by rote (talkīn) and dictation. Those

family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or other abnormality.

The philosophical college (Tib.: tṣan-nyid) offers the study of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes subdivided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming (Tib.: dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks. The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajnâpâramitâ, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the "other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcendental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries, antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all categories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas, volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the Precious Stones, and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six contain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-seven to ninety-eight contain the tantrus and dharanis, sentence of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

The philosophical college does not procede according to the

schools.

In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.

Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan People's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

During the war against Japan, with the migration of the coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest enjoyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

Under the school system of the National Government, children started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocational schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

college level:

Hsining Normal College, Hsining, Chinghai
Northwest Normal College, Lin-hsia, Kansu
Su-chou Normal College, Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu
Sui-ning Normal College, Huang-ch'ü-ch'iao, Ninghsia

A T'ien-shan Normal College was being planned for Sinkiang.

The vocational schools that existed in 1946 were:

Ning-hsia Vocational School, Ninghsia City, Ninghsia
Chinghai Vocational School, Nieh-yuan, Chinghai
Labrang Young Lama Vocational School, Hsia-ho, Kansu
Yü-shu Vocational School, Yü-shu, Chinghai

The Mongols in Ninghsia had two primary schools which served the purpose of vocational schools, both at Ting-yuan-ying for the Edsingol Banner. (Ministry of Information, Border Education, 1948).

B. Education in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area

The Communists in the Shen-Kan-Ning border area had their own educational system. This is described by Edgar Snow as follows:

"It should be explained that under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political—even the littlest children learning their first characters in the shape of simple revolutionary slogans, and then working forward into stories of conflict between the Reds and the Kuomintang, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, with plenty of heroics about the Young Communists and the Red Army, and promises of an earthly paradise of the Soviet future.

"Under institutional education the Reds already claimed to have established about two hundred primary schools, and they had one normal school for primary teachers, one agricultural school, a textile school, a trade-union school of five grades, and a Party school, with some four hundred students. Courses in all these lasted only about six months.

"Greatest emphasis naturally was on military education, and here very much had been achieved in two years, despite all the handicaps of the little beleaguered State. There were the Red Army Academy, and the cavalry and infantry schools, already described. There was a radio school, and a medical school, which was really for training nurses. There was an engineering school, where the students actually got the rudimentary training of apprentices. Like the whole Soviet organization itself, everything was very provisional and designed primarily as a kind of

Table 5
Primary Education in the Northwest in 1945

Province	Complete primary schools	Proportion to Hsiang and Chen	Junior primary schools	Proportion to pao	Total schools	Students Children	Students Adult
Shensi	1,137	1.2 school to 1 Hsiang or Chen	12,591	1.77 school to 1 pao	13,979*	852,237	512,519
Kansu	821		6,551	2 schools for 3 pao	7,372	398,260	173,133
Ninghsia	86	3 schools for 5 Hsiang or Chen	357	2 schools for 5 pao	443	36,509	16,754
Chinghai	195	.83 school for 1 Hsiang or Chen	752	.78 school for 1 pao	947	51,535	33,112
Sinkiang	201	1 school for 6 Hsiang or Chen**	677	1 school for 4 pao**	2,694**	298,600	45,500

* Including provincial, private and other schools.
** Including 1,515 private schools.
(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

of which the eastern suburb has become the centre of business with Turkestan merchants, who are all Moslems.

On approaching the city we passed a lovely temple retaining the old title of 'the Spring of Wine.' Its grounds still contain a reedy basin wherein sparkling waters continually bubble forth.

Through the great gate we entered this eastern suburb, a far more un-Chinese settlement than anything we had hitherto seen. At the inn doors stood groups of travellers clad in wadded coats of striped cotton, with loose trousers stuffed into high leather boots. They wore a species of turban, to which they owe the Chinese name of 'Chantow,' meaning 'Bound head.' Many had brown curly beards, but several were of a fair complexion with reddish hair and beard. They spoke a language utterly unknown to us, which we learned later was Turki, and has no resemblance to Chinese.

On the stalls cotton materials were on show, hand-woven in Turkestan, with patterns and colours totally unlike Chinese goods; rugs, too, and gorgeous saddle-bags, while many a Chantow sat by great mounds of dried sultanas, apricots, and plaited strips of dried melon.

The dome and crescent of a whitewashed mosque[1] now appeared, and as we passed its doors a crowd of young Moslem schoolboys ran out. They had been studying Arabic and the Koran under the tuition of the 'Ahung.' All were strikingly goodlooking, but had an air of haughty arrogance never seen in Chinese scholars.

Every smithy was busy shoeing magnificent horses, and all the inns were overflowing, the east suburb being the halting-ground where every traveller rests himself and his beasts, provisions himself for the exacting journey ahead, and repairs his carts and changes their

[1][In Suchow-- Analyst]

873

873 LIBERAL ARTS EDUCATION--existence, number, and variety of institutions on the secondary and college levels devoted to instruction in the liberal arts; special objectives (e.g., inculcation of aristocratic ideals, preparation for democratic leadership, refinement of personal tastes, preparation for rational choice of careers); sources of financial support; administration; scholarships; curricula; courses and terms; educational aids (e.g., libraries); grading and advancement; degrees; ceremonial (e.g., commencement); student organizations; extracurricular activities (e.g., sports, politics, debating); special institutions (e.g., finishing schools; adult education); etc. See also:

Fine arts	53	Esthetic ideals	517
Humanistic studies, philosophy, and science	81	Public lectures	544
Ideas about nature and man	82	Student uprisings	664
Cultural participation	184	Mathematics	803
Libraries	217		

between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years, the extreme northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA: May 11, 1956).

B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

EDUCATION

I. Nationality Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. The Traditional Pattern

During the Manchu period, education in the Northwest was characterized by permissive and non-interfering policies of the government. This meant that the minorities were able to maintain and develop their own educational systems. During this period schools connected with the mosques, in the case of the Moslems, and the monasteries, in the case of the Buddhists, were the primary educational institutions. The minorities were allowed to formulate their own educational principles. It may be noteworthy that in the Manchu period, eighteen medrese, mosque schools, existed in Kashgār alone. Reading and writing were taught in these schools, and up to two thousand students were enrolled in the schools in any given year. The total number of medrese in the Northwest during the Manchu rule is unknown, but it is safe to say that each Moslem community had at least one educational institution.

1. Moslem schools

The Mohammedans have two kinds of school. The mekteb, elementary school for children, is administered by the local mosque. These schools provide education for all male children older than six. Since 1923 the Mohammedans have initiated the same educational provisions for girls.

The program of a mekteb comprises, first, the memorizing of a surprisingly high number of suras (chapters of the Koran), then the study of the Arabic alphabet, which is used by the Uighur. By memorizing various suras the pupils acquire some hundred Arabic words by the end of the first year, though their meanings do not become clear until the fifth year when the teaching of Arabian grammar is begun. Between the fifth and tenth years the curriculum covers advanced Koran exegesis, the history of Islam, geography and basic arithmetic.

The medrese, the institutions of higher learning, also teach such familiar subjects as al-mantik (logic), al-arithmāṭīkī (arithmetic), al-handasa (geometry), al-hai'a (astronomy), al-ṭibb (medicine), al-falāḥa (agriculture); also some subjects which are specifically Islamic in nature, such as al-kalām (theology), al-taṣawwuf (ceremonies or practical theology), 'ilm al-ilāhīyāt (metaphysics), al-'arūḍ (metrics) and al-ḳāfiya (prosody).

As in elementary schools, the method of education consists primarily of learning by rote (talkīn) and dictation. Those

Those students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustādh (honorary title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like "ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school teacher).

Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (ḥānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmetulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bīk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest China and their enormous monk population of course colored the whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was customary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or other abnormality.

The philosophical college (Tib.: tsan-nyid) offers the study of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes subdivided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming (Tib.; dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks. The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajnāpāramitā, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the "other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcendental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries, antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all categories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas, volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the Precious Stones, and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six contain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-seven to ninety-eight contain the tantrus and dharanis, sentence of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

The philosophical college does not procede according to the

arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.: C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan ṅags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural by-products. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational system as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Education became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

certain amount of overlapping of the figures in Tables 1 and 2.

During the war years there was an expansion of schools in Sinkiang. By 1946 the number was as follows:

Table 3

Schools in Sinkiang in 1946*

1. Schools under the Provincial Bureau of Education
   - a. Higher Education: 2 (the Sinkiang College and the Sinkiang Women's College, both at Urumchi)
   - b. Middle Grade Schools:
     - (1) Middle Schools
       - Senior Grade: 4 (at Urumchi)
       - Junior Grade: 4 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chuguchak)
     - (2) Normal Schools
       - Senior Grade: 2 (at Urumchi)
       - Junior Grade: 5 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chugachak, one at Aksu)
   - c. Vocational Schools
     - Senior Grade: 2 (one at Ining, one at Chuguchak)
     - Primary School Level: 4 (Urumchi, Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu)
   - d. Public Schools, primary level: 580
2. Schools under the Cultural Associations:
   - a. Primary Schools: 1,883.

*(Ministry of Information, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

Government sponsored education of Mongols and Tibetans was already initiated in 1910, when the comptroller-general of Chinghai founded the Chinghai Mongolian Academy at Hsi-ning. This school was conceived for service to the Mongol Banners exclusively.

A somewhat peculiar situation existed in Chinghai after the revolution of 1911. Chinghai in this period was ruled by Moslem generals, who persued a rather fair policy toward ethnic groups. The activities of one of these Moslem generals, Ma-Ch'i, should be stressed. The goal he set for himself was the introduction of at least one primary school in every community of Chinghai, regardless of the ethnic composition of the particular community. His activities were marked by his insistence that all children should learn Chinese in addition to their own language. Besides, he developed and enlarged the training of the ahung (teacher or lowest priestly rank). His first act upon becoming vice-governor of the province was the establishment of

1.

*563 the first middle school in this area.
• 873 After the revolution of 1911, the Chinghai Mongolian Academy
658 was renamed Ning-hai Mongolian and Native School, and was
*195 now open to other ethnic groups such as Tibetans, Chinese and
871 Moslems. In 1919 this school added a department for the training of elementary school teachers. Since the enrollment of Mongol and Tibetan children steadily decreased after 1919, the government ordered the Mongol nobles to send the children under their jurisdiction to this school. In 1926 the school was again enlarged, and renamed the Planning School of Frontier Development.
*563 After the addition of a middle school to this institution, it
873 became the center of secondary education in the area. The curriculum of this school comprised language training in Mongolian,
658 Tibetan and Chinese. Otherwise the school program corres-
*175 ponded to that of other middle schools in China proper. In 1929 the department of vocational education was separated from the school and became the First Provincial Vocational School. The Planning School itself was then renamed First Provincial Middle School. About this time other schools, such as First Provincial Normal School, First Provincial Girls' Middle School and First Provincial Agricultural School, were founded.

In 1930 the First Middle School provided a Mongolian and Tibetan normal division as a course of study; this division became in 1937 an independent Tibetan and Mongolian Normal School under the supervision of the Chinghai Bureau of Education. The authorities of the Chinghai Moslem Association, to eliminate the differences between the various minorities, established also their own middle school.

*563 There were three cultural organizations in Chinghai worthy
871 of note, namely the Tibetan Language Study Association, which translated the Three Principles of the People into Tibetan, and
*175 provided Tibetan school children with Tibetan reading and grammar books; the Tibetan Culture Promotion Association, which was founded in 1931 and which was supported by military and political leaders. Its objectives were to propagate the Three Principles of the People in a manner that would awaken the Mongols and Tibetans from their so-called backward cultural condition. A further goal of this association was to unify Tibetan and Mongol culture, and to maintain the physical existence of these minorities. Third, there existed a "Moslem Promotion Association which was primarily concerned with promotion of general education among the Moslems of Chinghai and their indoctrination with the Three Principles of the People. A further objective was to overcome certain racial resentments that existed among various minority groups in the area. Branch associations were set up in all counties (hsien) where Moslems live. The headquarters for all branches was located at Hsi-ning,

658 871 schools.
*175 In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.

563 Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the
658 great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongol-
792 ian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan Peo-
871 ple's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

*175 During the war against Japan, with the migration of the
166 coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war
871 front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest en-
[648] joyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built
[658] up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

658 Under the school system of the National Government, chil-
872 dren started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better
658 off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from
873 the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected
[874] group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocational schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

658 or other professions to those who would enter a profession im-
873 mediately after graduation. The normal schools offered training
[874] for grade school teachers. Each of these three types of schools was divided into two periods of three years each, the junior and the senior. In the Northwest, the government pushed toward the goal of having at least one junior secondary school in each county, and a senior secondary school at every center of each of the provinces. Not only were the normal schools free of tuition, but the government supplied board, room, books and even pocket money against the obligation to teach for a certain number of years.

873 Of institutions of higher education before the war, there was a National Northwest Junior Agricultural College in Wu-kung, Shensi, with modern buildings, equipment and vast experimental farms. In Sian, Shensi, there was the National Northeast University which had moved from Mukden to Sian after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. In Lanchou, Kansu, there was a college with very low standards. In Urumchi, Sinkiang, there was the Sinkiang College.

After the war broke out in 1937, the Northeast University moved from Sian into Szechwan. But three other important institutions moved into Shensi, the National Peking University (Peiping), the National Peiping Normal University and the National Peiyang University of Tientsin. These three were combined to form the Northwest United University (later called Northwest University) and stayed in Ch'eng-ku, Shensi. Later the engineering school was separated to form the Northwest Engineering College, with its campus at Ku-lu-pa, Shensi.

873 At the time the Communists took over, there were more in-
874 stitutions of higher education in the Northwest than ever before. The following list shows the increase of these schools during the war and post-war years:

1. Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
2. Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
3. Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu
4. Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
5. Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
6. Sinkiang Provincial College, Urumchi, Sinkiang
7. Northwest Agricultural Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu
8. Shensi Provincial Junior Commercial College, Sian, Shensi
9. Shensi Provincial Junior Normal College, Sian, Shensi
10. Shensi Provincial Junior Medical College, Sian, Shensi
11. Private Northwest Pharmaceutic Junior College, Sian, Shensi

(Ministry of Education: Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

In addition, in 1946, were the following institutions not of

873 college level:
874 Hsining Normal College, Hsining, Chinghai
Northwest Normal College, Lin-hsia, Kansu
Su-chou Normal College, Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu
Sui-ning Normal College, Huang-ch'ü-ch'iao, Ninghsia
A T'ien-shan Normal College was being planned for Sinkiang.

874 The vocational schools that existed in 1946 were:
Ning-hsia Vocational School, Ninghsia City, Ninghsia
Chinghai Vocational School, Nieh-yuan, Chinghai
Labrang Young Lama Vocational School, Hsia-ho, Kansu
Yü-shu Vocational School, Yü-shu, Chinghai

[872] [563] The Mongols in Ninghsia had two primary schools which served the purpose of vocational schools, both at Ting-yuan-ying for the Edsingol Banner. (Ministry of Information, Border Education, 1948).

871 *668 177

B. Education in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area

The Communists in the Shen-Kan-Ning border area had their own educational system. This is described by Edgar Snow as follows:

"It should be explained that under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political—even the littlest children learning their first characters in the shape of simple revolutionary slogans, and then working forward into stories of conflict between the Reds and the Kuomintang, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, with plenty of heroics about the Young Communists and the Red Army, and promises of an earthly paradise of the Soviet future.

"Under institutional education the Reds already claimed to have established about two hundred primary schools, and they had one normal school for primary teachers, one agricultural school, a textile school, a trade-union school of five grades, and a Party school, with some four hundred students. Courses in all these lasted only about six months.

"Greatest emphasis naturally was on military education, and here very much had been achieved in two years, despite all the handicaps of the little beleaguered State. There were the Red Army Academy, and the cavalry and infantry schools, already described. There was a radio school, and a medical school, which was really for training nurses. There was an engineering school, where the students actually got the rudimentary training of apprentices. Like the whole Soviet organization itself, everything was very provisional and designed primarily as a kind of

871 rear-line activity to strengthen the Red Army and provide it
*668 with new cadres. Many of the teachers were not even middle-
177 school graduates. What was interesting was the collective use of whatever knowledge they had. These schools were really Communist not only in ideology, but in the utilization of every scrap of technical experience they could mobilize, to 'raise the cultural level.'

"Even in social education the Soviet aims were primarily political. There was no time or occasion to be teaching farmers literature or flower arrangement. The Reds were practical people. To the Lenin Clubs, the Young Communist Leagues, the Partisans, and the village Soviets they sent simple, crudely illustrated Shih-tsu, or 'Know Characters,' texts, and helped mass organizations form self-study groups of their own, with some Communist or literate among them as a leader. When the youths, or sometimes even aged peasants, began droning off the short sentences, they found themselves absorbing ideas along with their ideographs. Thus, entering one of these little 'social education centres' in the mountains, you might hear these people catechizing themselves aloud:

"'What is this?'

"'This is the Red Flag.'

"'What is this?'

"'This is a poor man.'

"'What is the Red Flag?'

"'The Red Flag is the flag of the Red Army.'

"'What is the Red Army?'

"'The Red Army is the army of the poor men!'

"And so on, right up to the point where, if he knew the whole five hundred or six hundred characters before anyone else, the youth could collect the red tassel or pencil or whatever was promised." (Edgar Snow: Red Star Over China, 1938, pp. 254-257.)

(212) Early attempts to promote education by making it compulsory and by replacing the Chinese script with a system of phonetic Latinization had to be abandoned again.

873 In later years the Anti-Japanese University and the Lu-hsün
*668 Art College were their major institutions of higher learning.
177 During the war several colleges were merged into Yenan University, which then was composed of a College of Administration, a College of Natural Sciences and a College of Art and Literature. The courses in the first two colleges took three years and the Art and Literature course, two years. Earlier attempts to duplicate the more formal curricula of Nationalist Universities had been given up and education was "brought into harmony with the actual conditions of the people under the New Democracy." In the 1940's, Yenan University was one of the

Northwest Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine College, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Art College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Medical College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Russian Language Junior College
Tihua Russian Language School, Urumchi, Sinkiang
Kansu Industrial Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu

In July, 1952, these institutions held united entrance examinations at Sian and Nan-cheng, in Shensi; Lanchou and T'ien-shui in Kansu; Hsi-ning in Chinghai; Yin-ch'uan (Ninghsia); and Urumchi in Sinkiang. According to regulations, besides graduates from regular middle schools, candidates claiming to have "equivalent educational standards" were also admitted. Cadres were given special priority.

Subjects in the examinations were: Chinese, mathematics, chemistry, Chinese and foreign history and geography, physics, political common sense, biology and a foreign language (Russian or English). Cadres were exempted from the foreign language examination.

In 1952, the Communist government started a system of scholarships for every student in the institutions of higher education. This system was changed in October, 1955, and scholarships are now issued only selectively; children of party cadres and of the minority groups have priority.

In April, 1955, the Communists announced the establishment of Sinkiang Medical College at Urumchi. The professors were transferred there from the First Medical School in Shanghai. A New China News Agency report from Urumchi, dated April 19, 1955, reads:

"Sinkiang's new medical college has announced it is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here from other parts of the country in June to take up their posts. The medical college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily. Construction of this 240,000 square meters medical center was started in July last year. The college authorities have arranged for studies to begin this year while building continues."

The second group of schools includes the Yenan University in Yenan, Shensi, which became the Northwest People's Revolutionary University in 1949, and the Northwest School of Political and Legal Sciences in 1953. This kind of school is essentially a training center for cadres. The August First Agricultural College, the establishment of which was reported by Burkhan in

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

September, 1955, is a place where cadres and students transferred into Sinkiang from other provinces receive their agricultural training. It is more of a training camp than a regular college.

B. Nationality Education

1. The general trend

Under the Communist regime, educational activities among the ethnic minorities of the Northwest are reported to have increased sharply. The Communists recognized early that by emphasizing the issue of education among the some thirteen nationalities in the Northwest, they could further consolidate their hold over these minorities. In line with their policy of placating the Moslems (See Religion), educational developments in Sinkiang have been widely publicized. It is not easy to make sense of the different sets of figures given. The most meaningful are tabulated in Table 7.[1]

In this table, the figures of Burkhan's report of January 1, 1953, are so inconsistent with the rest that they probably have to be discarded; otherwise the figures appear mutually compatible. According to the percentages given, the number of schools in the years before 1949 should have been about two hundred, and the number of students slightly more than two hundred thousand. These figures do not coincide with pre-Communist statistics. One fact emerges clearly from the figures of Table 3. All the mosque schools and their students must be included in them. In view of the shortage of educational personnel it is highly questionable whether staff and curriculum of these schools can be adjusted within a reasonable amount of time to the exigencies of Communist education. That this problem is realized is shown by reports that more than 130 middle and primary school teachers of all nationalities were inducted for special political training in the Sinkiang College, the Northwest People's Revolutionary University, and the Northwest Normal College in 1955 alone. In 1954, 126 teachers of all nationalities were given political indoctrination courses in so-called "spare-time improvement classes" in Urumchi, Kashgar, Sha-che and Khotan. Such classes were also operated in other areas, with particular emphasis upon the training of primary teachers. Schools of all levels are adopting advanced teaching methods and experiences and the teachers have reached the stage "of carrying out their work with preparation and planning" (Current Background, Oct. 25, 1955). The number of politically reliable teachers might have increased somewhat through these measures. In view of the prevailing need, the figures given are still pitifully low. The basic question of whether the ahung can be entrusted with Communist education remains unsolved.

1. [See p. 323--Analyst]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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The Communists are, however, careful in giving the appearance of promoting the special characteristics of the different nationalities, and of using national forms in teaching. Where the nationalities have written languages, they are used in textbooks. In the last few years there have been compiled, translated, published and supplied more than four million copies of middle and primary school textbooks in Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, Mongolian, Uzbek, Tatar and Kirghiz. The new teaching material used has been as far as possible adapted to the actual living conditions of the different nationalities, and teaching methods have been adopted which are familiar to the different nationalities and suitable to their mentalities.

2. Higher education

Efforts to build up institutions of higher education for the nationalities have been particularly publicized. The Sinkiang Medical College and the August First Agricultural College have been mentioned earlier. Of particular importance, however, were the institutions for the training of nationality cadres. The foremost school in the country which serves this purpose is the Nationalities School in Peking (See IMAR Handbook, Education). The Northwest, however, has two institutions of its own, the Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, Sinkiang, and the Northwest Nationality College at Lanchou, Kansu.

The Northwest Nationality College was reorganized in 1950 from the so-called Study Class on Problems of the Tibetans. Up to 1953, it had graduated more than 1,800 students and in 1953 it was attended by more than 1,300 students from 13 different nationalities. The school includes three sections:

(1) The training class of administrative cadres:

(2) The College, with four departments, namely, languages, political science, law, and animal husbandry and veterinary medicine. The students majoring in law or political science graduate in two years; those majoring in languages or animal husbandry and veterinary medicine graduate in three years.

(3) The sub-freshman.

On February 18, 1954, Jen-min jih-pao reported that up to then the Northwest Nationality College in Lanchou graduated 2,573 students; and that there were 786 students in attendance. These students came from thirteen nationalities, namely, Mongol, Tibetan, Uighur, Chinese Moslems, T'u-sin (Mongours), Tung-hsiang, Salar, Pao-an, Yü-ku, Kazakh, Uzbek, Manchu and Chinese. Teaching was offered in all these languages.

On January 10, 1955, the New China News Agency reported that the Northwest Nationality College graduated another 465 students of the various nationalities. Most of these were "positive elements" in the pastoral areas and minority cadres serving in the government above the ch'ü level in Kansu, Chinghai

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PUBLIC INFORMATION

I. Newspapers

During the past decades, Northwest China was lagging in cultural development. There were very few newspapers before 1937. After the war started, numerous people migrated from the coastal provinces into the Northwest. Among these there were a great number of intelligentsia. Several universities moved from Peking into the Northwest and thousands of students poured into the area. With the coming of these people, the average of cultural standard was greatly raised and the demand for more and better newspapers increased. A number of papers emerged and some stayed. Among these, some were supported by the Nationalist Party, such as the Hsi-ching jih-pao or the Western Capital Daily in Sian. Some were supported by the San-min-chu-i Youth Corps, such as Ch'ing-nien jih-pao or the Youth Daily, in the same city. Some were supported by churches, such as the I-shih-pao (Sian edition) in Sian, a Catholic paper. Some were supported by local influences, such as Ch'ing-feng jih-pao in Sian. After the war, there were even anti-government papers, such as Kung-shang jih-pao in Sian, organ of the Democratic League.

Some of these papers achieved an admirable standard of quality. In appearance, these papers were unattractive. Usually printed on the native newsprint, which was thin, dark and rough, the print was often unclear. Bad as it was, this kind of newsprint was expensive and could be bought in quantity only through government rationing. In fact, the government did occasionally use this authority of rationing newsprint to practice a kind of indirect censorship on the papers. Papers were occasionally cut off their rations and found it necessary to buy on the black market at forbidding prices. The dailies usually had no more than four pages, with half of the space occupied by advertisements. About a page and a half would carry the national and world news, editorials, and articles, leaving about half of a page for local news and miscellaneous subjects. The news were mainly supplied by the Central News Agency, a Nationalist Party organ. Within these limitations, little could be done to give profile to a paper. This monotonous pattern was later broken by the anti-government papers, which carried a lot of the Communist news and views. The circulation of all the papers was limited among the intelligentsia, officials and merchants. Few, if any, of the papers exceeded a daily circulation of 10,000 copies. In Sinkiang, during the administration of Sheng Shih-tsai, there were editions of the Sinkiang jih-pao published in seven languages. (Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 73.)

After the Communists conquered the Northwest, they took over all the former government papers. The private papers were discouraged to continue. According to the limited information available, the following papers have been or are being edited in the

873 strongholds of the movement for the remolding of ideology with-
*668 in the party (Cheng-feng Movement). Training of cadres was its
177 main purpose. (G. Stein, The Challenge of Red China, 1945, 260-67)

Attached to the Anti-Japanese University at Yenan was the College of Nationalities to train youths of racial minorities from Inner Mongolia and the Northwest to be Communist cadres.

871 III. The Communist Period

*668 A. Chinese Education in the Northwest

177 1. The general trend of changes

After the Communist take-over the educational system was initially left more or less untouched. Teachers and students, however, were constantly mobilized to participate in the movements led by the government and the party. This additional political activity meant not only an interruption of the regular educational program, but also an amount of overwork detrimental to the health of the students. [Hsüeh-hsi, Vol. 4, No. 11, (1951, September 16), p. 37, and 1952 Jen-min Shou-ts'e, p. 449. The latter quoted the resolution of the State Council on July 13, 1951, concerning the health condition of the students.]

Even after it was realized that this state of affairs conflicted with the purposes of education, it was never entirely remedied. As late as 1956, complaints were heard about the constant political interference in academic work.

By a resolution at the ninety-seventh meeting of the State Council on August 10, 1951, the old system of education was remolded (See General Handbook, Education). Within the new system much emphasis was given to Leisure Time and Short Course Schools on the primary and secondary levels for older students and adults. This program, however, has in the meantime come under heavy criticism, as it did not achieve its aims and absorbed the time of workers and peasants needed in production.

One significant aspect of the new system is that graduates of higher educational institutions do not have a free choice of professions, but are placed by the government wherever it deems fit. In fact, it is one part of the gigantic program of slave labor.
877 The tendency of students, condoned and incited by the Commun-
577 ists in pre-Communist times, to behave in a "revolutionary"
way has recently been curbed by a set of strict disciplinary
*668 rules, which have been called "New Confucianism" by one
177 writer:

Basic Rules for the Middle School Student. (Promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.)

1. Study diligently to make yourself strong in health, in class work and in character. Be ready to serve the fatherland

lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students thus treated have been reported.

Another factor which influenced education was the austerity movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment, facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office. This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shensi, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, without contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minority groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

2. Higher education

Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense. The second includes political training institutes. The third includes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

and Shensi. Of them 342 had attended the college to learn the spoken and written languages of the Mongols, Tibetans and Uighurs.

Sinkiang Nationality College has a different background. Before 1949 it had been a regular college, with about two hundred students, three-fourths of whom were Chinese and the rest minority nationalities. On October 1, 1950, the college was renamed as Sinkiang Nationality College and reorganized into five departments, namely, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry, education, law and medicine. The number of students doubled, 89.3 per cent being of the minorities. Because of the shortage of faculty and equipment, the two classes of the department of medicine were transferred to Lanchou University and to the Physicians' School of the Provincial Public Health Bureau in 1951. Furthermore, because of the shortage of cadres in every field in Sinkiang, the students still in college were also called out to serve in the various branches of the government.

In 1952, the college authorities proposed to add a two-year curriculum, with the aim of preparing teachers in the secondary schools in Sinkiang. The college was then divided into two parts, the college and the junior college. The college took in students at the level of a regular senior middle school and graduated them in two years. The junior college took in students at the level of a regular junior middle school and graduated them in one year. This included the re-education of middle school teachers already teaching.

This College of Education was organized into five departments, so together with the three original departments, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry and law, and the newly added art and physical education department, there were now nine departments and thirty-two classes. The number of students increased to 878, including Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tartar, Sibo, Solon, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu and Chinese Moslems. Nationality students outnumbered Chinese ten to one.

The college library had about fifty thousand volumes. The shortage of faculty was serious. To solve the problem, the college depended upon students to teach students. Textbooks were also a problem, which was partially solved by using textbooks in Uzbek and Kazakh from the Soviet Union, and by re-editing and combining material from old Chinese textbooks and Soviet books. Up to August 1953, this college had graduated more than 250 cadres. In 1955 the college had eight departments and thirteen hundred students. Ninety-six per cent of the students were from the minority nationalities. Among the faculty were 350 Soviet Russians. (NCNA, November 1, 1955.)

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Table 6

Secondary Education in the Northwest in 1946

Province	Schools: Middle	Normal	Vocational	Total
Shensi	143	65	29	237
Kansu	160	25	14	199
Chinghai	4	10	2	16
Ninghsia	5	6	2	13
Sinkiang	8	11	4	23

(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized, however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is, "the religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law. The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities, ... We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic world outlook.... The youths should thus be given an ideological foundation... to make them into... atheists and the heroic fighters of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

The Communists believe that by turning the young people against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expediency. In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lamaism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Moslems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First Field Army, Pleng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well. In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen. (see above).

Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist Constitution are restricted. Mao Tes-tung's statements in his "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this point.

E. Practices

Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls of rice to eat, you will not have peace." Because of this, Vice-Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Education of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party magazine, Hsüeh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious purge took place.

graduated in four years a total of 11,000 students into the ranks of the cadres. Deserving boys of Mongol descent were also sent to study in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, which was regarded as the model for the national minorities.

Short-term Training Classes: The first thing the Chinese Communists did upon entering Sinkiang was to set up twenty-five classes to train cadres in three-to-six month courses. By summer of 1951, these training classes graduated 3,600 cadres from 13 different nationalities.

Colleges: There were by 1955 thirteen institutions of higher education in the Northwest. The most important was the Northwest Revolutionary University located at Sian. Founded in 1950, it conducted courses on Marxism-Leninism and the writings of Mao Tse-tung with the aim of "reforming the intellectuals." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 8, 1953). In 1953, after having graduated 12,000 cadres, its name was changed to Northwest Cadres School of Political and Legal Science. The Nationality College at Lanchou was under the direction of Wang Feng, who was head of the United Front Work Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. The Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, headed by provincial governor Burkhan, was distinguished by a faculty of 350 Soviet advisors who made up 43% of the teachers. It graduated 1,700 minority cadres in 1953. The Sinkiang People's Government and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party each have a cadre school which, along with the training classes, turned out 10,000 cadres by the end of 1955. By the summer of 1955, these two cadre schools and the Sinkiang Nationality College trained a total of 396 teachers and 4,355 educational cadres.

The nationality autonomous areas were also used as nurseries for the incubation and training of nationality cadres. In Chinghai over a third of the native cadres were selected from activists in the people's governments.

The purpose of study in the cadre schools was to "enable the students to shake off the bad influences and to strengthen their patriotic ideology." The cadres were drawn from the ranks of the students and from "upper religious circles" and, "on returning to national minority areas, they were able to conduct propaganda in a correct manner, do work actively and promote solidarity among various nationalities in pushing forward political, economic and cultural enterprises." (Kuang-ming jih-pao, February 24, 1954).

Allowing for the possibility of some duplications in the figures, the number of national minority cadres trained may be estimated by adding the numbers mentioned in the Communist press (see Table 2).

in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA January 8, 1952).

A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's governments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in government service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200. The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, section chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).

B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres, both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950), that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

625 detain, punish or evict them... ("The Provisional Regu-
*668 lations Governing Organization of Security Committees" proclaimed on August 10, 1952 by the Ministry of Public Safety of the CPG, NCNA, Peking, August 10, 1952.)

Besides these auxiliary police forces, there are People's Supervision Correspondents and People's Denunciation Reception Rooms. People's Supervision Correspondents are recruited from every branch of government organs, enterprises and people's popular bodies in towns and villages. The members are selected from among the activists. "The tasks of the People's Supervision Correspondents are to investigate all cases of violation of laws and discipline and damage to the state and people's interest such as graft, waste, bureaucracy and dereliction of duty by government organs, enterprises and their personnel, as well as to canvass the opinions of the masses on the implementation of government policies and laws, report them to supervisory organs of a superior level and to leading officials of their own departments and to assist them in the disposal of cases. The methods for studying and discovering problems are: (1) to observe and discover problems through their own activities; (2) to regularly go deep into the masses to discover problems and listen to the views of the masses; (3) to collect accusations and appeals from the masses through people's opinion boxes; (4) to maintain close contacts with the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms, and to cooperate with the latter in work." (NCNA, Peking, August 25, 1952.)

The same source adds "The principal task of the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms is to receive and dispose of accusations and appeals from the masses."

701 These police forces are supported by the regular People's
625 Liberation Army and the militias. The militias are local self-defense corps who, according to Peking, Jen-min jih-pao, August
*668 10, 1952, p. 18, cannot be separated from production. They are those who must engage in productive work, such as farming or handicraft, to make a living. They provide a powerful auxiliary force for the army and regular police.

*668 Augmenting all these organizations is the persistent program of indoctrination. The Communists realize that every crime com-
[674] mitted now is politically harmful to their regime, so they have instituted numerous programs in education and propaganda to fight against crime. Reading the "new" moral standards set up
[873] for high school students by the Communist Ministry of Education (The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China: Jen-min chiao-yu, or People's Education, monthly, July issue of 1955, p. 46. "The moral standard of the middle school students" promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.) is like reading something from the past. Absolute loyalty to the government, strict obedience to authorities, extreme care not to

361 over the mountain slopes, and then a sudden bend of the
valley reveals the gilt-roofed temples and huge barrack-like
constructions of the great monastery. The buildings are, I
should say, without parallel in the whole of China for
magnificence, solidity, and size, and present a most startling
appearance in that wild and sparsely populated region of
mountains and grass-lands.

Labrang (Chinese Labalang Ssu) lies at an altitude of
about 9000 feet in the valley of the Tahsia River just below
the level of the grass-lands which commence immediately
to the west. It is a regular town in itself containing over
3000 monks as well as a considerable floating population of
visiting Tibetans, hundreds of whom were at the time of
792 our visit encamped in the neighbourhood. The monastery
is the most important religious centre between Lassa and
Urga, not excluding the better known establishment of
[873] Kumbum (T'a-erh Ssu) near Hsining. It contains a university
which attracts students from all parts of Tibet and Mongolia,
and even Siberia. The monastic authorities exercise control
over the neighbouring Tibetans and until recently over
Chinese as well. Of late, however, the chief lama, a Re-
incarnation (referred to as a Hutukotu by the Chinese), has
fallen much under the influence of the Mahomedans of
Ho Chou, and the monks are no longer as unruly and hostile
to foreigners as formerly; at the time of our visit they had
even applied for the establishment of an agency of the
Chinese Post Office at Labrang. All the same it is advisable
for foreign visitors to be provided with an introduction from
[443] some Tibetan or Mahomedan authority. A li or two from
the monastery is the usual Chinese, or rather Mahomedan,
bazaar. These large monasteries on the Kokonor border are
792 commercial as well as religious centres, and the Chinese
trading villages attached to them resemble in a way the
438 foreign settlements attached to Chinese cities opened to
foreign trade. This border trade is almost entirely in the
hands of the Mahomedans, and even where the Chinese
take a hand in it, it is through the agency of Mahomedan
middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, who travel amongst the
Tibetans further west, and barter Chinese wares for their
produce, especially wool. There are many queer tales about
Labrang to be heard locally.

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874 VOCATIONAL EDUCATION--institutionalized vocational apprenticeship (e.g., skills thus taught, terms and conditions of apprenticeship); number and variety of educational institutions specialized for vocational training; general types (e.g., trade schools, correspondence schools, professional schools); special types (e.g., barber schools, secretarial schools, radio schools, police schools, social work schools, business schools, journalism schools, agricultural schools, military schools, art schools, normal schools, engineering schools, divinity schools, law schools, medical schools, graduate schools); sources of support; administration; courses and curricula; degrees; facilities; etc.

See also:

Occupational specialization	463	Physicians	759
On-the-job training	466	Priesthood	793
Craft guilds	467	Applied science	816
Lawyers	693	Informal transmission of skills	868

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871 schools.
*175 In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan
teachers and fourteen primary schools.
563 Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the
658 great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongol-
792 ian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan Peo-
871 ple's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational
school and a political training class for young lamas. In the
field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also
established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai,
with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

*175 During the war against Japan, with the migration of the
coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from
166 Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war
871 front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest en-
[648] joyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built
up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and
[658] with the mass education movement promoted by the National
Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved
both in quantity and in quality.

Under the school system of the National Government, chil-
658 dren started school when they were a full six years old. Before
872 that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facili-
ties and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government
required every child to attend the first grade. The free and com-
pulsory education covered the first four grades, which were
called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were
classified as senior primary school. A school with all six
grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the
Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during
the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in
every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central
primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village).
By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in
really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary
school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber.
As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the
luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better
658 off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from
873 the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one
could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were
difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected
children could be admitted. The secondary schools included
three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the
normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected
[874] group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocation-
al schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

or other professions to those who would enter a profession immediately after graduation. The normal schools offered training for grade school teachers. Each of these three types of schools was divided into two periods of three years each, the junior and the senior. In the Northwest, the government pushed toward the goal of having at least one junior secondary school in each county, and a senior secondary school at every center of each of the provinces. Not only were the normal schools free of tuition, but the government supplied board, room, books and even pocket money against the obligation to teach for a certain number of years.

Of institutions of higher education before the war, there was a National Northwest Junior Agricultural College in Wu-kung, Shensi, with modern buildings, equipment and vast experimental farms. In Sian, Shensi, there was the National Northeast University which had moved from Mukden to Sian after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. In Lanchou, Kansu, there was a college with very low standards. In Urumchi, Sinkiang, there was the Sinkiang College.

After the war broke out in 1937, the Northeast University moved from Sian into Szechwan. But three other important institutions moved into Shensi, the National Peking University (Peiping), the National Peiping Normal University and the National Peiyang University of Tientsin. These three were combined to form the Northwest United University (later called Northwest University) and stayed in Ch'eng-ku, Shensi. Later the engineering school was separated to form the Northwest Engineering College, with its campus at Ku-lu-pa, Shensi.

At the time the Communists took over, there were more institutions of higher education in the Northwest than ever before. The following list shows the increase of these schools during the war and post-war years:

1. Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
2. Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
3. Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu
4. Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
5. Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
6. Sinkiang Provincial College, Urumchi, Sinkiang
7. Northwest Agricultural Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu
8. Shensi Provincial Junior Commercial College, Sian, Shensi
9. Shensi Provincial Junior Normal College, Sian, Shensi
10. Shensi Provincial Junior Medical College, Sian, Shensi
11. Private Northwest Pharmaceutic Junior College, Sian, Shensi

(Ministry of Education: Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

In addition, in 1946, were the following institutions not of

schools.

In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.

Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan People's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

During the war against Japan, with the migration of the coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest enjoyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

Under the school system of the National Government, children started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocational schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

873 college level:
874 Hsining Normal College, Hsining, Chinghai
Northwest Normal College, Lin-hsia, Kansu
Su-chou Normal College, Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu
Sui-ning Normal College, Huang-ch'ü-ch'iao, Ninghsia
A T'ien-shan Normal College was being planned for Sinkiang.

874 The vocational schools that existed in 1946 were:
Ning-hsia Vocational School, Ninghsia City, Ninghsia
Chinghai Vocational School, Nieh-yuan, Chinghai
Labrang Young Lama Vocational School, Hsia-ho, Kansu
Yü-shu Vocational School, Yü-shu, Chinghai

[872] [563] The Mongols in Ninghsia had two primary schools which served the purpose of vocational schools, both at Ting-yuan-ying for the Edsingol Banner. (Ministry of Information, Border Education, 1948).

871 668 177 B. Education in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area

The Communists in the Shen-Kan-Ning border area had their own educational system. This is described by Edgar Snow as follows:

"It should be explained that under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political—even the littlest children learning their first characters in the shape of simple revolutionary slogans, and then working forward into stories of conflict between the Reds and the Kuomintang, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, with plenty of heroics about the Young Communists and the Red Army, and promises of an earthly paradise of the Soviet future.

"Under institutional education the Reds already claimed to have established about two hundred primary schools, and they had one normal school for primary teachers, one agricultural school, a textile school, a trade-union school of five grades, and a Party school, with some four hundred students. Courses in all these lasted only about six months.

"Greatest emphasis naturally was on military education, and here very much had been achieved in two years, despite all the handicaps of the little beleaguered State. There were the Red Army Academy, and the cavalry and infantry schools, already described. There was a radio school, and a medical school, which was really for training nurses. There was an engineering school, where the students actually got the rudimentary training of apprentices. Like the whole Soviet organization itself, everything was very provisional and designed primarily as a kind of

876 lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students
*668 thus treated have been reported.

177 Another factor which influenced education was the austerity
[762] movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment,
facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi
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*668 with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by
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[875] This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a
teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

877 Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the
*668 students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shen-
177 si, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected
from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, with-
[562] out contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minor-
*[563] ity groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

[526] Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

873 2. Higher education

*668 Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the
Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first
177 group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense.
874 The second includes political training institutes. The third in-
*[563] cludes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

N
873 874 *668 177
Northwest Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine College, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Art College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Medical College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Russian Language Junior College
Tihua Russian Language School, Urumchi, Sinkiang
Kansu Industrial Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu

In July, 1952, these institutions held united entrance examinations at Sian and Nan-cheng, in Shensi; Lanchou and T'ien-shui in Kansu; Hsi-ning in Chinghai; Yin-ch'uan (Ninghsia); and Urumchi in Sinkiang. According to regulations, besides graduates from regular middle schools, candidates claiming to have "equivalent educational standards" were also admitted. Cadres were given special priority.

Subjects in the examinations were: Chinese, mathematics, chemistry, Chinese and foreign history and geography, physics, political common sense, biology and a foreign language (Russian or English). Cadres were exempted from the foreign language examination.

In 1952, the Communist government started a system of scholarships for every student in the institutions of higher education. This system was changed in October, 1955, and scholarships are now issued only selectively; children of party cadres and of the minority groups have priority.

S
874 668 177
In April, 1955, the Communists announced the establishment of Sinkiang Medical College at Urumchi. The professors were transferred there from the First Medical School in Shanghai. A New China News Agency report from Urumchi, dated April 19, 1955, reads:

"Sinkiang's new medical college has announced it is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here from other parts of the country in June to take up their posts. The medical college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed
S [743]
hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily. Construction of this 240,000 square meters medical center was started in July last year. The college authorities have arranged for studies to begin this year while building continues."

N
873 874 *668 177
The second group of schools includes the Yenan University in Yenan, Shensi, which became the Northwest People's Revolutionary University in 1949, and the Northwest School of Political and Legal Sciences in 1953. This kind of school is essentially a training center for cadres. The August First Agricultural College, the establishment of which was reported by Burkhan in

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

873 874 *668 177
September, 1955, is a place where cadres and students transferred into Sinkiang from other provinces receive their agricultural training. It is more of a training camp than a regular college.

B. Nationality Education

1. The general trend

871 *668 177
Under the Communist regime, educational activities among the ethnic minorities of the Northwest are reported to have increased sharply. The Communists recognized early that by emphasizing the issue of education among the some thirteen nationalities in the Northwest, they could further consolidate their hold over these minorities. In line with their policy of placating the Moslems (See Religion), educational developments in Sinkiang have been widely publicized. It is not easy to make sense of the different sets of figures given. The most meaningful are tabulated in Table 7.[1]

In this table, the figures of Burkhan's report of January 1, 1953, are so inconsistent with the rest that they probably have to be discarded; otherwise the figures appear mutually compatible. According to the percentages given, the number of schools in the years before 1949 should have been about two hundred, and the number of students slightly more than two hundred thousand.
[114]
These figures do not coincide with pre-Communist statistics. One fact emerges clearly from the figures of Table 3. All the mosque schools and their students must be included in them. In view of the shortage of educational personnel it is highly questionable whether staff and curriculum of these schools can be adjusted within a reasonable amount of time to the exigencies of Communist education. That this problem is realized is shown by reports that more than 130 middle and primary school teachers of all nationalities were inducted for special political training in the Sinkiang College, the Northwest People's Revolutionary University, and the Northwest Normal College in 1955 alone. In 1954, 126 teachers of all nationalities were given political indoctrination courses in so-called "spare-time improvement classes" in Urumchi, Kashgar, Sha-che and Khotan. Such classes were also operated in other areas, with particular emphasis upon the training of primary teachers. Schools of all levels are adopting advanced teaching methods and experiences and the teachers have reached the stage "of carrying out their work with preparation and planning" (Current Background, Oct.
[875]
25, 1955). The number of politically reliable teachers might have increased somewhat through these measures. In view of the prevailing need, the figures given are still pitifully low. The basic question of whether the ahung can be entrusted with Communist education remains unsolved.

1. [See p. 323--Analyst]

Table 6

S N 635 873 874

Secondary Education in the Northwest in 1946

Province	Schools: Middle	Normal	Vocational	Total
Shensi	143	65	29	237
Kansu	160	25	14	199
Chinghai	4	10	2	16
Ninghsia	5	6	2	13
Sinkiang	8	11	4	23

(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

744 The first department devoted most of its time to preventing epidemics, innoculating people against possible epidemics (such as typhoid, typhus, smallpox, cholera) and preventing animal diseases. The National Department of Health was concerned with the promotion of regional health and sanitation institutes. Experimental stations for public health were opened in Kansu. In the
744 Northwest the health programs of the Nationalist Government were
743 launched in the last part of the 1930's. The numbers of hospitals recorded in the Northwest during 1936 are as follows:

	Hospitals	Beds
Shensi	7	263
Kansu	10	124
Chinghai	3	22

648 The Sino-Japanese war interfered with the progress of the
874 health programs in the Northwest. However, some of the war results proved beneficial. During the war two medical schools were transferred to the Northwest. Sian has had a medical school since 1940 when the famous Medical School of National Peiping University was transferred there. It was not retransferred to Peiping after the war. A medical school was started in Lanchow
743 after the war as part of the National Lanchow University. In 1942 the Northwest Hospital was established at Lanchow, where, in 1944, over 30,000 outpatients and over a thousand inpatients were treated. Much medical field work was done during the war and a few army hospitals were opened in the Northwest. Hsi-ning also started a school hospital and a city-hospital during the war. A special health center was opened at Ting-yüan-ying for the Alashan Mongols.

744 V. Health and Sanitation Under the Communists

668 The necessity to extend the work done in the medical field in
177 the Northwest was clearly recognized by the Communist Government. According to the Chinese Communist reports from Peking, Northwest China, included in the overall program adopted by the Party to improve health and sanitation, has made relative progress in the field of public health.

The overall health policies of the Communist Government were adopted in 1950 by the First All-China Health Conference. This Conference stressed the following three principles as the guiding lines: (1) concentration on the health of the workers, farmers and soldiers; (2) emphasis on the means of prevention rather than cure of disease; and (3) uniting the modern and old-style doctors. The latter measure was decided upon because of the tremendous shortage of qualified doctors trained in modern methods to meet the needs of the huge population of China, the problem being more acute in remote regions.

A special conference entitled "The All-China Conference on the

in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA January 8, 1952).

A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's governments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in government service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200. The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, section chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).

B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres, both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-N nghsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950),that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

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875 TEACHERS--number of general and specialized teachers; degree of training and proficiency; social status of teachers (e.g., prerogatives, disabilities); mode of selection; fees and salaries; tenure and advancement; degree of academic freedom; organization (e.g., associations, unions); extracurricular activities (e.g., research, community activities); etc. See also:

Government pensions . . . . 657 Normal schools 874

Those students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustādh (honorary title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like "ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school teacher).

Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (ḥānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmetulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bäk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest China and their enormous monk population of course colored the whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was customary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two *successfully before he may enter the college of canonical* literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or other abnormality.

The philosophical college (Tib.: tsan-nyid) offers the study of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes subdivided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming (Tib.: dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks. The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajnāpāramitā, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the "other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcendental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries, antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all categories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas, volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the Precious Stones, and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six contain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-seven to ninety-eight contain the tantrus and dharanis, sentence of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

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Another factor which influenced education was the austerity movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment, facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office. This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

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1. [See p. 323--Analyst]

876

876 EDUCATIONAL THEORY AND METHODS--dominant and alternative theories of education; favored methods of instruction (e.g., collective recitation, rote memorizing, systematic classification, case analysis); system of rewards (e.g., praise, prizes); prevalent and eschewed methods of punishment (e.g., ridicule, corporal punishment, deprivation of privileges); special techniques for handicapped and backward pupils; educational psychology; examining and testing methods; use of visual and auditory aids, degree of individuation in instruction (e.g., cultivation of uniformity, encouragement of independence and initiative); educational experiments and innovations (e.g., progressive education); etc. See also:

Informal techniques of instruction . . . . . . 86 Social control 626
Evidence on habit formation . . . . 163 Ethnopsychology 828
Educational motion pictures 546

/The Tibetans/

right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

EDUCATION

I. Nationality Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. The Traditional Pattern

During the Manchu period, education in the Northwest was characterized by permissive and non-interfering policies of the government. This meant that the minorities were able to maintain and develop their own educational systems. During this period schools connected with the mosques, in the case of the Moslems, and the monasteries, in the case of the Buddhists, were the primary educational institutions. The minorities were allowed to formulate their own educational principles. It may be noteworthy that in the Manchu period, eighteen medrese, mosque schools, existed in Kashgar alone. Reading and writing were taught in these schools, and up to two thousand students were enrolled in the schools in any given year. The total number of medrese in the Northwest during the Manchu rule is unknown, but it is safe to say that each Moslem community had at least one educational institution.

1. Moslem schools

The Mohammedans have two kinds of school. The mekteb, elementary school for children, is administered by the local mosque. These schools provide education for all male children older than six. Since 1923 the Mohammedans have initiated the same educational provisions for girls.

The program of a mekteb comprises, first, the memorizing of a surprisingly high number of suras (chapters of the Koran), then the study of the Arabic alphabet, which is used by the Uighur. By memorizing various suras the pupils acquire some hundred Arabic words by the end of the first year, though their meanings do not become clear until the fifth year when the teaching of Arabian grammar is begun. Between the fifth and tenth years the curriculum covers advanced Koran exegesis, the history of Islam, geography and basic arithmetic.

The medrese, the institutions of higher learning, also teach such familiar subjects as al-mantik (logic), al-arithmātīkī (arithmetic), al-handasa (geometry), al-hai'a (astronomy), al-ṭibb (medicine), al-falāha (agriculture); also some subjects which are specifically Islamic in nature, such as al-kalām (theology), al-taṣawwuf (ceremonies or practical theology), 'ilm al-ilāhīyāt (metaphysics), al-'arūḍ (metrics) and al-kāfiya (prosody).

As in elementary schools, the method of education consists primarily of learning by rote (talkīn) and dictation. Those

arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.: C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan ṅags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural by-products. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational system as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Education became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

and the people.

2. Honor the national flag. Love warmly your fatherland and the people's leader.

3. Obey the school rules, follow the instruction and guidance of the principal and the teachers.

4. Arrive at school on time. Attend classes on time. Never be tardy, nor leave early, nor be absent without a good reason.

5. Bring all necessary books and supplies to school every day. Have ready all necessary articles for each class.

6. Sit straight and square at classes, concentrate on listening to the lecture. Never talk freely or do anything on your own. Never enter or leave the classroom without permission of the teacher.

7. To answer the teacher's question you must stand up. Only when you have the teacher's permission may you sit down. To ask the teacher a question you must first raise your hand.

8. Review diligently, and finish on time all home work.

9. Respect the principal and teacher. When the class starts you must stand up to show your respect to the teacher. Do the same thing when the class is dismissed. When you meet the principal or the teacher outside the school you must salute him.

10. Love your schoolmates earnestly. Help one another and be united.

11. Respect and love your parents. Love and protect your brothers and sisters. Help your folks in housework.

12. Respect the older generation, and old people. Love children and care for the weak and the sick. Yield your seat on a train and your right of way on the street.

13. Be earnest, humble and polite. Do not lie, do not curse, do not fight. Do not disturb other people's work, study or sleep.

14. Do not smoke, do not drink liquor, do not gamble, do not take other people's articles without their permission. Do not do things harmful to yourself and others.

15. Positively drill and strengthen your body. Keep your body, clothes, room and the public places clean.

16. Obey public orders. Love and protect public property.

17. Love and defend the honor of your class and school.

18. Carry your student card with you all the time and take care not to lose it.

Discipline in schools had tended to become harsh before the promulgation of these rules. For instance, in Tso-shui, Shensi, a grade school teacher ordered tardy students to kneel on the floor and to carry bowls of water on their heads. In Ling-t'an, Kansu, a grade school principal ordered all the children of his school to line up and spit in the face of a child he wished to punish. In some schools, the teachers organized "accusation meetings" to punish the children. In some, "courts" were estab-

lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students thus treated have been reported.

Another factor which influenced education was the austerity movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment, facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office. This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shensi, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, without contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minority groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

2. Higher education

Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense. The second includes political training institutes. The third includes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

*668 Further-
796 more, in places where restrictions are exercised over the slaugh-
656 ter of cattle and sheep, these restrictions may be relaxed.

*668 B. Guided Tours

484 Representatives of national minorities from northwest China
648 are invited to visit Peking and other urban centers of north and
873 east China. They are guided to see the factories, schools and
*563 palaces of historical interest. After being deeply impressed they are sent back to their homes. They often become good native propagandists for the Party.

*668 C. School Programs

208 In local schools, the pupils are not spared from propaganda.
• 876 For instance, in the Mongol schools in the province of Chinghai:

"In mathematics, the number of American and bandit Rhee's troops annihilated by the Chinese and Korean people's armies in Korea and the construction figures in Chinghai were made into questions for the students and the masses to solve. By this way, they not only learned mathematics but they also retained in their minds the victorious results of our war and the great achievements in construction following the liberation." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, March 30, 1952.)

*668 D. Other Methods

208 The whole propaganda system generally functions as follows. When the Party central committee decides to promote certain propaganda, it orders the reporter at every level of the Party organization to report the party line to the people inside as well as outside the Party. Then the propagandists and activists all go out to do the work. This can be done in various ways, according to the situation. In factories, it may be a kind of question and answer. The workers might be asked to check each other with these questions until all got the right answers. In streets, it might be in the form of door-to-door visits and "casual chats." While these were going on, the people would be bombarded daily with the same theme in newspapers, blackboard newspapers, wall newspapers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, pictures, cartoons, radio broadcasts, concerts, lantern slides, movies, plays, operas, story-tellers, picture-story books, street meetings, signature drives, production competitions, challenges, counter-challenges, and a lot of other devices to drive the point home.

V. The Campaigns and Contents of Propaganda.

A. Campaigns

1. Destruction of organized resistance

The contents of propaganda follow the shifts in the Party line.

877

877 STUDENTS--composition of the student body; number of general and specialized students in an academic institution; organizations and associations (e.g., student unions); leadership; social status of students; sources of financial support (e.g., private funds, scholarships, fellowships, etc.); degree of academic freedom; extracurricular activities; living and dining accommodations (e.g., dormitories, off-campus housing, sororities and fraternities, etc.); student-community relations; student-faculty relationships; group values and behavior characteristics (e.g., political and social activism, etc.); etc.

See also;

Adolescence and adulthood	88	Ethical norms	577
Adornment	30	Individual behavior characteristics	15
Athletic sports	526	Informal ingroup justice	627
Brawls and riots	579	Sex	83
Community structure	621	Socialization processes	86
Delinquency	738	Social relationships and groups	571
Dress	291	Social status and roles	554
Drinking	273	Sodalities	575
Drug use	276		
Education	87		

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

873 strongholds of the movement for the remolding of ideology with-
*668 in the party (Cheng-feng Movement). Training of cadres was its
177 main purpose. (G. Stein, The Challenge of Red China, 1945, 260-67)

Attached to the Anti-Japanese University at Yenan was the College of Nationalities to train youths of racial minorities from Inner Mongolia and the Northwest to be Communist cadres.

871 III. The Communist Period

*668 A. Chinese Education in the Northwest

177 1. The general trend of changes

After the Communist take-over the educational system was initially left more or less untouched. Teachers and students, however, were constantly mobilized to participate in the movements led by the government and the party. This additional political activity meant not only an interruption of the regular educational program, but also an amount of overwork detrimental to the health of the students. [Hsüeh-hsi, Vol. 4, No. 11, (1951, September 16), p. 37, and 1952 Jen-min Shou-ts'e, p. 449. The latter quoted the resolution of the State Council on July 13, 1951, concerning the health condition of the students.]

Even after it was realized that this state of affairs conflicted with the purposes of education, it was never entirely remedied. As late as 1956, complaints were heard about the constant political interference in academic work.

By a resolution at the ninety-seventh meeting of the State Council on August 10, 1951, the old system of education was remolded (See General Handbook, Education). Within the new system much emphasis was given to Leisure Time and Short Course Schools on the primary and secondary levels for older students and adults. This program, however, has in the meantime come under heavy criticism, as it did not achieve its aims and absorbed the time of workers and peasants needed in production.

One significant aspect of the new system is that graduates of higher educational institutions do not have a free choice of professions, but are placed by the government wherever it deems fit. In fact, it is one part of the gigantic program of slave labor.
• 877 The tendency of students, condoned and incited by the Commun-
577 ists in pre-Communist times, to behave in a "revolutionary"
*668 way has recently been curbed by a set of strict disciplinary
177 rules, which have been called "New Confucianism" by one writer:

Basic Rules for the Middle School Student. (Promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.)

1. Study diligently to make yourself strong in health, in class work and in character. Be ready to serve the fatherland

877 and the people.

577 2. Honor the national flag. Love warmly your fatherland and
*668 the people's leader.

177 3. Obey the school rules, follow the instruction and guidance of the principal and the teachers.

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886

886 SENESCENCE--cultural criteria of senescence and the onset of old age; menopause (e.g., cultural interpretation, adaptive changes in behavior); attitude toward growing old (e.g., resignation, simulation of youth); prescriptions for longevity and rejuvenation; preparations for old age(e.g.; insurance); retirement from active life (e.g., gradual, at a prescribed retirement age); etc. See also:

Physical senescence . . . . 145 Attitude toward death. 761
Insurance . . . . 456 Menstruation 841

and the black rectangular tents of nomad Tibetans, the usual 233
hinterland of *Ts'ao Ti* (Grass Lands), which everywhere in
the north and west lie behind the border ranges of China.
Apart from the nomads and their ponies, yak, and cattle,
the only sign of life were the huge vultures, which were [136]
extraordinarily abundant. The final ascent to the pass is by
easy gradients, and a similar descent of about 10 li brings 487
one to Êpo, a dot of a place lying in a sea of grass. 133

Êpo (this is the regular romanisation of the Chinese
characters, pronounced Obaw) is a small walled village and 361
former fort situated in a shallow valley sloping from east
to west, surrounded by grassy downs and backed by rocky
snow capped mountains. The elevation is probably between
11,000 and 12,000 feet, and there is no cultivation, the 241
necessary grain being brought up from below. The entire
community, composed of a few Mahomedan Chinese, 233
seemed to be engaged in the collection of wool, with
occasional purchases of musk and deer horns. The latter 381
(wapiti antlers) when old are quite cheap and are collected
and sent down to China for the manufacture of glue; when
n velvet they are extremely valuable and are ground up 886
to form the well-known Chinese medicine for revivifying
the old. This medicine is said to be very powerful, and I
was informed by a member of our party, who here purchased
a pair for a friend, that care must be exercised in taking
a dose to see that the powder comes equally from both
antlers, otherwise there is a grave danger that the patient
may be revivified on one side only! Musk may also be 303
profitably purchased at Êpo, and for some days afterwards
our caravan was redolent with it. Wherever one may pack
a pod of musk it is guaranteed to make its presence widely
known. The advantage of buying musk at a place like Êpo,
apart from its cheapness, is that one is pretty certain to get
the genuine article, adulteration being widely practised in
the trade in China.

Êpo appears to lie actually on the Kansu-Kokonor border 487
(though boundaries are vague in those parts), and its
position is of some strategic importance as commanding
one of the few routes from Kansu and Mongolia up to the
Kokonor, north of Hsining. We were met here by some
Mahomedan braves sent up from the Hsining and Tatung

887

887 ACTIVITIES OF THE AGED--regimen of the aged (e.g., diet, exercise, rest); economic tasks performed by the aged; leisure time activities of the aged; sexuality in old age; professional activities of the aged; other functions and activities of the aged (e.g., ceremonial, political); etc. See also:

Domestic authority of the aged . . . . 59 Educational and disciplinary functions
Authentic cases of extreme longevity . . . . . 165 of grandparents 603

783 with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious
485 atmosphere created was always most irksome to us,
563 feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the
demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different con-
354 struction from those we had met with elsewhere, this
485 being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on
this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were
372 covered with movable boards, under which a hollow
space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which,
once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are
laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the
traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for
weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary
effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly
gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best
291 old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed
from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In
286 every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn,
[887] or knitting socks for themselves on two needles ; this
is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre
291 of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed
287 boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was
necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the
making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt
is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out
the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape
required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats
are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to
the industry.

361 Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a
maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on
the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the
Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded,
491 and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

888

888 STATUS AND TREATMENT OF THE AGED--cultural definition and explanations of old age; idealized and derogatory evaluations of old age; conception of the ideal old man and old woman; symbols and synonyms for age and longevity; prerogatives and disabilities of the aged; special exemptions (e.g., from legal sanctions, from taboos); etiquette toward the aged; treatment of the aged (e.g., exploitation, neglect, obedience, respect); support of the aged (e.g., investments, fees for services, annuities, pensions, assistance from relatives); care of the aged; customs of abandoning and killing the aged; etc. See also:

Investment	464	Polygamy	596
Insurance and annuities	486	Legal liability	672
Age stratification	561	Incidence and relief of old age dependency	737
Etiquette	576	Social insurance	746
Status of widows	589	Last favors before death	763
Family relationships	593		

N.W. China AF13
Kalmyk

the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this. 000
From the Dsun yurts where we first met people again, we took an 361
easterly course and after two more travel-days we came to Barun
kurä. In the belt of meadowland which we followed there stood yurts
in groups of three and four of first Dsun- and then Barun- Mongols.
Like the old Jew who sold ribbons in the market of my home town, I
extolled my wares in the tents. I exchanged butter, barley and sheep
for my hardware and my silver. The people were always friendly to 609
us. We slept and ate in their dwellings. At first they seemed sullen,
but they warmed up after closer contact and they laughed and sang
with Han and Tsch'eng. Most of the men spoke Tibetan as well as [191]
Mongolian. I became acquainted with their happy-go-lucky way of
living. Their liquor plays a great part in their lives, and they make 273
it from mare's milk. The men travel from one tent to another, drink
and sing, while the women have the duty of taking care of the work
and of the herd animals. But although the women are obliged to 562
shoulder the burden of the household, and increase the fortunes of the
family, they are by no means the slaves of the men. One old man
who wanted to sell me a few sheep on my visit from yurt to yurt was
given such a severe lecture by his wife who did not agree to the sale,
the lecture even being punctuated by a raised stick, that my com-
panions were forever cured of their initial great enthusiasm for Mon-
gol women. The Mongol woman, it is true, enjoys great freedom
compared to the Chinese woman. The women of the Dam Mongols
have an astonishing amount of authority for Asiatic women!

The Tsaidam Mongols (Chinese: Dam men gu) do not have high 428
moral standards. As in many other parts of Tibet, the son, when he
has reached his majority, gets the family property even though the
father is still living and the parents get a certain share set aside for
them. This is a very old custom. It was said to have arisen during the
times when people still set out on wars of conquest. The men capable
of bearing arms, who set out to war and who were able actively to
protect their families, were also /349/ the owners of the family
property. Now, however, the young Dam Mongols try to shirk their 888
responsibilities as much as possible. Today they are little more than
warriors and, besides, they give their old parents barely enough to
live on. I often saw two old people behind a protective wall that
was full of holes and squatting on a dung heap like beggars while their
son lived beside them in a fine yurt.

Marriages of the Dam Mongols seem to be entered upon as casual- 586
ly as they are dissolved. After a couple has lived together for a while